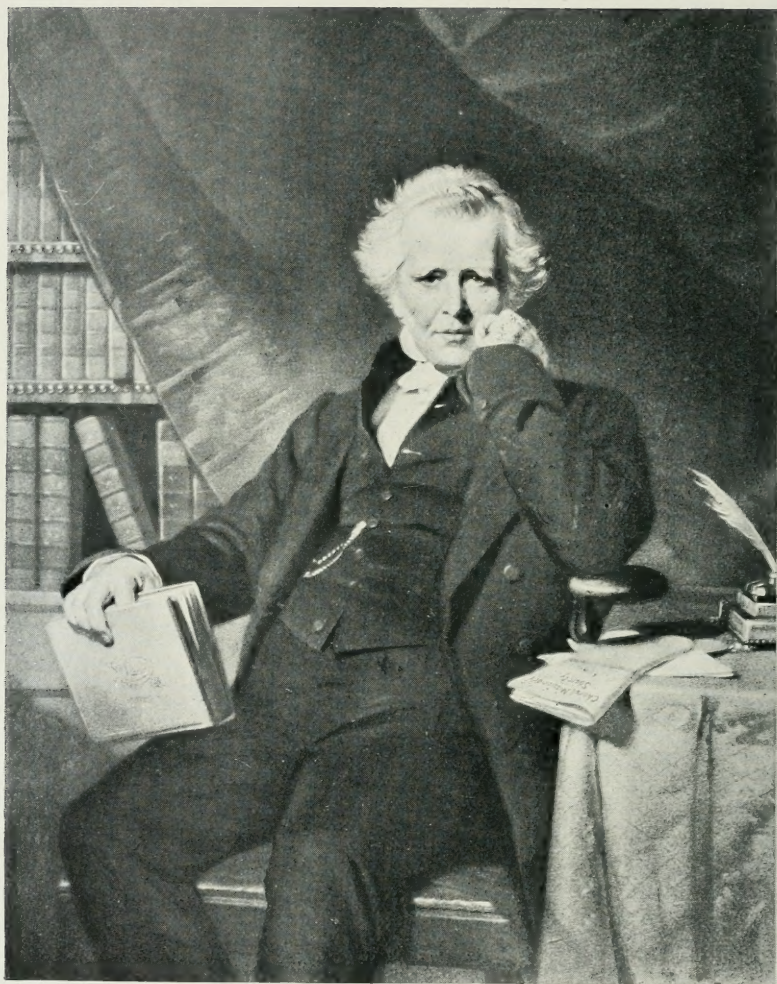


HISTORY OF THE
CHURCH MISSIONARY
SOCIETY

VOL. II







The Rev. HENRY VENN.

Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, 1841-1872.

William Bascom, Director
Museum of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY
*ITS ENVIRONMENT, ITS MEN
AND ITS WORK*

BY
EUGENE STOCK
EDITORIAL SECRETARY

IN THREE VOLUMES
VOL. II.

"Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase. For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of thy fathers. . . . Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?"—JOB viii. 7, 8, 10.

"That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments."—PS. lxxviii. 7.

FOURTH THOUSAND

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Part VI.

FROM THE JUBILEE TO THE
NEW HOUSE: 1849-1861.

NOTE ON PART VI.

THE two Parts comprised in Vol. II. cover twenty-four years, 1849 to 1872. The Author much regrets that this period was not divided into three Parts, of about eight years each. As it is, the Parts are too long and full, and the chapters overlap more than is desirable. For example, the reader will find himself in the Revival period of 1860 at home before he comes to events abroad ten years older; and Dr. Pfander's later work at Constantinople has to be taken before his earlier work in India. But there need be no confusion if the dates are carefully noted.

The first two chapters of Part VI. deal with the Environment. Many of the events recorded in Chap. XXXIII., the Gorham Judgment, the Revival of Convocation, &c., are the commonplaces of modern Church Histories; but those of Chap. XXXIV., the new Evangelical Movements and their effect upon the Church, although equally important, are generally ignored. Chap. XXXV. introduces the *Personnel*, as in previous Parts. Chaps. XXXVI. and XXXVII. also introduce persons—the candidates from the Universities, and the Islington men—with many biographical details. Then, in turning to the Missions, we take New Zealand first, because we have to review Bishop Selwyn's plans for Church organization and the resulting controversies, thus continuing certain discussions in Chap. XXXIII., the first in this Part.

The rest of the Part, comprising twelve chapters, is devoted to the Mission-field. Chap. XXXIX., on West Africa, touches interesting points, the interest taken by the Queen and Lord Palmerston in African affairs, the efforts of H. Venn to promote industry and commerce, and the brief episcopates and deaths of the first three Bishops of Sierra Leone. Chap. XL. introduces the story of East African exploration; and Chap. XLI. the "proselytism" controversy regarding Bishop Gobat, and the British relations with Turkey after the Crimean War. Chap. XLIX. also touches political matters, in reference to China, the Taip'ing Rebellion, and the Opium Controversy; but Chaps. XLVIII. and L., on Ceylon and North-West America, are purely missionary.

But the six chapters on India, taken together, form one of the most important sections of the whole History, including the great epoch of Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship (XLII.), the conquest of the Punjab (XLIV.), the Mutiny (XLV.), the Neutrality Controversy in both India and England (XLV., XLVI.); with the remarkable development of Missions during the period, both in the North and in the South, especially in Tinnevely and Travancore (XLIII.); the work of Pfander and French at Agra (XLII.), of Noble at Masulipatam (XLIII.), of Leupolt and Long in the North (XLVII.): and above all, the thrilling story of the commencement in the Punjab and on the Afghan Frontier (XLIV.) under the Lawrences, Edwardes, Montgomery, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ENVIRONMENT: CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS—ANGLICAN.

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"Walk about Zion, and go round about her."—Ps. xlviii. 12.

"And Saul armed David with his armour. . . . And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these; for I have not proved them."—1 Sam. xvii. 38, 39.

FROM the Jubilee to the New House."—Such is the title given to this Sixth Part of our History. At first sight it might seem that the mere moving of the Society's office to a house next door was not an event of sufficient importance to mark the close of

PART VI.
1849–61.
Chap. 33.

one of our periods. But it has proved convenient to divide Henry Venn's thirty-one years' Secretaryship into three periods; and as the first naturally ended with the Jubilee, it was necessary to find some point at which the twenty-four years between that celebration and Venn's death could be suitably divided. The year 1861 would make an equal division; and as no great epoch in missionary history occurs about that time, the Society's entrance into its new House—the first that was really its own—in March, 1862, has been adopted as sufficiently convenient for a dividing point. We therefore now proceed to review thirteen years, from 1849 to 1861 inclusive.

A New
Period.

All writers on the Church History of the century agree that this period was one of marked development on what are commonly known as Anglican lines. But few seem to be aware of a simultaneous development on distinctively Evangelical lines which began in the course of the period, and has continued ever since. Both these movements affected the Church Missionary Society in different ways, and therefore call for some notice in the present History. Two chapters are accordingly devoted to them. But first we must just glance at two events which caused great excitement at the time; for although they belong to neither

Its
features.

PART VI. category of developments, they had some influence in both
 1849-61. directions; and they coincided with the opening of our period,
 Chap. 33. and of the Society's second half-century. These were the Gorham
 Judgment and the Papal Aggression.

The
 Gorham
 Case.

The Rev. G. C. Gorham, formerly Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, an Evangelical clergyman in the Diocese of Exeter, was presented by the Lord Chancellor for the living of Brampford Speke, in the same diocese. The Bishop, the militant Henry Philpotts, examined him before institution upon his views on baptism, and on the word "regenerate" as used in the Baptismal Service. The examination lasted six days, and at the end of it the Bishop declined to institute him. Mr. Gorham thereupon applied to the Dean of Arches for a monition requiring the Bishop to institute. The Bishop pleaded Mr. Gorham's unsoundness in doctrine; and the case was heard in the early months of 1848. The judge, Sir H. J. Eust, took a year and a half to consider the arguments, and then, in August, 1849, pronounced in favour of the Bishop. Mr. Gorham appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and the Court, consisting of six lay judges, with the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, reversed the previous decision by a majority of seven to two, Bishop Blomfield and one lay judge dissenting.

The
 question
 at issue.

The day on which this final judgment was pronounced was a memorable one in the history of the Church of England. The case was regarded as of supreme importance, and the decision had been awaited on both sides with the keenest anxiety. As Canon Perry says, "the two great systems or conceptions of theology were brought face to face." Were the Sacraments channels of grace absolutely or conditionally? Was regeneration given in baptism, unconditionally and always, *ex opere operato*, or was the word in the Service used hypothetically and subject to conditions? Canon Perry adds, "It was to be decided which of these two views a clergyman was bound to hold"; but this was not the case. Bishop Philpotts, indeed, contended that Mr. Gorham was bound to hold the one view; but Mr. Gorham did not raise the question whether the Bishop was bound to hold the other: he only pleaded that his own view was consistent with the Prayer-book, and that therefore he had a right to be instituted to the living. The Dean of Arches, however, did adjudge that the Church unequivocally taught "baptismal regeneration," and that Mr. Gorham was unsound; and great were the apprehensions of the Evangelical clergy. Were they to be expelled from the Church? Should they secede? The recent Disruption in Scotland seemed to form a precedent for secession. Henry Venn was prominent in the anxious conferences that took place. His private journal at the time is full of notices of meetings and consultations among the brethren. He prepared a private

paper, reviewing all possible contingencies, and proposing plans, in case of an adverse decision, by which the Evangelicals should cleave to the Church of their fathers until they were turned out. Through the overruling providence of God, however, no such contingency occurred. The Gorham Judgment proved to be the charter of the Evangelical body in the Church. Not that their doctrine of baptism, or their view of the Baptismal Service, was formally adjudged to be the teaching of the Church. "This Court," said the Judgment, "has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England." What was decided was that Mr. Gorham's views were "not contrary or repugnant" to the doctrine of the Church. Henry Venn in his diary gives a graphic account of the scene at the delivery of the Judgment. A dense crowd surrounded the entrance to the Privy Council Chamber, and when the doors were opened a great rush ensued :—

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Decision
of the
Privy
Council.

"It was long before I could realize the solemnity of the scene after the pressure and confusion we had endured. Lord Langdale read the Judgment with great clearness and emphasis, and, in that part which quoted the Burial Service, the recollection that those words had been on the previous day pronounced over his brother Edward Bickersteth gave a sacred interest to the reading.* . . . The various emotions depicted upon the countenances reminded me of Raffaele's cartoon of Paul Preaching at Athens. My own mind was in a kind of trance at hearing such sound and Protestant sentiments propounded by the highest judicial authority of the kingdom. The Judgment was a more decided and complete vindication of the liberty of our Church than I had dared to hope for."

Scene at its
delivery.

It should here be added that although Evangelical divines were all alike opposed to the High Church doctrine of unconditional "baptismal regeneration," they were not entirely at one in their own views; and two of the most prominent leaders in this History were representatives of two lines of interpretation. Edward Bickersteth, while holding strongly to the spiritual doctrine of the new birth by the Holy Ghost alone, considered that the Reformers, in the language of the Baptismal Service, had used the word "regenerate" in a lower sense, as implying admission to the privileges of membership in the Visible Church; and justified this view by several examples in Scripture of the twofold use of important words. Henry Venn, on the other hand, in common with the majority of Evangelical writers, considered that the Reformers used the word in the highest spiritual sense, but *sacramentally*; and his paper on the subject is one of the ablest expositions of this view in a brief form that has ever been put forth.† He argues that it is not true that

Two views
among
Evan-
gelicals.

* Lord Langdale was brother of E. Bickersteth. Bickersteth's funeral was on March 7th, and the Judgment was given on March 8th.

† Printed in the Appendix to the *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 479.

PART VI. the High Church explanation of the Baptismal Service is the natural one, and the Evangelical one possibly admissible but rather forced; but that, on the contrary, having regard to the whole structure of the Service, the High Church view is not natural, not logical, "not allowable."

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**Effects
of the
Judgment.**

The excitement caused by the Gorham Judgment was intense. Not only the Tractarians, but a large portion of the more moderate Anglican school, were aghast. The time, it will be remembered, was one of agitation and revolution on the Continent, while England remained at peace; and a facetious Frenchman observed that "there was no revolution in England but the revolution of *le père Gorham*." Protests burst forth from the clergy all over the country; and the Bishop of Exeter publicly repudiated all communion with Archbishop Sumner, who had concurred in the Judgment. Although the Court had in no way condemned High Churchmen, some of the Tractarians took the opportunity to join the Church of Rome. Among these was Archdeacon Manning, afterwards Cardinal. Manning was a clergyman of great ability, eloquence, and influence, and he had formerly been strongly anti-Roman. For instance, on November 5th, 1843, at a time when Newman was all but gone, he preached, *à propos* of the Gunpowder Plot, what came to be known as his "No Popery Sermon." He had been no Oxford recluse like Newman: he was indispensable in great Church movements. His speech at the meeting that started the Colonial Bishopricks Fund in 1841 was the most powerful of the day.* So his loss was severely felt by many, and not least by Bishop Wilberforce, who was his brother-in-law. Wilberforce, indeed, had heavy trials to bear at this time. His three brothers, his two brothers-in-law, his only daughter and her husband, one by one all joined the Church of Rome.

**Manning
secedes.**

**Baptist
Noel
secedes.**

One secession had previously occurred in the opposite direction. On Christmas Day, 1848, while the Gorham Case was still pending, Edward Bickersteth wrote in his journal, "The triumphs of the Jubilee are accompanied by one humbling lesson to us all. Mr. Baptist Noel has left our Church." Baptist Noel had been one of the most ardent of C.M.S. men, and his Exeter Hall speeches for the Society, and his St. Bride's sermon, have come under our notice; but he was never a strong Churchman, and at length, just after the Jubilee commemoration, he joined the Baptists, and published a book vigorously denouncing the Church as a State Establishment. "Most of the arguments," wrote Bickersteth, "would apply to the Divine ordinance of marriage. There are so many unhappy marriages, and so many bad husbands and wives: therefore marriage is very mischievous." Noel's secession

* Manning's biographer says he used to speak for "*the Bible Society for Foreign Missions*," and alludes also to the same Society as "*for the Propagation of the Bible in Foreign Parts*," and again as "*the Foreign Bible Society*" (*Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. i. pp. 117, 126, 220). Does he mean the B. & F.B.S., or the S.P.G.?

caused a sensation among Evangelicals little less than that of Newman among High Churchmen; but whereas Newman was followed to Rome by a crowd of distinguished Tractarian clergymen, Noel took no Evangelical brethren with him. It was a striking object-lesson as to which were the true English Churchmen.

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The Papacy, indeed, had at this time high hopes of the conversion of England; and hence came the second of the two events that opened the period we are now reviewing—the Papal Aggression. In October, 1850, the Pope, who had not long before returned, under the protection of French bayonets, from his retreat at Gaeta to the Vatican, issued a Bull, creating an archbishopric of Westminster, and twelve diocesan bishoprics taking their titles from Liverpool, Birmingham, Nottingham, and other important English towns. The new Roman Archbishop, Dr. Wiseman, at the same time put forth a pastoral, dated from “the Flaminian Gate,” in which he spoke in triumphant tones of “Catholic England” being “restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament.” An outburst of indignation arose instantly from the whole country. Nothing like it, certainly, has been seen in England since. From the Tweed to the Lizard rang the cry of “No Popery.” Great meetings were held everywhere to protest against the “insolent and insidious” aggression of the Papacy, as the Premier phrased it. For Lord John Russell, seizing the opportunity to secure popularity for a weak Ministry, put himself at the head of the agitation by inditing a vehement letter to Bishop Maltby of Durham; and in due course he introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill into Parliament, forbidding, under heavy penalties, the use of such titles as the Pope had conferred. The strong opposition to this Bill, however, which was offered by a resolute minority in the House, of whom Mr. Gladstone was one,* led to the Government altering the Bill until it became obviously a mere *brutum fulmen*; and this it was that occasioned *Punch’s* memorable cartoon of Lord John as “the naughty boy who chalked up ‘No Popery’ and then ran away.” Bishop Wilberforce, who supported the Bill in the House of Lords, warned the Government that to pass a measure “promising much and performing little” would only weaken the Church in its conflict with “its subtle, powerful, merciless foe.” But the emasculated Bill passed—and remained a dead letter. The Roman Bishops took no notice of it, but quietly assumed their titles; and nobody ever thought of prosecuting them.

The Papal
Aggression.

Protestant
agitation.

It was not Rome only at which this Protestant uprising was directed. The imitations of Roman ways in which the Tractarians were indulging came in for their full share of indignant denuncia-

Against
Roman-
izers as
well as
Rome.

* Mr. Gladstone said, “It wounds me as a member of the English Church to see this rival hierarchy spread over the land. With the protests I sympathize. But I protest also against all attempts to meet the spiritual dangers of the Church by temporal legislation of a penal character.”

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tion. In the Durham Letter, Lord John Russell asked, "What is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?"—but declared that he "would not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation" were held in reverence by "a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul." And in many of the public meetings held, similar feelings were expressed. It was at this time that the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, then Incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, afforded the first prominent example of modern Ritualism at the new church built by him, St. Barnabas, Pimlico. Bishop Blomfield and Mr. Bennett were at open war all through the period of the Papal Aggression agitation. The Bishop's Charge in 1850 denounced the innovations as "rendering the Church service almost *histrionic*." "I really," he added, "cannot characterize by any gentler term the continual changes of posture, the frequent genuflexions, the crossings, the peculiarities of dress, and some of the decorations of churches, to which I allude." He declared that these things, as well as the more serious doctrinal errors that accompanied them, "prepared those who took a delight in them to seek a further gratification of their tastes in the Roman Communion." Such persons had been "led, step by step, to the verge of the precipice, and then, to the surprise of their guides," had "fallen over." At length Mr. Bennett resigned, and the Bishops (March 29th, 1851) put forth an united pastoral condemning the introduction of Romanizing ritual. After the experience of the last half-century, we may safely say that this pastoral, excellent as it was, proved as distinctly a dead letter as Lord John Russell's Bill.

Early
Ritualism.

The
Bishops'
Pastoral.

Attitude of
C.M.S.

The Church Missionary Society was appealed to by some of its supporters, in the midst of this crisis, to present an Address to the Queen protesting against the Papal Aggression, as a vast number of other bodies of all sorts had done. To do this the Committee declined. They always have declined, as a Society, to take a direct part in controversial movements at home, however warmly they may, as individual members of the Church, have sympathized with them. But they issued a solemn and powerful address to their own constituency, expressing deep thankfulness for the Protestant spirit aroused in the country; reminding their friends that the same "assumption and aggression" had been directed by Rome against the C.M.S. Missions in various parts of the world, especially against those that had been most successful, in New Zealand, in Bengal, in Tinnevely, in Rupert's Land; and appealing to them, "while giving expression to their views in the way of public addresses and petitions," to "guard against the temptation to expend and exhaust their efforts upon an

immediate pressing evil, so as to neglect a special opportunity of advancing the cause of Christ." "Let them, as members of the Society, *still keep in view the great missionary effort to which the present crisis calls and invites us*"—and these words, alone in the whole address, which occupies five columns of the *C.M. Record* (March, 1851), are italicized. In the concluding words of the Report presented in the following May, the aggressions of Rome in the Mission-field were still more powerfully denounced, and the hollowness of her missionary successes exposed; while the one point in which Protestant Missions suffer by the comparison was, in conclusion, faithfully pointed out:—

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Neglect not
missionary
duties.

Rome
in the
Mission-
field.

"There does appear to be a greater readiness in the devotees of Rome to go abroad at her bidding to the Heathen. There does appear a comparative reluctance in the members of a pure faith to leave the Church at home, and to labour for the Church abroad. Here is the great want of the Protestant Missions—the want of men. . . . Inviting fields of missionary labour in India, in Africa, in China, send forth their loud cry to men of experience and talent, 'Come over and help us!' . . . Oh that the Lord might put it into the hearts of many to offer themselves willingly to the work! Oh that He might pour down upon all the Spirit of grace and supplication, so that they may give Him no rest till He thrust forth labourers into His harvest!"

Rome
in one
respect an
example.

At the Annual Meeting at which this Report was presented, no scruple prevented the speakers from expressing their feelings very plainly. Even the gentle and always moderate President himself spoke out on the subject of Rome's aggression; while Lord Harrowby, Bishop Carr, Francis Close, and Hugh Stowell, roused the assembly to enthusiasm by the unshrinking Protestantism of their addresses.

The vehement controversies of the time, on the Gorham Judgment, the introduction of mediæval ritual, and a third matter, a little earlier in time, the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Bishopric of Hereford, led to one important event in the history of the Church of England, the revival of Convocation. For one hundred and thirty years Convocation had been silenced. It was regularly elected with every new Parliament; it regularly met at the beginning of the Parliamentary Session, but was immediately prorogued. "A few clergymen, chosen they knew not how, met two or three bishops they knew not when, and presented an address to the Crown, for what purpose they could not tell."* But now, the revolt of the younger High Churchmen against the Erastianism that had reigned throughout the Hanoverian period, together with their discontent with the Whig ecclesiastical appointments and the virtual adjudication upon a doctrinal question by a lay court, resulted in an agitation for the restoration of the only legal assembly by which the clergy could

Movement
to revive
Convoca-
tion.

* Warren's *Synodalia*, quoted in Perry's *Student's English Church History*, Third Period, p. 294.

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Convoca-
tion is
revived.

make their voices heard in Church affairs. Immediately after the Gorham Judgment, Bishop Blomfield brought a Bill into the House of Lords, transferring cases affecting doctrine from the Privy Council to the Upper House of Convocation. He was defeated by 84 to 51; but it is surprising that so large a minority should have voted for such a revolution. Only four bishops, indeed, voted for it. Bishop Wilberforce was more astute. He aimed at getting Convocation to move gradually within its existing powers, taking one step at a time without attracting much notice. How he sought to influence Lord Derby through Mr. Walpole during the short life of the Conservative Ministry of 1852; how he got at Lord Aberdeen, the Premier of the Coalition Ministry of 1853, through the latter's son, Mr. Arthur Gordon; how he constantly stirred up Mr. Gladstone, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; how he gently but persistently tried to overcome the scruples of Archbishop Sumner, who above all things dreaded the activity of the rising High Church party; how he contrived to get leave for the two Houses to debate for *two days* in November, 1852; how he struggled against opposing influences in 1853; and how from 1854 onwards he succeeded gradually in obtaining for Convocation the liberty of speech it has enjoyed ever since, and on more than one occasion "letters of business" from the Crown authorizing it to proceed to action;—all this is told in the Bishop's own letters and journals published in his *Life*.*

Attitude
of Evan-
gelicals.

In a previous chapter we saw how free the Evangelical leaders before this time were from any prejudice against a revived Convocation. The words quoted from Henry Venn's celebrated "Appendix to the 39th Report," and Francis Close's great sermon at St. Bride's in 1841, are decisive on this point.† The *Christian Observer*, then the weightiest Evangelical organ, took the same line, observing that "national establishment does not require the obliteration of the Church's spiritual functions."‡ But ten years of growing sacerdotalism wrought a great change, and while Bishop Wilberforce was using every possible means to restore liberty of speech to the long-silenced Assembly, the *Record* and Lord Shaftesbury were denouncing his proposals in the strongest terms; the *Christian Observer* also now joining in, though more mildly. Its new editor, John Cunningham, said, "We are anxious rather to wait in hope than precipitately to condemn."§ The fact is that every suggestion for giving the Church as such, either in England or in the Colonies, some voice in her own affairs, was regarded as an attempt to limit the power of the State, to infringe the Royal Supremacy, and to

Why Con-
vocation
disliked.

* See also Perry's *Student's English Church History*, Third Period, chaps. xvi., xviii.

† See Vol. I., p. 387.

‡ *Christian Observer*, October, 1842.

§ *Christian Observer*, September, 1854.

|| The Evangelical leaders always strongly upheld the Supremacy. But they

subject the laity to clerical, and especially episcopal, domination. At a great public meeting in November, 1852, to protest against the revival of both Convocation and the Confessional—which, not quite fairly, were assumed to be parts of one and the same movement,—Lord Shaftesbury, who presided, said that Convocation meant priestly despotism, and that priestly despotism would certainly use the Confessional as its most potent engine. But, just before the meeting, he had received a letter from Mr. Gladstone, entreating his co-operation towards obtaining some power of speech and action for the Church, *including the laity*; and perhaps it was this that led the Earl to disclaim, in his address, any desire to object to such a plan as that. Of course the real difficulty was, and is, that the British Constitution assumes that Parliament represents the laity and Convocation the clergy, so that the admission of the laity to the latter body would involve an important constitutional change. It was to meet this difficulty that Archbishop Benson, at a much later period, established the voluntary and extra-legal House of Laymen. Meanwhile Convocation did regain its vitality, notwithstanding all opposition; and a fair and unprejudiced review of the past forty years calls for a frank acknowledgment that it has won for itself a position that is respected, and that if it has not effected very much, it has done some good and very little harm.*

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Why laity
not in Con-
vocation.

While the Anglican party were thus vigorously pushing forward the development of Church organization at home, they were not unmindful of what they regarded as its necessary development abroad. But before we notice their plans in that direction, let us glance at an event which marked a distinct advance in their missionary zeal. This was the third Jubilee of the S.P.G.

Anglican
activity in
Missions.

In previous chapters we have observed from time to time the rapid rise of the venerable Society in vigour and efficiency. Founded, as we remember, in 1701, it had celebrated its first Jubilee in 1751, in the very middle of the deadness of the Georgian period. Its second Jubilee, or Centenary, in 1801,

Third
Jubilee of
S.P.G.

were not open to the charge brought against them by both Tractarians and Dissenters, of looking to the Queen as "Head of the Church." "She is supreme," said Hugh Stowell at the Anniversary of the Church Pastoral Aid Society in 1851, "over all *causes* ecclesiastical; but she is not the Head of the Church. That title was arrogated by Henry VIII., who was neither more nor less than a Pope himself. He was no real Reformer. He died a Papist. We give him over to Rome. He belongs to her, not to us. But Queen Elizabeth refused the title. 'It belongs,' she said, 'to no mortal, to none but Christ Himself.' My friends, we would never give our Queen, much as we love and revere her, the title of Head of the Church. The Lord Jesus Christ alone is our Head." Quoted in the *Missionary Register*, 1851, p. 372.

* It is interesting to observe that the Latin Sermon at St. Paul's, at the opening of the new Convocation in 1859, was preached by one of the most decided Evangelicals of the day, a brilliant Oxford man, the Hon. and Rev. Samuel Waldegrave, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle.

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fell when its own depressed condition was at the lowest. No greater contrast can be conceived than between its position at those two periods and the position to which it had attained when the third Jubilee arrived. Its influence had spread all over the spreading British Colonies; it was doing extensive work among Heathen peoples also, especially in India; at home it had rallied to itself the support of thousands of parishes; and it was spending an income of some £90,000 a year. Moreover, there was now a College for its candidates, not indeed its own, but virtually at its service. St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, established largely owing to the liberality of Mr. Beresford Hope, was opened in 1848. Assuredly there was abundant cause for a thankful celebration of the third S.P.G. Jubilee.

The original charter of the Society was conferred on June 16th, 1701. On June 16th, 1851, a special service was held in Westminster Abbey, when Bishop Blomfield preached, and five hundred worshippers communicated. Next day the Jubilee Meeting was held in St. Martin's Hall;* and the Prince Consort occupied the chair. It is interesting to observe that one of the speakers was the President of C.M.S., the Earl of Chichester, who thus showed his sympathy with the elder Society; and two others were conspicuous C.M.S. men, the Earl of Harrowby and Sir R. H. Inglis. The other speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Oxford, the Duke of Newcastle, Earl Grey, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. Prince Albert's address was an excellent one. Naturally his mind was full of the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, then at the height of its success. That Exhibition he described as "a festival of the civilization of mankind"; "and," he went on, "this civilization rests on Christianity, could only be raised on Christianity, can only be maintained by Christianity." Then he referred significantly to the "internal dissensions" that afflicted the Church. "I have no fear, however," he added, "for her safety and ultimate welfare, so long as she holds fast to what our ancestors gained for us at the Reformation—the Gospel, and the unfettered right of its use."

The celebration was general throughout England, and round the world; much more general than that of the C.M.S. Jubilee. Most of the Bishops preached in their cathedrals. The record of observances is a most striking illustration of the astonishing growth of S.P.G. work within a few years.†

* Not the present St. Martin's Town Hall, but a hall then standing in Long Acre.

† Several columns of the *Missionary Register* in 1851 and 1852 are devoted to the accounts briefly summarized above. Another Jubilee took place two years later, that of the Bible Society. On March 7th, 1804, the Society had been founded at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street. On March 7th, 1833, the Committee commenced the fiftieth year by meeting in the same room. Next day, the Jubilee Meeting was held in Exeter Hall, Lord Shaftesbury presiding. Among the speakers were the Bishop of Winchester (C. Sumner),

Prince
Albert's
speech.

In the promotion of their plans for the development of Church organization and the Episcopate abroad, the Anglican party—if the term may be allowed—came repeatedly into direct conflict with the Church Missionary Society; and it would be natural in this chapter to detail the controversies of the period; but important phases of them must be reserved for a chapter on New Zealand. Some, however, may receive brief notice here. In 1853, Bishop Wilberforce passed through the House of Lords a Colonial Churches Bill and a Missionary Bishops Bill; but both were defeated in the Commons (one withdrawn and the other thrown out), mainly by the efforts of Mr. Arthur (afterwards Lord) Kinnaid, who acted in behalf of the Evangelical leaders. The Colonial Churches Bill proposed to authorize bishops, clergy, and laity in the Colonies to meet together and make whatever ecclesiastical regulations they might deem necessary, provided that the standards of faith and worship and the supremacy of the Crown were duly maintained. Against this scheme Henry Venn wrote a powerful pamphlet, in which, inspired (as his private journal shows) by the legal members of the C.M.S. Committee,* he strongly urged that the resolutions of such Colonial Synods should have to go before the Colonial Legislatures to be confirmed. In a preface to Venn's pamphlet, Bishop Perry of Melbourne suggested, in lieu of this, an Act by the Colonial Legislature giving general sanction beforehand to the Synod passing its own measures; and this alternative plan was supported by John Cunningham in the *Christian Observer*.† Venn, however, held to his own view; and his extant correspondence on the subject is voluminous.‡ As we all know, the Colonial Churches have long since come to be purely voluntary bodies, and hold their synods without any authority from either the local Legislature or the Imperial Parliament.

Against the other Bill, for Missionary Bishoprics, the C.M.S. Committee presented an important petition; and a strong letter against it from Sir James Stephen, then Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office, had great influence in defeating it.§ Bishop

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Proposed
Colonial
Church
legislation.

Proposals
for Mis-
sionary
Bishoprics

the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Carlisle, Dr. Alexander Duff, Hugh Stowell, &c. On the 9th, the Archbishop of Canterbury preached at St. Paul's a sermon of which Henry Venn wrote that "the tone, the spirit, the substance, the construction, were altogether worthy of the occasion." (*Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 226.) The text was from Isaiah xxxii., "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters."

* But he sometimes got his inspiration from them in a way worth noting. In 1852—"Went to a consultation of lawyers at Dugmore's chambers. Present, O'Malley, Sidebottom, Fitzherbert, Grane, Bridges, and Tebbs. Gained very little from their wisdom, except the hint that it is better to set six lawyers talking against each other, and pick out what you want for your purpose, than to sit and hear one dogmatize." (Private Journal.)

† *Christian Observer*, April, 1856.

‡ This correspondence includes autograph letters to Venn from Mr. Gladstone.

§ See *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii. pp. 190–194, 201.

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Wilberforce made similar attempts in 1861 and 1862, but again unsuccessfully. The Society incurred considerable reproach for the line it took; and it was constantly attacked in the High Church organs, the *Christian Remembrancer* and the *Colonial Church Chronicle*—to say nothing of the *Guardian*,—as an enemy of Episcopacy and the Episcopate.* The battle was vigorously fought by Venn in various published statements and pamphlets, and by Ridgeway in the pages of the *Intelligencer*. The reply was conclusive up to a certain point. The Society

Attitude of
C.M.S.

was no enemy to Episcopacy, nor to a well-considered extension of the Episcopate; but it did object to the particular plans propounded for extension. (1) In the first place, it set forth the extreme uncertainty that existed touching the powers of a bishop in foreign countries, and argued (a) that if, on the one

Powers of
bishops
should be
defined.

hand, the rubrics and canons of an Established Church had force abroad, they were singularly ill-adapted to the necessary elasticity of missionary work in its earlier stages; and (b) that if, on the other hand, they had no force, then the bishop's power was unfettered and might conceivably be misused. The Committee therefore urged that some steps be taken to define the powers of the Episcopate, and the position of the clergy and laity, in a missionary diocese—particularly in India,—before more bishops were actually sent out. (2) In the second place, the Committee were opposed

Bishoprics
should be
endowed.

to bishoprics being established without endowments, on the ground that without these the bishops would have to be supported by annual grants from societies or other parties in England, and that this would destroy their independence.† This is a curious fact; for in later years the Society took exactly the opposite view, objecting to endowments for missionary bishops, but offering to pay annual grants from its own funds for bishops over its own Missions, and recognizing the corresponding right of other societies to do the same; and at the present time many bishops are actually supported in that way. (3) In the third place, when a particular

A bishop in
Tinnevely
should be a
Native.

scheme for a bishopric in Tinnevely was put forward by the S.P.G., the Society opposed it on the ground that when the Native Church was ripe for a bishop of its own, he ought to be a Native. The advocates of the scheme urged that a Native Episcopate being at present unattainable—however desirable,—a Missionary Episcopate should be established first, by way of preparation. The *C.M. Intelligencer* rejoined that this, so far from preparing the way for a Native Episcopate, would render it “for ever unattainable.”‡ Whatever reason there may have been for saying so at the time, it would certainly not be said now.

* It is a curious fact that at this time the High Church organs also attacked the Society for its manifesto against polygamy! (See p. 111.) The *Christian Remembrancer* (July, 1858) quoted on the other side Archbishop Whately, Bishop Hind of Norwich, and Bishop Colenso!

† See *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1858, p. 175.

‡ *Ibid.*, December, 1861, p. 277.

It can be frankly acknowledged that while there was crudeness and inconsiderateness in the proposals of Bishop Wilberforce and the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, there was on the part of the Society—chiefly owing to the excessive caution of some of its leading lawyers—an undue backwardness to perceive the signs of the times, and to recognize the absolute necessity of Church developments which are now, and have been long since, recognized without reserve.*

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Meanwhile, notwithstanding all difficulties, the extension of the Episcopate abroad went on; and the Church Missionary Society had no small share in effecting it. In 1849 were constituted the Bishoprics of Victoria (Hong Kong) and Rupert's Land, and in 1852 that of Sierra Leone, largely through the influence of the Society, and, in the two latter cases, with endowments contributed to in no small degree by its friends. In 1854, it promoted the establishment of the Bishopric of Mauritius. The new Bishoprics in New Zealand, in the formation of which it also assisted, will be noticed more fully in another chapter. But all these were in the British dominions, and there were no serious legal difficulties. A bishop, however, was wanted for Borneo, where the S.P.G. had taken under its wing a Mission originally started independently,† and worked under the protection of that strange man Rajah Sir James Brooke. It was primarily with a view to obtaining this bishop that the Missionary Bishops Bill of 1853 was introduced, the Act of 1841 (commonly called the Jerusalem Act) being objected to on account of certain provisions to which Bishop Wilberforce thought it undesirable to submit; and its failure to pass led to the clergyman chosen, Dr. Macdougall, being consecrated at Calcutta, in 1855, with a title derived from the little island of Labuan, which was a British possession.‡ It is curious that permission should have been obtained for the ceremony to be performed by the Indian Bishops, who of all bishops were the most tightly tied and bound by official state regulations; but the fact remains that the first consecration of an Anglican bishop ever performed outside the British Isles was performed at Calcutta by three decided Evangelicals, Bishops Daniel Wilson, Dealtry of Madras, and G. Smith of Victoria, Hong Kong.§

New
Bishoprics
founded.

Bishopric
of Labuan.

Another of the new Colonial Bishoprics at this period—that of Natal—calls for special notice, both in view of subsequent history, and because, in connexion with the original plans for it, the C.M.S. again incurred reproach. In 1852-3, at the time of the conflict over the first Missionary Bishops Bill, Bishop Gray of Cape Town was in England. Since the foundation of that see in 1847, Gray had worked with the indomitable energy that marked

Bishopric
of Natal.

* See further, Chapter XXXVIII.

† S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 683.

‡ This diocese is now called "Singapore, Labuan, and Sarawak."

§ An interesting account of this consecration appears in a long letter from Bishop G. Smith on his journeys to and from China and India, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1856.

PART VI. his whole career ; and now he was planning large extensions in
 1849-61. South Africa. Part of his scheme was the establishment of two
 Chap. 33. new bishoprics, Grahamstown and Natal ; and on St. Andrew's
 Day, 1853, Dr. Armstrong and Dr. Colenso were consecrated for
 these sees. Bishop Wilberforce preached on the occasion, on the
 words, "Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work where-
 unto I have called them." * Bishop Gray also wanted funds for
 the extension of the Missions in South Africa. The S.P.G. was
 their chief supporter, but he applied also to the C.M.S. for a grant
 of £1000 a year. It is rather surprising that he should have
 done so ; for, a year or two before (1850), he had written to a
 friend in England who had proposed to apply to the Society in
 his behalf, as follows :—

Bishop
 Gray
 applies to
 C.M.S.

"Nothing could induce me to submit to any dictation or interference on their part. The whole Mission shall in every respect be managed by the Church here, or there shall be none. I have seen enough since I have been out here of the working of Societies to make me loathe them† —always excepting the dear S.P.G., which seems to be mercifully preserved from the Society spirit. . . . If the C.M.S. will not help me without annexing conditions which the Church here will not assent to, and if the S.P.G. cannot assist us further, we must look to God for supplying us the means in other ways." ‡

However he did apply when in England in 1852. The Committee explained that the Society only raised money for the support of Missions carried on under its own direction and by men chosen by itself ; and that therefore they had no alternative but to decline. Naturally, the Bishop was not pleased. On Whit Sunday, 1852, he assisted at the consecration of Bishop Vidal for Sierra Leone ; and he wrote :—

And re-
 sents their
 refusal.

"Told Venn my mind about the C.M.S. declining to aid my Zulu scheme. He said the Society deeply sympathized, but give nothing. 'Be ye warmed and filled,' &c."

Up and down the country, at S.P.G. meetings and elsewhere, Bishop Gray denounced the C.M.S. for its stinginess ; and at length the Committee had to issue an explanatory statement, which satisfied the Society's friends, but, as might be expected, did little to convince its critics. It is a curious thing that so many people object to a society keeping its own rules and working on its own lines. It would have been quite reasonable for Bishop Gray to object altogether to the C.M.S. and its ways ; only then why did he apply for the £1000 a year ? There are funds belonging to High Church organizations which are just as jealously guarded ; and it is perfectly reasonable that they should be so

Was the
 refusal
 unreason-
 able ?

* In after years, when Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Gray were the leading opponents of Colenso, Mr. Haldane, in the *Record*, never tired of quoting this text against them *ad invidiam*.

† It does not appear what societies he referred to. The C.M.S. was not in South Africa.

‡ *Life of Bishop Gray* (Abridged Edition), p. 107.

guarded. Suppose an application were made to the proprietors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* for a grant from the large funds out of which they so effectively assist movements and agencies of an advanced type, in aid of a church the patronage of which was in the hands of the Simeon Trustees, would it be reasonable to complain of the certain refusal?

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The zeal of High Churchmen in the cause of Foreign Missions was now growing. Bishop Wilberforce spoke in all parts of the country at S.P.G. meetings; and his published speeches are among the most powerful and moving utterances to be found anywhere on the subject.* Naturally, and rightly, the Bishop descants upon the special claims of the S.P.G. as a society working in the Colonies; but when he speaks on the claims of India or Africa, he does so with a cogency, an eloquence, and a fertility of illustration rarely equalled and never surpassed; when he calls on Englishmen as apostles of commerce and civilization to be apostles of Christianity, he does so with irresistible force; and the ordinary stock objections to missionary work generally he refutes in masterly fashion. Another remarkable utterance of the period was that of Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, in his Four Sermons before the University of Cambridge in Advent, 1854. Selwyn, indeed, spoke with power all over the country; with noble generosity, too, not shrinking from doing justice to the C.M.S. work in New Zealand.†

Bishop
Wilber-
force's
speech.

To the combined influence of these two great men, together with that of Bishops Gray and Colenso, may be traced the origin of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, the foundation of which dates from our present period. Charles Frederick Mackenzie, of Caius College, Cambridge, Second Wrangler in 1848, was, in 1853, asked by another Caius man, J. S. Jackson, to accompany him to India under the S.P.G. Mackenzie records how this invitation sent him to Henry Martyn's Life for guidance, and Martyn's fervour is reproduced in Mackenzie's reflections on what he read. But it was not to India that God was calling him. Bishop Colenso asked him to go to Natal as Archdeacon, and Bishop Selwyn's Advent Sermons in 1854 decided him to accept this call.‡ To Natal he went, unconscious of the higher post, and the early death, that awaited him. In 1857, Dr. Livingstone arrived in England after his earlier great journeys,§ and appealed

The
Universi-
ties'
Mission to
Central
Africa.

Appeal of
Dr. Living-
stone.

* *Speeches on Missions*, by the Right Rev. S. Wilberforce, D.D. Edited by the Rev. H. Rowley. London, 1874.

† Some of Selwyn's friends did not like this. John Keble wrote, "Impossible as it is not to admire and love him, he makes me *shiver* now and then with his Protestantisms, crying up the Ch. Miss. Soc.," &c.—Sir J. T. Coleridge's *Memoir of Keble*, p. 398.

‡ It may here be mentioned that John Cunningham, in the *Christian Observer*, frequently at this time spoke with sympathy and appreciation of Bishops Wilberforce, Selwyn, Gray, and Colenso.

§ This was long after the still earlier travels of Krapf and Rebmann, which have yet to be narrated. See Chapter XL.

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Bishop
Wilber-
force
illustrates
from the
River
Thames
Africa's
claim.

to the flower of English youth at Oxford and Cambridge to plant a Mission in the vast regions of Southern Central Africa which he had been traversing. "I go back to Africa," he said, "to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you." The enthusiasm thus aroused was directed into a practical channel by Bishop Gray, who again visited England in 1858, and launched a definite scheme for a Mission to the Zambesi. Bishop Wilberforce took up the cause, and delivered in its behalf some of his finest speeches, to immense audiences at Manchester, Liverpool, and other great centres. Here is a specimen of his eloquence and felicity of illustration. It was a time when the River Thames received, as it passed through London, the whole drainage of the city, and men were beginning to realize, by the frightful odours which it gave forth in hot weather, and which made the Houses of Parliament in July almost intolerable, what a danger was thus involved to the health of the population : *—

"Commerce with Africa has been for years, to a great extent, that commerce in the bodies of men which God's Word so emphatically condemns. Surely, then, commerce has there been made most emphatically an instrument of evil. Those engaged in it have pursued a course resembling that which has been taken with regard to that noble river which flows through our metropolis. God gave us that noble river, not merely that we might freight upon it the riches of all lands—that we might receive on its broad breast from other countries the raw materials of our manufactures, and despatch and exchange the manufactured goods of our own country ; but that it might bear upon its bosom health and strength to thousands of our working population. And what, with all our boasted civilization, have we done with respect to it ? We have made it a receptacle for all the pollutions of a great city, and have turned God's blessed instrument from a minister of strength and good, into a minister of disease, weakness, and evil. That was what we did in our commerce with Africa. God meant England's commerce with Africa to bear upon its bosom the blessed light of Christianity—meant it to carry to those distant nations a national liberty—meant it to teach them to respect the rights of their fellow-men, and to entertain a high value for human life among each other. Instead of all this, commerce was turned to every evil account to which the human heart was capable of applying it. You made your commerce with Africa a commerce of crime ; you charged that great institution of Providence with a message of wrong to the countless tribes of that country ; and therefore, I say, there is a special reason why your commerce with that land should now be made to aid Christianity, in the fact that what God meant to be a harbinger of good has been so long made an instrument of working the foulest evil."

It was not at first intended to form a new society. Bishop Wilberforce in one of these great speeches explains that only a temporary Mission was proposed, and that when the country had been opened up, the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. would be asked to take over the work of evangelizing Central Africa.† This, very

* It was not until a few years after this that the Main Drainage and the Thames Embankment were undertaken.

† *Speeches of Bishop Wilberforce*, pp. 201-204.

wisely, was never done. The history of the Universities' Mission is a striking example of the successful application of a principle which is the very principle advocated and represented by the Church Missionary Society, viz., that the Church's work is best done by hands or associations of Churchmen who are united in doctrinal views, ecclesiastical sympathies, and missionary policy.

The establishment of the Universities' Mission emphasized another great principle with which the Evangelical body at the time, and the C.M.S. Committee in particular, did not agree. This was the principle that every new Mission should, from its earliest inception, be headed by a bishop. Let the Church, it was said, be planted in its integrity. On the other hand, it was argued that the Episcopate was not the commencement but the completion of Church organization, and that until converts had been gathered, and Church organization, with the episcopal functions of confirmation and ordination, had therefore become necessary, a bishop was not needed, and would have little to do. This latter view, which was strongly urged in the Evangelical organs, and now and then also advocated (though with much less vehemence) in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, was quite a natural one at the time, in view of the actual history of some of the most successful Missions, such as West Africa, New Zealand, and Rupert's Land, which had been greatly blessed many years before the Episcopate was extended to them. Yet after all, this only proved that God would not let His own word return unto Him void; and the fact that Missions could win thousands of Heathen to Christ without a bishop—as indeed the success of Nonconformist Missions shows—supplies no answer to the question whether, in the Missions of an Episcopal Church, the episcopal supervision of a Mission is not a more natural and effective plan. Certainly the appointment of a bishop is a sure way of attracting more missionaries; and this was a consideration constantly urged. Bishop Wilberforce, however, whose speeches in favour of Missions being headed by bishops are very powerful,* declined to rest his argument on any merely utilitarian ground, but declared boldly that it was the Scriptural and Apostolic method. This the Evangelicals disputed. The fact is that the New Testament gives us examples of both methods. The Mission to Antioch (Acts xi.) was founded, not by apostles, not, apparently, by any who could even be called (in modern phrase) clergymen; and the Apostles sent a bishop, in the person of Barnabas, when a Church had been established. On the other hand, St. Paul was both a pioneer missionary and a missionary bishop, as indeed were all the Apostles. If, however, a Mission is to be really headed by a bishop, it is obvious that the bishop should be one who is in entire harmony with the general plans and policy of the Mission. This remark, of course, does not apply to the Colonies, and to the older Indian dioceses, where Church organization and the Episcopate are provided primarily

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The Universities' Mission founded on a C.M.S. principle.

Should a new Mission be headed by a bishop?

Evangelicals say, Not necessary.

Bishop Wilberforce says, Yes, Scriptural.

But what sort of bishop?

* *Speeches of Bishop Wilberforce*, pp. 285-304.

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for the white population, and where the bishop is not specially identified with particular Missions that may be carried on within his diocese, although he will exercise over them ordinary episcopal supervision. But a real missionary bishop in a foreign land like China or Japan or the unsettled parts of Africa is in fact a missionary in episcopal orders, and only confusion would result if a bishop confessedly belonging to one school in the Church were sent to direct in detail a Mission confessedly belonging to another school in the Church. Subject to this contingency being provided against, the Church Missionary Society has long since come to approve of Missions being from the first under episcopal supervision, as its own action has again and again proved; but it has often incurred reproach for its resolute adherence to the principle just enunciated, although the Universities' Mission has never been blamed for exactly the same thing.*

Bishop
chosen for
the new
Mission.

But how to
be conse-
crated?

Bishops Wilberforce and Gray, and the Council of the Universities' Mission, had no difficulty in selecting a man to be the Bishop of the new Mission to the Zambesi. Archdeacon Mackenzie was a true missionary, and an ideal choice for the post. But how was he to be consecrated? The "Jerusalem Act" of 1841 was available as an authority to the Crown to authorize the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate a bishop for foreign parts; but the rising spirit of Church independence represented by Bishop Wilberforce objected to some of its provisions as implying that the Church had no power to extend its own Episcopate even where its State connexion did not reach.† Bishop Gray, moreover, objected to a South African bishop taking the oath of canonical obedience to the See of Canterbury, as the Act of 1841 required, because he upheld the independence (within certain limits) of each Ecclesiastical Province, and contended that the allegiance of a South African bishop should be given to the Metropolitcal See of Cape Town. On the other hand, the Crown lawyers and Bishop Tait of London, backed by Lord Shaftesbury and the *Record*, protested against any liberty to consecrate bishops without the Queen's license, that is to say, the sanction of the Ministry of the day. Bishop Tait—"that enemy of God's truth" (so the *Church Times* once called him)—said in Convocation (June 21st, 1861):—

Bishop
Tait's
view.

"One difficulty which I always felt was that a Missionary Bishop stood so much by himself, that if in the course of time he happened to be a man

* "The Committees of the Oxford and Cambridge and London branches of the [Universities'] Mission met under the presidency of the Bishop [Wilberforce], when it was decided to invite Archdeacon Mackenzie . . . to head the new Mission as Bishop."—*Life of Bishop S. Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 432. This sentence is commended to the notice of some critics of C.M.S.!

† "The Bishop of London [Tait] presses proceeding under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, to which I simply refuse to go because it proceeds on the most vicious fallacy of assuming that the Queen has spiritual power external to her dominions and jurisdiction by it." (Bishop Wilberforce to Mr. Gladstone, November 6th, 1861.—*Life*, vol. iii. p. 39.) This letter refers to another proposed bishopric, that of Honolulu.

of eccentric modes of proceeding, he might, upon his own responsibility, compromise both the Church at home and the Church in the Colonies, and yet have no authority to represent the one or the other. At the same time, neither the Church of England nor the Colonial Church near which he was labouring would have the power of applying to him any sort of restraint; and in point of fact, you might in the course of time have Bishops of the most unsound opinions representing the Church of England, and carrying on in apostolic succession, it might even be, an altogether heretical Church. . . . I can conceive a provincial Synod throwing itself so completely into a mediæval view of the Church as to make it very different from that wide and tolerant and wise system which we have inherited from our forefathers.”

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—

Bishop Gray had to learn by sad experience in two cases that Tait's fears of difficulties with bishops were not imaginary. Neither case, however, was one of “mediævalism.” In one, which involved grave moral questions, resignation saved further trouble. The other was that of Dr. Colenso.

And
Bishop
Gray's ex-
periences.

Difficulties similar to those we have been considering were, at the very same time, being grappled with by Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand, as we shall see hereafter, when the subject will be more fully entered into. Suffice it here to say that ultimately, after long delays and vexatious difficulties, the consecration of Mackenzie took place at Capetown on January 1st, 1861, Bishop Gray being assisted by two other Bishops of his own Province, Colenso of Natal and Piers Claughton of St. Helena. In after years, the royal license was occasionally granted for the consecration of a bishop without requiring him to take the oath of obedience to Canterbury. This was the case with Bishops Tozer and Twells in 1863.

Bishop
Mac-
kenzie's
consecra-
tion.

Meanwhile, into the fever-stricken swamps of the Zambesi and the Shiré went the devoted Bishop Mackenzie and his missionary band, led by the intrepid Livingstone; and there, exactly thirteen months after, on January 31st, 1862, Mackenzie laid down his life for Africa. It is much to be deplored that a more generous spirit of sympathy in this overwhelming trial was not manifested by Evangelical Churchmen. The period was one of bitter controversy, when neither party seemed able to entertain any brotherly feeling towards the other, quite compatible as it would have been with frank and firm opposition on either side to the views and plans of the other side if felt to be called for. We are not always exemplary in this respect now; but certainly there is an improvement, and for this we may thank God. Truth is never helped forward by a refusal to speak kindly of those from whom we honestly differ.

And his
death.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE ENVIRONMENT: CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS—EVANGELICAL.

Palmerston and Shaftesbury—The Palmerston Bishops—H. Venn on the Issues at Stake—Bishop Tait—Religious Worship Bill—Islington Societies—Exeter Hall Services—St. Paul's and the Abbey—Tait's Charge—Theatre Services—Mr. Pennefather's Conferences—Conversion of S. A. Blackwood—Work of Miss Marsh—The Revival of 1858-60—Radcliffe's and Blackwood's Meetings—Venn on the Revival—The Ludhiana Appeal for Prayer—Revival in Tinnevely—Liverpool Missionary Conference.

"Go out into the highways and hedges."—Luke xiv. 23.

"I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon."—Hos. xiv. 5.

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The Pal-
merston
Bishops.



WE now turn to the second class of Church developments during our period. They are almost wholly ignored by Church writers generally, and indeed seem to be unknown to them. It is recognized that the advent of the "Palmerston Bishops" was an event of some importance; but that episode is usually regarded as a dark but passing shadow long since dispelled, and which had little practical effect beyond temporarily checking some developments of the onward Church movement. That it was such a check is unquestionable; that it was only a temporary one is equally unquestionable. But there was a simultaneous Evangelical movement, only partially connected with the "Palmerston Bishops," which did not trouble itself with opposition to Anglicanism, but went its own way, and has gone on its path of blessing from that day to this. Let us now look at its beginnings. First, however, the "dark episode" claims attention.

In 1855, in the midst of the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. Lady Palmerston was the mother of the Countess of Shaftesbury; and even apart from this, Lord Shaftesbury was intimate with the new Premier. He was, in fact, twice offered Cabinet office in the Ministry, but begged off in order that his philanthropic and religious work might not be interrupted.* From the first, however, he exercised almost unlimited influence

Palmer-
ston and
Shaftes-
bury.

* "Begged off" is the correct phrase. He did not definitely refuse; but he expressed such strong reluctance to taking office, that Lord Palmerston was constrained to look elsewhere. See *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. ii., chap. xxii.

over Lord Palmerston in respect of ecclesiastical appointments. It is curious that this influence came to him quite unexpectedly. When the Ministry was formed, he wrote :—

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“People will expect that Palmerston’s Church nominations will differ much from Aberdeen’s, being influenced by my opinions. There could not be a greater error. He has never in his life, and never will, so long as he has breath, consult me on anything. It is not very likely that he will consult anybody; but if he do, it will not be one connected with the Evangelical party.”*

And again, a few days later :—

“I much fear that Palmerston’s ecclesiastical appointments will be detestable. He does not know, in theology, Moses from Sydney Smith. The vicar of Romsey, where he goes to church, is the only clergyman he ever spoke to; and as for the wants, the feelings, the views, the hopes and fears, of the country, and particularly the religious part of it, they are as strange to him as the interior of Japan.”†

But Palmerston had some common sense, and he knew that his kinsman understood Church matters, and could be trusted to nominate good men; and to him accordingly he turned, as soon as vacancies began to appear. The first appointments suggested by Lord Shaftesbury were in 1856, viz., Bishop Longley of Ripon translated to Durham; Dean Tait of Carlisle appointed to London; the Hon. and Rev. H. Montagu Villiers to Carlisle, the Rev. Charles Baring to Gloucester and Bristol, and the Rev. Robert Bickersteth to Ripon; and in the following year, the Hon. and Rev. J. T. Pelham (brother of the C.M.S. President, Lord Chichester) to Norwich. The four latter had all been active and successful parish clergymen in London, and all were decided Evangelicals. So few men with parochial experience had been raised to the Episcopate, that a chorus of praise arose from the newspapers for these appointments, quite apart from the question of the doctrinal views of the new bishops. “The days of Greek-play bishops,” they said, “and of mere family interest, are over.” And while in this History full justice has been done to the efficiency as bishops of such men as Blomfield, S. Wilberforce, and the Sumners, it is simple matter of fact that Lord Palmerston’s first appointments set at once a new standard of qualification for the Episcopate, which has been a recognized standard ever since; and this, let it be repeated, independently of the particular theological position of the nominee. About the same time, Francis Close of Cheltenham was appointed Dean of Carlisle, and Henry Alford, the Greek Testament commentator, Dean of Canterbury. Later appointments included the promotion of Bishop Longley to the Archbishopric of York, and afterwards to that of Canterbury; the promotion of Bishop Villiers and Bishop Baring in succession to Durham; the appointment of the Hon. and Rev. S. Waldegrave to Carlisle, and of Dr. W. Thomson to Gloucester and Bristol, and

The first appointments.

A new standard.

A galaxy of good men.

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 490.

† *Ibid.*, p. 505.

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the latter's translation to York ; the appointment of the Rev. J. C. Wigram to Rochester ; of Dr. C. J. Ellicott to the Deanery of Exeter, and afterwards to the Bishopric of Gloucester and Bristol ; of Dr. Jeune to the Deanery of Lincoln, and afterwards to the Bishopric of Peterborough ; of Canon Harold Browne to the Bishopric of Ely ; of Dean Trench of Westminster to the Archbishopric of Dublin ; and of Drs. Garnier, Goode, Jeremie, and Law, and Viscount Midleton, to the Deaneries of Ripon, Lincoln, Gloucester, and Exeter. A few other appointments by Lord Palmerston were made independently of Lord Shaftesbury.

But were
they good
men ?

No greater falsehood is current in the Church than that these appointments were not, as a whole, and viewed with strict impartiality, good ones. The men were not High Churchmen : that was their one fault. But at least one-half of them belonged in no sense to the Evangelical party. Almost every one had a distinguished University record, and some who were most decided as Evangelicals (Waldegrave, for instance) a brilliant record ; yet because *one* of them had only taken a pass degree, the *Saturday Review* affirmed that the Palmerston Bishops could not read Greek ! As regards practical work, some among them found their dioceses barren wastes, and left them fruitful fields. For example, did ever a new Bishop have a harder task than Pelham had at Norwich ? And has there ever been a Bishop who has gone in and out for years among the hundreds of parishes in his diocese, carrying blessing wherever he went, and refusing all calls outside his diocese, quite in the way that Pelham did ? Henry Venn was the preacher at Pelham's consecration ; and an extract from his sermon is worth quoting here, as it sets forth so fearlessly the real issues at stake in the controversies of the day :—

Venn at
Pelham's
consecra-
tion : the
real issue
at stake.

"I have spoken of the possible conflict between spiritual and ecclesiastical principles. I will venture also to indicate what will be the battle-ground of this conflict. It will be, as it seems to me, the question—In what way can a sinner obtain pardon and peace with God ? Other great questions agitate the minds of the few ; this is the great personal question with every man whose conscience is awake. Every Church and every minister of a Church must give a distinct answer to this inquiry ; in seasons of religious conflict this question is sure to be uppermost, and by the answer given every Church or minister will stand or fall. Men cannot unite upon other points while they disagree in this. The true answer to the inquiry constitutes, as we trust we have shown, the treasure. By whatever variety of expression the truth of the Gospel may be indicated : whether as the doctrine of the cross of Christ, whether as justification by faith only, whether as the Atonement, whether as redemption through the blood of Christ, it has ever encountered opposition. It was 'to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness.' In the earliest ages of the Church and ever since, the struggle has been going on within the Church, to tear from this blessed truth its significance or its simplicity ; to substitute a way of salvation more in accordance with natural reason and human prejudices. Popery worships the shadow but denies the substance of the truth, by setting up the doctrine of human merit, of works of supererogation, and of the

mediation of saints. Superstition substitutes sacramental grace. Yet, this truth, though ridiculed by the profane, though cavilled at by others, is cherished as the life of the soul by all who receive it. When received, it frees a man from the slavery of the world; it gives him power; it is accompanied by a change in the moral character which cannot be mistaken.

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—

"This cardinal truth brought the Reformation. It has revived our Church. If its enemies are now mustering their forces, so are its friends. Its influence, blessed be God! increases daily. Presuming only to speak from personal experience, I hesitate not to say, that where one heart was swayed by its influence when I first entered the ministry of the metropolis thirty-seven years ago, hundreds might now be counted. At home it is becoming more and more the rallying-point for all who are zealous on the Lord's side. It is the line of advance of all our social improvements. Abroad, it is evangelizing the world. It is easily apprehended and cordially embraced by thousands of the Negroes of Africa, of the Hindus of India, and of the islanders of the Pacific. It has raised them into the brotherhood of Christendom."*

On the most important of all these appointments, that of Archibald Campbell Tait to London, something more must be said. We now for the first time in this History meet the man who had inspired the famous Protest of the Four Tutors against Tract XC., who had succeeded Arnold at Rugby, and whose excellent work as Dean of Carlisle was cut short by the terrible visitation that took from him, in one short month, five of his six little daughters. Tait was not in any way identified with the Evangelical body. He was a decided Protestant, but he was a recognized member of the "Broad" school of which Arnold had been the chief representative. But he had already manifested some interest in Foreign Missions. While a Tutor at Balliol, he had formed a little private association, with three other Tutors,† to meet fortnightly for reading papers on missionary subjects. In 1855 he spoke at Exeter Hall, at the C.M.S. Annual Meeting, with characteristic force and weight. When he became Bishop, he appointed the Rev. William Knight, then a C.M.S. Secretary, as one of his chaplains;‡ and a few days before his consecration he and Henry Venn were brought together at Addington by Archbishop Sumner. Of the interviews on this occasion Venn gives an interesting and thankful account:—

Bishop
Tait of
London.

Venn and
Tait.

"*Thursday, Oct. 30th, 1856.*—Proceeded to Addington at one o'clock. At two the party assembled for luncheon, and afterwards the Archbishop proposed that Dr. Tait and I should walk with him in the park. We remained out for more than two hours, sauntered about the grounds, and sat on the benches, and I was permitted to join in a deeply-

* *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 140.

† E. C. Woolcombe, E. A. Litton, and E. M. Goulburn (afterwards Dean of Norwich). *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 100.

‡ Among the others were G. E. L. Cotton, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, and F. Gell, afterwards Bishop of Madras. It is worth recording that Stanley (afterwards Dean of Westminster), who was also a chaplain, recommended for the office three young Cambridge men, *Lightfoot, Westcott, and Benson*. (*Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 207.)

PART VI. interesting conversation upon a variety of points connected with the
 1849-61. future duties of the Bishop-elect. On many matters more immediately
 Chap. 34. connected with the C.M.S., such as the ordination of candidates, the
 principles upon which Missions must be conducted, &c., I received the
 most cordial and satisfactory assurances. We also discussed the
 questions connected with City Missions, open-air preaching, lay assistance,
 &c., and I felt very thankful for the prospects of the diocese
 under its new superintendence." *

We shall now see what a momentous event Tait's appointment to the Bishopric of London proved to be.

The Evangelistic
 Movement.

The year 1856, marked as it thus was by the appointment of several Bishops of virtually a new type, begins an important epoch in the history of the Church of England. From that year dates the commencement of the great Evangelistic Movement which has really been the salt that has preserved the Church. Although this Movement, in its more developed forms, owes little to the Bishops, or to the official recognition of the Church in any shape, there can be no doubt that, not only did its commencement coincide in time with the appointment of the first "Palmerston Bishops," but the very first steps in it were taken by some of them.

Religious
 Worship
 Bill.

A happy preparation for the coming Movement had been made in the previous year, by the passing of Lord Shaftesbury's Religious Worship Bill. Up to that time it was illegal for any religious meeting to be held in an unlicensed place, or for even twenty persons outside the family to pray together in a private house. The old Conventicle Act had been amended in 1812 in certain respects, but these disabilities still remained. No doubt the Act was generally regarded as obsolete, and many meetings took place which might have been stopped by an appeal to it. As we have before seen, the S.P.G. had ventured to lead the way in breaking the law by opening its public meetings with prayer, and the C.M.S. had followed suit.† But the Act was not dead; and in 1854, a county magistrate who gave a cottage lecture at his park gates was threatened with its penalties. Lord Shaftesbury, therefore, in 1855, brought in a Bill to remedy the evil; but it was strongly opposed by several of the Bishops, led by Blomfield and S. Wilberforce, on the ground that it would injure the parochial system, and give undue liberty to Dissenters. Ultimately Lord Shaftesbury, after consultation with Archbishop Sumner, brought in another Bill instead, which was more carefully guarded; and this he was successful in passing.‡ About the same time, or a little before, a few clergymen in London began to preach in the open-air, to the dismay of the more conservative; §

Open-air
 preaching.

* *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 235.

† See Vol. I., p. 280.

‡ Interesting details are given in the *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, chap. xxii.

§ It is believed that the first clergyman to preach in the open-air systematically was the Rev. William Vincent, Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Islington. His station was a dead wall at the bottom of Pulteney Street, in what is now St. Thomas' Parish.

and the London City Mission and the Ragged School Union had been at their unobtrusive but admirable work for some years.

Bishop Tait's first public appearance in London was on a memorable occasion. There had been in Islington for four or five years an organization called the Islington Church Home Mission, to provide additional clergy and Scripture-readers, and to arrange for services in mission-rooms and for the visitation of the cattle-market, the omnibus-yards, &c. The work of this Mission among a rapidly-increasing population led to the conviction that a further agency was needed to provide more churches. The Islington Church Extension Society was accordingly established, in that memorable year, 1856, with the object of building ten new churches in six years; and at its inaugural meeting Bishop Tait made his first public speech in London. Three circumstances in connexion with this movement are worth noting. First, the scheme was successful: ten churches were built, in little more than the period named.* Secondly, Bishop Tait was so struck by the usefulness of both the societies that he afterwards established two diocesan institutions on their model. The Islington Church Home Mission and the Islington Church Extension Society were the direct progenitors respectively of the London Diocesan Home Mission and the Bishop of London's Fund. Thirdly, the certainty that zeal for Foreign Missions enlarges the heart to care for Home Missions (while the converse is by no means true) is illustrated by the fact that the originators and leaders of these movements in Islington were—with the Vicar, Daniel Wilson—three men identified with foreign work. They were—C. F. Childe, Principal of the Church Missionary College; Mesac Thomas, Secretary of the Colonial Church Society; and Henry Venn. The two latter actually became Hon. Secretaries of the new Church Extension Society; and Mr. Thomas held office for several years, until his appointment to the Bishopric of Goulburn.†

To revert to Bishop Tait. He was not content with patronizing good enterprises by presiding at public meetings. He preached himself in ragged-schools, in omnibus-yards, in the Docks, in Covent Garden Market, in the very streets themselves; scandalizing some of his clergy by what one of them called "the Bishop's undignified and almost Methodist proceedings."‡ In the meanwhile, special popular week-night services for the working-classes had been begun by Dr. Miller at Birmingham, and in some other towns; and then, in 1857, came the famous Exeter Hall Services. C. H. Spurgeon, then a young man, had used the Hall with great success, and subsequently the Surrey Gardens Music

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Islington
Church
Home
Mission,

and
Church
Extension
Society.

A model
for Bishop
Tait.

Tait as a
"Method-
dist."

Exeter
Hall
Church
Services.

* They were not the identical ten that were projected. For one, which was to have been named St. Titus, the C.M.S. Committee granted a site on the edge of the College grounds; but this one was never built.

† One of the lay secretaries associated with Mr. Thomas was (a little later) the Author of this History.

‡ *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 255.

PART VI. Hall, prior to the building of his Tabernacle. But in 1857 twelve
 1849-61. Sunday Evening Church Services were held, arranged by a
 Chap. 34. committee headed by Lord Shaftesbury; and the first and the
 last were conducted respectively by two of the new "Palmerston
 Bishops," Montagu Villiers of Carlisle and Robert Bickersteth of
 Ripon; while among the other preachers were Deans Close and
 Alford, Hugh McNeile, Hugh Stowell, J. C. Miller, W. Cadman,
 &c. Lord Shaftesbury wrote of the first service:—

"Last Sunday [May 24th] a glorious triumph for religion and the Church of England. Blessed be God! a splendid proof of the use and value of the Religious Worship Act passed two years ago! Under the powers of this Act, in Exeter Hall, an evening service was conducted by the Bishop of Carlisle in full canonicals, for the benefit of all-comers who were 'not habitual church or chapel goers'—such was the advertisement. An attendance of more than three thousand—order, decency, attention, and even devotion. They sang well and lustily, and repeated the responses with regularity and earnestness. Villiers preached the sermon, on 'What saith the Scripture?' practical, pious, affectionate, true; delivered with dignity and power, and deeply impressive."*

The Ser-
vices for-
bidden by
the Vicar
of the
Parish.

But it turned out that the Act of 1855 was incomplete, and left it open to the Incumbent of the parish in which Exeter Hall stands to prohibit the preachers from intruding into his domain; and when a second series of services was arranged, he put his veto in force, despite the remonstrances of Bishop Tait. Thereupon Lord Shaftesbury brought in a Bill to abolish the Incumbent's right of veto; but it was vehemently opposed, and not by High Churchmen only, for it called forth, wrote the Earl, "an immense amount of sacerdotalism even among the Evangelical clergy."† Ultimately a counter Bill passed, which provided for the veto being over-ruled by the bishop of the diocese. It was regarding a private meeting of the Bishops on this question that Bishop Wilberforce wrote thus concerning Lords Palmerston and Shaftesbury and the new Bishops:—

The veto
over-ruled.

"The Bishops have been sitting in conclave for hours. Our wild elephants seem every now and then a little tamed, and, if the 'Bishop-maker' were dethroned by the fall of Pam, might, I think, become manageable. At present it is sad work—such ignorance of first principles!"‡

Special
Services at
St. Paul's
and the
Abbey.

The Exeter Hall Services were but temporary; but they led to an important and permanent development in the Church. Bishop Tait, encouraged by their success, obtained, with great difficulty and after strenuous effort,§ the opening of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey for Evening Services, which was an absolute

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. p. 47.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 53.

‡ *Life of Bishop S. Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 376. So likewise wrote Bishop Gray, in 1864:—"Referring matters to the Bishops would hardly set us right, unless we could mend the *Bishop-makers*: there eventually will be the tug-of-war." *Life of Bishop Gray*, p. 254.

§ *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 259.

novelty. The idea of using cathedral naves for Sunday Evening Services had been suggested to Tait when he became Dean of Carlisle by an Evangelical clergyman who afterwards was a "Palmerston Bishop," Samuel Waldegrave.* On the other hand, many High Churchmen looked askance at it. In Convocation, elderly heads were gravely shaken. Dr. Jebb considered that such services were "subversive of the ancient order which had obtained in our cathedrals"—which was true enough!—and Archdeacon Denison took much the same line.† Advent Sunday, 1858, when St. Paul's was thus used for the first time, is a memorable date indeed. At first the services were only for a few Sundays in each case; but the overflowing congregations that gathered every time constrained the Deans and Chapters, after a few years, to adopt the Sunday Evening Service as a regular function. But let it never be forgotten to whom, and to what, this great development of Church work and influence in London was originally due.

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It was a particularly appropriate coincidence that, only just a fortnight before the first Sunday evening service at St. Paul's, Bishop Tait had delivered his Primary Charge under the Dome. No such Charge had yet been delivered by an English bishop. About one thousand clergymen, and an immense number of churchwardens and others, filled the vast space as it had never been filled before; and for five hours the strength and the voice of the Bishop held out while in weighty language and animating tones he bade his hearers be up and doing for the evangelization of London. Some strong words were used against the confessional, which had lately been practised by a curate at Knightsbridge in a way that had aroused general indignation; but for the most part the Bishop dwelt upon the practical duties of clergy and laity. Probably this is the only Episcopal Charge ever honoured by being the subject of a cartoon in *Punch*!—a serious and admiring sketch by Tenniel himself.

Bishop
Tait's
Charge.

Then, in 1860, came the Theatre Services; and these unquestionably attracted a much lower stratum of the population than either St. Paul's or Exeter Hall. Men and boys came in their shirt-sleeves; women without bonnets and with babies. Loud was the outcry against what many regarded as a travesty of religious worship; and on February 24th a great debate ensued in the House of Lords, on which occasion Lord Shaftesbury delivered perhaps the most eloquent of all his speeches. For three hours he enthralled the House by his descriptions of the London poor and their religious, or rather irreligious, condition; and Archbishop Sumner and Bishop Tait threw over him the shields of their approval. The House of Lords, however, never had an opportunity of hearing of what was much more important,—

Theatre
Services.

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 150.

† In Convocation, June 23rd, 1859.

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the approval of the Lord Jehovah Himself as manifested by the subsequent results upon individual souls. Mr. Reginald Radcliffe, who conducted the first service at the Victoria Theatre in Lambeth, met in after years, in all parts of the world, converted men and women who were the direct fruit of the work of the Holy Ghost at that one service.*

Mr. Penne-
father's
Confer-
ences.

The year 1856 saw also the commencement of another phase of what may be called the New Evangelical Movement, the results of which, direct and indirect, though utterly ignored by, and indeed unknown to, the ordinary Church historian, have been quite incalculable. In August of that year, the Rev. William Pennefather, Incumbent of Christ Church, Barnet, held the first gathering, of about one hundred and twenty Christian men and women, which in after years grew into the Mildmay Conference—the progenitor of all other similar united assemblies in all parts of the world. All the best of God's works begin quietly. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." And here was an almost unknown clergyman—a man whom no one would have thought of asking to speak at (say) the Church Congress, had it then existed—who held no position even in the Evangelical body—who was never asked to speak, for instance, at the C.M.S. Anniversary, or even to join the C.M.S. Committee—yet honoured of God to be the initiator of a movement which has, in its issues, rendered immense service to the Church of England, to the Evangelical cause, and to the Church Missionary Society.† Mr. Pennefather did not even begin by planning an annual Conference; and it was not held in the following year; but after the second one, in 1858, it was never again allowed to drop. From the very first, the Evangelization of the World was not forgotten. At the first gathering, in 1856, while the meetings in the daytime were devoted to purely spiritual topics, Foreign Missions were one of the subjects in the evening.

Yet another event signalized the year 1856, which, though apparently only of a personal character, had in its issues a real influence in the New Evangelical Movement. This was the con-

* Mrs. Weitbrecht, the widow of the venerated C.M.S. missionary of Burdwan, used to say that never in her life had she so *felt* the presence and power of the Spirit in a meeting as that night at the Victoria Theatre.

† A striking illustration of Mr. Pennefather's freedom from prejudices is found in a letter of his in 1849. In those days cathedral services were not so familiar to people brought up in Evangelical surroundings as they are now; and anthems were generally disapproved. Pennefather was present at Canterbury Cathedral when it was used for a consecration for the first time for three centuries, on the occasion of the first Bishops of Victoria and Rupert's Land being consecrated; and he wrote of "the thrilling effect of Handel's 'How beautiful upon the mountains' sung by a single voice, which penetrated to the remotest corners of the spacious edifice; and then the clear intonation of Samuel Wilberforce, reading the inspired farewell of St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus! It was almost too touching to bear."—*Memoir of W. Pennefather*, p. 233.

version of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood.* His earlier religious impressions were largely due to the agency of his cousins the Wrights of Derbyshire—which family afterwards gave so devoted a Secretary to the Church Missionary Society. Indeed, when, just as this very year opened, he returned from the Crimea—where he had done splendid service in the Commissariat Department,—Henry Wright himself was one of those who fostered the new life awakened in him. On June 27th, at a ball in Willis's Rooms, "standing under a chandelier," he yielded himself finally to the Lord; and on the 29th, a hymn † sung during the morning service in Mr. Pennefather's church at Barnet was used of God to give him that blessed assurance of salvation which thenceforward never left him, and which was the spring of his honoured and useful Christian life. No one who reflects that the real progress of the Kingdom of God in the world depends, after all, not upon external organizations, but upon the consecration to His service of individual souls, will fail to see in the conversion of a man who, directly or indirectly, became the means of the conversion of (literally) thousands more, an event of the first importance in that memorable year 1856.

Another notable feature of the period was the sudden development of woman's work in winning souls for Christ. This may be said to have begun with the devoted and self-denying labours of four ladies, Miss Marsh among navvies and soldiers, Mrs. Bayly in the "ragged homes" of a slum district beyond Notting Hill, Mrs. Ranyard in organizing the London Bible-women, and Mrs. Wightman in the temperance cause at Shrewsbury. The sisterhoods that attracted ladies of a different religious type began about the same time; and Miss Nightingale's heroic enterprise in nursing the sick and wounded soldiers in the Crimean War started the immense development in later days of nursing as a sphere for Christian women. But while all the world knows of Miss Nightingale and Miss Sellon, the not less remarkable work of the ladies just mentioned is rarely noticed, although it has led on to an equally great and widespread movement. Miss Marsh's books, too, should not be forgotten. *English Hearts and English Hands*, describing the navy work, had an immense circulation; and still more had her *Memorials of Hedley Vicars*, a biography second only to Henry Martyn's for its influence on young men.

Simultaneously, though independently, good men were now promoting and developing evangelistic work, and uniting together

* See his *Life*, pp. 129—135.

† The hymn was, "Rejoice, believer, in the Lord," by John Newton. The third line of the second verse is, "Your life is hid with Christ in God," an exact quotation from Colossians iii. 3. It pleased God to use that fragment of His inspired Word, embedded in an uninspired hymn, to bring eternal peace to Blackwood's soul. The hymn will be found in the Third Edition of the Hymnal Companion, No. 293.

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Conversion
of S. A.
Black-
wood.

Work of
Christian
Women.

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Prayer for
revival.

Revival in
America.

And in
Ireland.

And in
England.

Reginald
Radcliffe.

Blackwood
at Willis's
Rooms.

in prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit of God. And the blessing was not withheld. As usual, it came in unexpected ways. God did not use official channels, nor great and honoured leaders. Where He used men at all, they were mostly obscure and unknown men; but in no small degree He acted direct, without any apparent human agency. In 1858 a "revival" of unusual extent and depth occurred in the United States. In New York, Boston and other large cities, as well as in smaller towns, business was almost at a standstill while the business men were at Gospel services and prayer-meetings. The practical results were seen three years later. When the Civil War broke out, magnificent work for both the bodies and the souls of men was done in the contending armies, very largely by men who had been blessed during that revival season. In 1859, a similar movement appeared unexpectedly in the North of Ireland; and while there were, naturally enough, features in this revival among an emotional people which were regrettable—for there is never a work of God but the Enemy of souls seeks to mar it,—there was abundant evidence that it really was a work of God in the main, and now, after forty years, those who know something of the inner religious history of the United Kingdom can trace to it great and lasting results for which they can and do praise the Lord.

For the movement quickly spread to England; and the year 1860 opened with the holding of numerous united prayer-meetings, which were thronged by believing and expectant souls, and proved the starting-point of spiritual and evangelistic work of all kinds. At the same time, as already mentioned, the Theatre Services were commenced; and Mr. Reginald Radcliffe, Mr. Brownlow North, and other free-lance evangelists, began holding meetings all over the country for the straight and simple preaching of the Gospel; and it is indisputable fact that thousands at these meetings received lasting blessing. Still more remarkable gatherings followed. To bring the Gospel in a simple and direct way before the upper classes, by the preaching of laymen known in society, it was arranged that Stevenson Blackwood, and Captain Trotter of the 2nd Life Guards,* should give a series of addresses at Willis's Rooms; and cards of admission were sent all over the West End. The success of these meetings was extraordinary. The street was blocked with the carriages of the "upper ten," and the large ball-room was crowded. Blackwood's first address, under that same chandelier beneath which he had given his heart to God five years before, was on May 11th, 1861. The next morning an officer from India called at the Treasury, and begged to see him for five minutes. "Sir," he said, "I was at Willis's Rooms yesterday"—and burst into tears. He became a consistent Christian; and he was only one of many who "owed their own selves" to those and similar gatherings.

By the great majority of Churchmen, of course, these move-

* See Vol. I., p. 379.

ments were ignored, and even unnoticed; and the Evangelical clergy themselves, for the most part, stood aloof.* But there were a few who, more wisely, stepped forward and took the lead; and among these perhaps the most conspicuous was the Rev. Samuel Garratt (afterwards Canon Garratt of Ipswich). Henry Venn, cautious man as he was, and the last to be attracted by a mere emotional religion, wrote as follows, with a wisdom that one could wish had sometimes been exhibited by other good men in similar circumstances:—

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Attitude of
H. Venn.

"We closed our Association Secretaries' Meeting at 10 p.m. last night. The party seemed pleased and encouraged by our Conference. But I was by no means satisfied, especially on the subject of revivals. Nearly all our Secretaries seem to have thought little about them. Yet I am so confident that we must either rise on the wave or be overwhelmed by it, that I shall propose on Monday to send over a special deputation to Ireland to the revival region, to visit the great towns, and to obtain the prayers, sympathy, and hearts and hands, if possible, of some of the awakened servants of God. I am anxious thus to connect the revival with missionary zeal, for the sake of the revivalists themselves, as well as for our cause."†

It so happened that on the very next day after writing this letter, Sunday, January 8th, Venn had to preach at St. Paul's as Prebendary:—

Venn
and the
Cathedral
clergy.

"The Dean and Melvill were the clergy in residence. I brought forward the Revival pretty strongly. Upon coming into the vestry afterwards with them, we all unrobed in civil silence; and the Dean, with some remark about the effect of the stoves, quickly took his departure. I did not let Melvill off so, and therefore asked him whether he took my view of the Revival. 'Oh,' he exclaimed, 'you seem to think there is something in it,' in a tone worse than the Dean's indifference."‡

The connexion desiderated by Henry Venn between Revival movements and Foreign Missions was illustrated by two occurrences in India at this very time. In 1859, a little band of American missionaries at Ludhiana, in the Punjab, sent round the world an invitation to united prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit in the first week of January, 1860. It was, in fact, this invitation that led to the prayer-meetings begun in that month, as already mentioned. They were held in the first week of the year in response to this call, and then continued under the general influence of the Revival Movement. And they actually were held all round the world. The C.M.S. periodicals at the time contain notices of gatherings as far east as Shanghai, and as far west as Red River. The Week of Prayer thus inaugurated has been observed ever since; and although in later years it has been overshadowed at home by other movements, it is still a much-valued season

Ludhiana
Invitation
to United
Prayer.

* When Mr. Reginald Radcliffe held a series of meetings in Islington, only two local clergymen supported him. But many more attended the crowded united prayer-meetings.

† From a Private Letter, Jan. 7th, 1860.

‡ From another Private Letter.

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Revival
in Tinne-
velly.

And
among
English
soldiers in
India.

Liverpool
Mission-
ary Confer-
ence.

The real
thing
needed.

in many parts of the Mission-field. Then, almost immediately, the sovereignty of Divine grace, and the significance of our Lord's words, "The wind bloweth where it listeth," &c., were illustrated by a sudden and unlooked-for spiritual awakening among the Native Christians of Tinnevely; and the revival scenes that had been witnessed in Ireland, and that at that very time were being enacted in many parts of England, were reproduced in that remote corner of India. Sober and thoughtful missionaries like David Fenn and William Gray, and Native clergymen like W. T. Satthianadhan, testified to the depth and reality of the work; and their first letters were dated March in that very year 1860. Moreover the work of the Spirit appeared among the English soldiers in India, and much disconcerted some of the chaplains. Bishop Cotton would probably be called a moderate "Broad Churchman," and certainly was one not easily led away by excitement; but he wrote to a chaplain who complained to him,—“Considering the amount of godlessness and careless living which prevails, especially in the army, I could not speak of a revival as you do, as I often think that something extraordinary is required to awaken nominal Christians from the sleep of death.”* Could anything be more wisely said?

Meanwhile, at home, an event took place which showed that the Revival would have its influence upon Foreign Missions. In the same year, 1860, the first united Missionary Conference was held, at Liverpool. It was not promoted by the Societies, either Church or Nonconformist, but by a few friends more or less identified with the Revival Movement. Nor was it a very large gathering; but it prepared the way for the more important Conferences of the same kind in London in 1878 and 1888. The chairman was General R. Alexander, a prominent member of the C.M.S. Committee. There was one large public meeting, at which Lord Shaftesbury presided, and Sir Herbert Edwardes was the chief speaker.

But the more important effects of the Revival Movement upon the Missionary Enterprise were not seen till long afterwards. These we shall have to trace out in future chapters. Meanwhile we may recall some pregnant words written by Mr. Ridgeway a few years earlier. At a time when more missionaries were urgently needed, and the C.M.S. Committee were asking for special prayer that they might be raised up, Ridgeway reminded the Society that what was really wanted was another Pentecost:—

“The want of missionaries is no doubt the point of immediate pressure, but that can be met only by *increased effectiveness on the part of the whole spiritual body*, more singleness of dedication to the Lord's work, more holy energy, more true devotedness: and how shall these be, except by a renewed effusion of that Spirit Who is the Mover and Promoter to all godly action, and the Dispenser of all needful gifts and graces?”†

* *Memoir of Bishop Cotton*, p. 154.

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1854, p. 101.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE SOCIETY AT HOME.

Progress during the Decade—Venn and his Fellow-Secretaries—New Committee Men—Deaths: E. Bickersteth, Lord Bexley, Sir R. Inglis, John Thornton—The Preachers: W. B. Mackenzie, Bishop O'Brien, Joseph Fenn, Bishop Tait, J. C. Miller—Anniversary and Valedictory Meetings—New Missionaries—The Children's Home—The C.M.S. Periodicals—C.M.S. and Mr. Gladstone.

"It is like a grain of mustard seed. . . . It grew, and waxed a great tree."—St. Luke xiii. 19.

"The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."—Rev. xxii. 2.



THE decade preceding the Jubilee was a period of expansion and advance, as we have seen it was, much more so was the decade following the Jubilee. The vigour of Henry Venn's administration was more and more conspicuous. He had joined the Secretariat, as we remember, at a time of great financial difficulty. Out of that difficulty God had graciously delivered the Society, and no pecuniary perplexity marred the Jubilee rejoicings. Naturally there was some little reaction after the special effort of raising the additional Jubilee Fund; but after a year or two the Income began to rise again steadily year by year; large individual benefactions were made, including one of £10,000 in 1857; in the last years of the period we are now about to review, the receipts averaged over £140,000, or £50,000 more than they did when Venn came into office; and instead of, as then, a debt of £11,000, there was a Capital Fund in reserve of £46,000. Then during the twelve years, 1849-61, two hundred and fifty missionaries were sent out, a much higher average than before, and including, as we shall see presently, a good number of University graduates, and some of the very ablest men the Church has ever given to the foreign field. If the first period of Venn's Secretariat was marked by the starting of the China Mission, the Telugu Mission, the Yoruba Mission, and the East Africa Mission, the second period, now before us, was signalized by the opening of the Niger Mission, the Constantinople Mission, the Palestine Mission, the Sindh Mission, the Punjab Mission, the Agra College, the Oudh Mission, the Central Provinces Mission, the Santal Mission, the Tamil

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Progress
after the
Jubilee.

New
Missions.

PART VI. Coolie Mission, the Mauritius Mission, the Fuh-kien Mission, the
1849-61. Saskatchewan Mission, the Moosonee Mission, the Athabasca
Chap. 35. Mission, and the North Pacific Mission.

The Policy
of Faith in
1853.

And it was a period of enlarged faith and hope. Report after Report winds up with most stirring words of appeal for more men. In 1853, indeed, the closing words are quite startling to a reader who imagines that the Society's policy of faith is a new thing. "The Committee state," we read, "in the presence of this vast meeting, and before the Church at large, *their willingness to accept any number of true missionaries*, who may appear to be called of God to the work. *They will send out any number, trusting to the Lord of the harvest, Whose is the silver and the gold, to supply their treasury with the funds for this blessed and glorious undertaking.*"

Venn
and his
colleagues:
Tucker,
Knight,
Chapman,
&c.

Throughout this period Henry Venn pulled the labouring oar. There was no such departmental division of work then as has been rendered unavoidable by later development. The other clerical Secretaries, able men as no doubt they were, seem to have been virtually only assistants to Venn. John Tucker, who was appointed just before the Jubilee, was Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and the friend of Keble and Arnold; and his extraordinary influence while at Madras has before been mentioned; but he only stayed in office four years. William Knight, who succeeded him, was Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and in after years one of Archbishop Tait's chaplains. John Chapman, who was *locum tenens* for Knight while the latter was sent for a time on special business to Ceylon and India, and who afterwards was full Secretary for a few years, was Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, before he went to Travancore as Principal of the Cottayam College. All three were excellent Secretaries, and Knight's services in drawing important Minutes and other work of a literary character, were especially valuable; but the longest of the three periods of service, Knight's, was only ten years; and Venn's greatness really made all others look small. Nor did the Lay Office weigh even that scale down. Major Straith went to live out of town, and though he retained the title of Hon. Lay Secretary, he did not superintend the office. To do this Major Charles Graham was appointed, but he only stayed a year or two; and then Mr. Myrie Holl became Assistant Secretary, in which post he did good and useful service. In 1859, a new Lay Secretary was found in Colonel Michael Dawes, who, says a surviving colleague, "did the executive work of his department exceedingly well, but took small part in the general administration"; but Major Straith still retained his honorary office, so that for a time the Annual Report exhibited the names of six Secretaries, viz., Venn, Knight, Chapman, Straith, Dawes, and Holl. And this was without counting the Editorial Secretary and the Central Association Secretary, who were not in those days members of the Secretariat proper. These two posts were occupied by the Revs. Joseph

Ridgeway and J. B. Whiting. Mr. Ridgeway's important work will be noticed presently. Mr. Whiting virtually succeeded the layman, Mr. Greenway, mentioned in a former chapter as a kind of central agent for deputations.

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The staff of Association Secretaries at this time comprised several men who afterwards became well known in more important positions. Among the names during our period are those of A. M. W. Christopher, since so conspicuous a figure at Oxford; W. E. Light, afterwards of Dover; John Mee, afterwards a full Secretary of the Society; C. F. S. Money, afterwards Hon. Canon of Rochester; Gordon Calthrop, afterwards of Highbury; George Knox, afterwards Editor of the *Church Missionary Intelligence*; Robert Long, now Archdeacon of Auckland; R. C. Billing, afterwards Bishop of Bedford; Charles Marson, afterwards of Clevedon; Henry Sutton, afterwards one of the full Secretaries, now Vicar of Aston and Hon. Canon of Worcester. Another Association Secretary at this time was W. Pakenham Walsh, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, who had charge of Ireland. The Hibernian Auxiliary was going forward, and a striking account is given by Mr. Walsh of the interest in Missions to the Heathen displayed by the converts from Romanism of the Irish Church Missions. Trinity College, Dublin, was also alive, headed by its Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Singer, who in 1852 became Bishop of Meath.

The Association Secretaries.

C.M.S. in Ireland.

Returning to Salisbury Square, and scanning the lists of the Committee, we find our period one prolific of new names of importance, especially of laymen. John Sperling and R. Prance were practical business men, and much valued as such. P. F. O'Malley and Russell Gurney were distinguished Queen's Counsel, and the latter became Recorder of London; and both of them rendered valuable service. But Anglo-Indians continued, as ever, to form the backbone of the Committee. Throughout the period, J. M. Strachan retained his leading position; while the new names included those of Colonels Hughes and Smith, Generals Alexander and Clarke; George Arbuthnot, the Madras banker; John Fryer Thomas, Secretary to the Madras Government; Henry Carre Tucker, Commissioner of Benares at the time of the Mutiny; Huddleston Stokes, and Arthur Lang. In 1860 came James Stuart, formerly of Calcutta, and afterwards one of the founders of the Church of England Zenana Society; and Sydney Gedge, the solicitor, who quickly became Venn's regular referee in legal matters, and who alone survives of all the lay Committee men of that day. The conspicuous clerics are not so numerous. The principal new names are those of C. Smalley, jun., respected son of a respected father before mentioned; Vincent Ryan and C. R. Alford, successive Principals of what was then Highbury Training College, and who afterwards became Bishops respectively of Mauritius and Victoria (Hong Kong); J. H. Titecomb, afterwards first Bishop of Rangoon; and Dr. L. B. White, now Secretary

Lay Members of Committee.

And clerics.

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1849-61. mary.

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Dr. Duff
describes
the Com-
mittee.

An interesting notice of the Committee at this time occurs in the Life of Dr. Duff, who was received by them on February 10th, 1851, and who wrote to a Scotch friend as follows :—

"I had a grand meeting with the leading men of the Church Missionary Society. Between forty and fifty assembled during the business hours of the day. That so many influential laymen should so assemble to hear about their Indian Missions and raise suggestions concerning them, was one of the pleasantest and healthiest symptoms I have yet met with. Truly when the Church of England people are devoted, their devotedness is of a rarely simple, graceful, and winning order. The flower of English devotional piety woven around the sturdy trunk of our Scottish orthodoxy would give us the highest attainable relative perfectionism of the Christian man. To see men like Lord H. Cholmondeley, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Admiral Hope, and others of like rank, enter with childlike simplicity into missionary details not as a dry matter of business, but of hearty love—was a cheering spectacle not soon to be forgotten." *

New Vice-
Presidents.

It would be wearisome to give the names of the many new Vice-Presidents and Honorary Governors for Life. Twenty-five Bishops accepted the former office within the period, among the names of whom perhaps the most noticeable is that of Walter Kerr Hamilton, of Salisbury, who had been (as we shall see) C.M.S. Secretary at Oxford, but who was now more closely identified with the Tractarian party than any other Bishop on the Bench. Among the laymen appointed to the same office the most distinguished were the Dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough and Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence.

Deaths :
Edward
Bicker-
steth.

Death, during our present period, claimed a heavy tribute from the ranks of old and valued friends. First of all, and greatest of losses, Edward Bickersteth was taken. To the last, he was untiring in his labours in behalf of Christian enterprises of all kinds, travelling over the country to preach or speak, not only for the C.M.S., but for the Bible Society, for the Jews' Society, for the Pastoral Aid Society, and especially for the Irish Church Missions, the foundation of which has been before mentioned, and in which he took the liveliest interest; and to the last, his sunny spirit diffused brightness wherever he went. We have seen that his last C.M.S. speech in London was at the Jubilee Meeting. In the following May, at the Bible Society's Anniversary, he carried, against the Executive, the motion which led ultimately (though not till 1857) to the opening of that Society's meetings with prayer. His last public speech in London was in the next November, when Alexander Dallas came from Ireland to tell of the victories of the simple Gospel in the far West. While the British nation was paying for the training of Roman priests at Maynooth, the Protestant Bishop of Tuam was confirming hundreds of those who had learned from the agents of the Irish

His last
public
addresses.

* *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. ii. p. 190.

Church Missions to know the Great High Priest—a work which won eulogies even from Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, when, two years later, he visited Ireland.* Once more Bickersteth addressed the Evangelical clergy, at the January Islington meeting; but that gathering, which now fills a large hall to overflowing, and is reported at length in the newspapers, was then held privately in Daniel Wilson's library in Barnsbury Park. His subject was the Dangers of Rationalism, then beginning to be realized. That same evening he preached for the C.M.S. at St. Mildred's, Bread Street—his last sermon in London. Three days afterwards, that young but brilliant and beloved clergyman, Spencer Thornton, dropped dead in the street. Bickersteth wrote an "In Memoriam" of him for the *Christian Observer*; and he had only just corrected the proofs when his own fatal illness struck him down. The last entry in his personal journal refers to Thornton's sudden call, and then adds, concerning himself and his own labours, "Oh that the Lord should ever condescend to use one so sinful and unworthy. The 51st Psalm is the Scriptural prayer that most suits me." This was the true spirit of the Old Evangelicals. He died on February 28th, 1850; and then it was noticed that the text of his last sermon, preached in his own church at Watton on January 27th, had been, "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." If Henry Venn holds the first place among the home saints and heroes of C.M.S. history, and Josiah Pratt the second, the third place, without controversy, is held by the devoted, loving, large-hearted Edward Bickersteth.

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His last
text.

In the following year, 1851, died Lord Bexley, the Vansittart who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Liverpool, and who had given the Society such valuable counsel on financial matters.† His death vacated the Presidency of the Bible Society, to which was elected Lord Shaftesbury, who had just succeeded to the earldom. Another veteran friend called away was the Rev. J. Fawcett, of Carlisle, the last survivor of the original members of the Society, whose presence at the Jubilee Meeting as the only representative of the earliest fathers has been before mentioned. Then, in 1852, died Samuel Lee, the distinguished Oriental scholar and Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, who owed his start in life and his university education to the Society;‡ and in 1853, Mr. Robert Merttins Bird, one of the Anglo-Indian rulers who had joined the Committee on his return to England, and of whom Sir Richard Temple says, "He was a born leader of men, and in his day there was no civil officer in Northern India equal to him in reputation."§ In 1854 were removed Sir Peregrine Maitland, the noble Commander-in-chief at Madras whose resignation brought about the cessation of British salutes in honour of Indian

Lord
Bexley,

Fawcett,

Professor
Lee,

R. M. Bird,

Sir P.
Maitland,

* *Life of Bishop S. Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 29.

† See Chapters X. and XXXI.

‡ See Chapter X.

§ *James Thomason*, by Sir R. Temple, Bart. (Oxford, 1893.)

PART VI. idols; and James Haldane Stewart, one of the first to go on
1849-61. deputation for the Society in 1813, and whose annual invitation
Chap. 35. to united prayer for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit was a service
greater in results to the Church than many of a more conspicuous
type.

Haldane
Stewart,

Sir Robert
Inglis,

W. Jowett,

John Cun-
ningham,

John
Thornton.

The year 1855 saw the death of Sir Robert Harry Inglis, M.P. for Oxford University, who had spoken nine times at the Anniversaries, and who, in Parliament, and in negotiations with the Foreign and Colonial Offices, had earnestly promoted the cause of the Gospel and of the Society; and of the faithful and tender-spirited William Jowett, whose important services as the first Cambridge missionary, the first to seek the enlightenment of the Eastern Churches, and afterwards Bickersteth's successor in the Secretariat, have been fully noticed before. In 1859 died two leading clerical members of the Committee, Bishop Carr and Cornwall Smalley the elder; and in 1861 Bishop Montagu Villiers of Durham, and the Society's wise counsellor and eloquent advocate, John William Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow, notable especially (as before mentioned) for having been the most frequent of all the speakers at the Anniversaries.

Finally, in that same year, 1861, the Society lost its venerable Treasurer, John Thornton. He was nephew of Henry Thornton, the ally of Wilberforce in all his Christian enterprises, who had been the first Treasurer; and son of Samuel Thornton, another of the original Vice-Presidents. He became a member of the Committee in 1810, and succeeded his uncle as Treasurer in 1815. For forty-six years, therefore, he held that office, and all the while he was a faithful supporter and sagacious adviser.

The numerous deaths of missionaries and others in the field—particularly of Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, of the three first Bishops of Sierra Leone, of Weitbrecht of Burdwan, and of Paley and others in West Africa—will be noticed in subsequent chapters.

Preachers
at St.
Bride's.

Champ-
neys.

Most of the Preachers at St. Bride's during the period were interesting men; but only two or three of the Sermons are of exceptional merit. In 1849, the Rev. John Harding, afterwards second Bishop of Bombay, preached; in 1854, Bishop Carr, who had been the first Bishop; and in 1850, the Archbishop of York, Dr. Musgrave, one of the prelates who had joined the Society in 1841. In 1853 and 1855, two much-esteemed London clergymen were chosen. One was Canon Champneys, for many years Rector of Whitechapel, and afterwards in succession Vicar of St. Pancras and Dean of Lichfield. He was never much identified with the Evangelicals in party polemics, though unmistakably one with them in doctrinal views; and he was in no way specially a C.M.S. man. But at Whitechapel he made his mark as a model parish minister, and his sermon—which, unlike all the others, has a title to it, "The Great Magnet" (John xii. 32)—is an interesting specimen of the teaching of a man accustomed to talk to the poor

and the young. The other was a remarkable man, W. B. Mackenzie, the first Incumbent, and Incumbent for thirty-two years until his death in 1870, of St. James's, Holloway; who, by the way, when at Oxford, had been a Sunday-school teacher under Champneys. His only curacy was at Bristol under Biddulph. In 1838 he was appointed to the new church at Holloway, and for some years his life was a struggle. But gradually he built up a congregation of 2000 persons, which, for a quarter of a century, crowded the church. There was no space to enlarge the building on the floor, so gallery after gallery was added to accommodate the throngs that attended. Yet Mackenzie was no genius; he had no natural eloquence; he always read his sermons, and they were not marked by special depth of thought. But he knew the human heart as few men did; he knew the real difficulties and temptations of business men; and lawyers, doctors, merchants, went Sunday after Sunday to learn how to live during the coming week; while a stream of young men and women came to him privately day by day for spiritual help and counsel. He was in fact the great Evangelical "confessor"; and hundreds did he lead to the true Divine Priest Whose absolution is final and infallible.* His St. Bride's Sermon, on "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" is chiefly notable for its masterly review, from intimate knowledge, of the whole Mission-field.

Perhaps the greatest sermon of the period, at least the most weighty for reading now, was preached in 1851 by Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory and Ferns, the author of the important standard treatise on Justification. In a year when all men's thoughts were concentrated on the Great Exhibition and the epoch of peace and progress which it was supposed to inaugurate, his text was one of singular appropriateness: just the brief sentence in Col. i. 18, "That in all things He might have the pre-eminence." The sermon is considerably longer than E. Bickersteth's in 1832, which, it will be remembered, occupied an hour and three-quarters in delivery; and it is not likely that a venerable bishop—even an Irish one—would emulate the eager rush of Bickersteth's utterance. Bishop O'Brien, as became a profound theologian, expounds at length the whole scheme of Divine Redemption as revealed in Scripture, and draws a solemn picture of the mighty conflict going on in the present dispensation between Heaven and Hell. To the vicissitudes of that conflict he attributes the seemingly slow progress of the Gospel and the frequent disappointments in actual missionary work. But the victory, he shows, is certain. "In all things" Christ shall "have the pre-eminence." "Wherefore"—so he closes his triumphant argument—"comfort one another with these words."

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Mackenzie.

Bishop
O'Brien's
Sermon.

* His two next successors at St. James's were W. Boyd Carpenter, now Bishop of Ripon, and E. A. Stuart, now Vicar of St. Matthew's, Bayswater. It is rare that a church holding two thousand is crowded under three successive Incumbents.

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Joseph
Fenn's
Sermon.

Two of the preachers (besides Harding and Carr) belonged to the inner C.M.S. circle, Joseph Fenn and H. V. Elliott. Fenn, one of the famous trio of Travancore (Bailey, Baker, Fenn), was the third St. Bride's preacher who had been a missionary; * but in 1856, when he was appointed to fulfil this office, he had been for nearly thirty years a regular and influential member of the Committee. His sermon, an exposition of John xvii. 20-23, is a plea for unity among Christ's servants as the essential prerequisite to missionary success; and it embodies a delightful picture of that spiritual and invisible Church of true believers which is the real Body of Christ. "I am speaking," said the old veteran, † quoting Hooker, "of that society of which it hath been well said that 'it cannot be sensibly discerned by any man, not only because parts thereof are in heaven already with Christ, but also because the rest that are on earth, albeit their natural persons be visible, we do not discern them under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of this body.' Of this society it is well said that 'it needeth no external polity': it is 'the mystical body and the invisible spouse of Christ.'" Not that he depreciates the visible Church or Churches: quite the contrary; but he relies for that "oneness" which is to make the world know that the Father sent the Son, not on "grand schemes of external ecclesiastical union," but on the true "unity of the Spirit" among the true members of Christ. Henry Venn Elliott, who preached in 1860, was a son of the Mr. Charles Elliott who was one of the original members of the Committee, and brother of the learned author of *Horæ Apocalypticæ*. He was Incumbent of St. Mary's, Brighton, and Hon. Sec. of the flourishing Church Missionary Association in that rapidly-growing town. The subject of his sermon was "the things which happened" falling out "rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel" (Phil. i. 12), a suitable topic for the years following the Indian Mutiny. He applies the text to four matters of controversy at the time, all of which will come before us by-and-by:—

H. V.
Elliott's
Sermon.

"If we are calumniated as enemies to Church order and Episcopacy, ‡ or as careless and wasteful of the funds entrusted to us §—if it be proposed to dissolve before the time our connexion with stations which our missionaries originally occupied with their lives in their hands ||—if the first impulse of some civil and military officers in India was to lay the Mutiny at the doors of our missionary operations ¶—let none of these things move us. False accusations bring out the truth. Trials of temper happen to us 'rather for the furtherance of the Gospel.'"

* Jowett and Tucker had preceded him. There has been only one since, French.

† He was sixty-six then, but he lived to attend the Committee nearly twenty years more.

‡ Referring to the attacks of the High Church organs at this time. See p. 14.

§ Referring to S.G.O.'s criticisms. See p. 378.

|| Referring to Bishop Selwyn's proposals. See p. 94.

¶ See Chapters XLV. and XLVI.

Four of the preachers belong to that group of good men who are often so unjustly disparaged, the "Palmerston Bishops." One of them, indeed, the Hon. and Rev. J. T. Pelham, brother of the Earl of Chichester, preached in 1852, four years before the succession began, and five years before his own appointment to that Diocese of Norwich where he was for so long a time so great a blessing. His sermon is one of the best of the series. The text, 2 Cor. x. 15, 16, is, as it stands, an uncommon one, notwithstanding the familiarity of the two words "regions beyond"—"Having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you." These words Mr. Pelham expounds as a direct appeal to the Church at Corinth to help St. Paul in his projects with men and with means ("enlarged *by you*"), and dwells on the condition pre-requisite to such help being "abundant," viz., "when your faith is increased." The application is very impressively drawn out. The other three preachers, selected after they became Bishops, were Montagu Villiers of Carlisle (afterwards Durham), Robert Bickersteth of Ripon, and Tait of London. None of the three sermons is intrinsically notable; all three are short, and with little reference to the actual circumstances of the Society; and the St. Bride's congregation has always preferred a long sermon teeming with allusions to current events. Tait, however, was not open to criticism on this latter point. The Annual Service fell in his year, 1859, on the day following the National Thanksgiving for the final restoration of peace and order in India after the Mutiny. That Thanksgiving Day was Sunday, May 1st, and one of the Psalms for the day was the Second. Bishop Tait, in avowed allusion to this, took the eighth verse as his text, "Ask of Me, and I shall give Thee the Heathen for Thine inheritance." His exposition of this Messianic Psalm is entirely on orthodox lines, and, though too brief, is very much *ad rem*.

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Pelham's
Sermon.

Bishop
Tait's
Sermon.

But the most powerful of these thirteen sermons in respect of eloquence and appropriateness at the time, is unquestionably that preached in 1858 by Dr. John C. Miller, of Birmingham. Miller was really a preacher of the first class, and into the sermon on this great occasion he threw his whole strength. For it was a great occasion. Our Indian Empire was the one paramount subject in the thoughts of all men. As we shall see in a future chapter, a grand manifesto by the Society was called for; and a grand manifesto indeed Miller put forth. Some of his utterances on the Indian Question must be noticed hereafter; but the sermon was by no means confined to that subject. It opens with a singularly beautiful setting forth of "the unsearchable riches of Christ" (the text was Eph. iii. 8). It bristles, moreover, with allusions to public matters of interest. For instance, the intensely thrilling story of the first attempt to lay a telegraph cable under the Atlantic had appeared in the *Times* a few days before. "The

Dr. J. C.
Miller's
Sermon.

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mightiest projects of man's enterprise," exclaimed the preacher, "in which the daring experiments of a marvellous science and the vast resources of a country's capital and the bold venture of a speculative age are in combination—what are these beside the grandeur of the missionary cause?" And there is a stirring passage on the rising Neologian or Broad Church School, which is at least as applicable now as it was then:—

" 'The signs of the times' among us are portentous. A deadly leaven is at work. On the one side, the Scylla of excessive ritualism and symbolism, combined with a bigoted exclusiveness; on the other, the Charybdis of a churchmanship and a Christianity so broad, that our 'most holy faith' is enervated and lost amid the unsatisfying subtleties of a negative theology—a Neo-Platonism and a Pantheism savouring of the schools of Alexandria rather than of the school of Christ. If India will never be enriched by a sacramentarian Gospel, so neither by missionaries who shall present the written Word of God as other than a volume of infallibly inspired truth. If the authority of that Word, and the humbling truth of the death-darkness and corruption of unregenerate and unenlightened man, are to be lost amid the jargon of 'inner light' and 'moral consciousness,' by which man is to be guided in his selection or rejection of the teachings of the Holy Spirit, and to pronounce that here Paul may be followed, but that there he was mistaken; if the inspiration of men 'moved by the Holy Ghost' is to be confounded with the genius of a Homer and a Milton; if, in place of the one 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction' of the great Sin-bearer, and the special and unique design of His precious blood-shedding and fulfilment of the law, missionaries are to recite the story of the Crucified as of one whose sacrifice of Himself differed in degree only from the self-sacrifices of heroic men; if Immanuel is no longer 'the Lord our righteousness,'—where are the 'unsearchable riches'? And if the benevolence and love of God are to be exalted at the expense of His holiness. His justice, and His truth; and fire which He threatens as unquenchable, and a worm which He threatens as undying, are to be argued and explained away that a stumbling-block to man's pride of reason may be removed and a specious Universalism substituted for 'the smoke of their torment' which 'ascendeth up for ever and ever'; if the offices and work of God's most blessed Spirit in the hearts of God's chosen are to be confounded with other workings of His power which involve no bestowal of saving grace; if Christ's brotherhood to God's sons and daughters, bone of His bone and flesh of His flesh by reason of their mystic oneness with Him, is to be merged into a universal brotherhood to man, flowing from the simple fact of His Incarnation; if Christ's return is not to be presented in its literality and personality, not only as the blessed hope of His Church, but as a day of judgment on quick and dead,—then indeed we have a *broad Christianity*, but it is the breadth of a Christianity from which spiritual truth has been eliminated—a *caput mortuum*—another 'Gospel'—a magnet with no attractive virtue—a Gospel which must fail to enrich man and which will bring no glory to God. From such a Churchmanship and from such a Gospel may God preserve the Church Missionary Society."

The list of speakers at the Annual Meetings during this period has a very different appearance from that of earlier times. There was a much larger field of selection, and few men were asked on two

On the
rising
Broad
Church
School.

Speakers
at Exeter
Hall.

occasions. Before the Jubilee, the names of Bishops Ryder, C. Sumner, and J. B. Sumner, the Marquis of Cholmondeley, Lord Calthorpe, Sir R. H. Inglis, Daniel Wilson the elder (before he went to India), Edward Bickersteth, Gerard and Baptist Noel, Professor Scholefield, and above all J. W. Cunningham, occur again and again. Of these, the majority do not reappear after the Jubilee. Bishop C. Sumner spoke twice more (making fourteen times in all); his brother the Archbishop did not speak again. Sir R. Inglis spoke once more (making nine times), and Scholefield once more (making six times). Lord Cholmondeley, though not again on the programme of the Meeting, constantly presided at the Evening Meeting, which, however, was of little account in those days. Bishop Longley, of Ripon, who spoke three times before the Jubilee, does not appear again, nor does he as Archbishop of York. In a later year he does as Archbishop of Canterbury. But there is one name that is conspicuous in both periods, that of Hugh Stowell. To his eleven speeches before the Jubilee he added six afterwards, his total being thus only second to John Cunningham's nineteen. Bishop C. Sumner, with his fourteen, ties with Bishop Ryder for third place, and Bishop J. B. Sumner is No. 5. No. 6 in the whole list of the century is an unexpected name, that of Dr. Tait, who spoke once as Dean of Carlisle, five times as Bishop of London, and four times as Primate; but this carries us beyond our present period. Dean Close comes next, tying with his nine speeches Sir R. Inglis; and then follow other older speakers. It is surprising to find that Hugh McNeile only spoke five times.

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The most
frequent
speakers.

Among other prominent men who spoke each once within our present period should be named the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Harrowby (father of the present Earl), Viscount Midleton, Lord Haddo, Lord Benholme, Sir E. N. Buxton (son of the first and father of the second Sir Fowell), Bishop Hinds of Norwich, Bishop Singer of Meath, Bishop Perry of Melbourne, Bishop Mellvaine of Ohio, Bishop Anderson of Rupert's Land, Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, Bishop Carr of Bombay, Bishop Payne of Liberia, S. Waldegrave (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle), C. Baring (afterwards Bishop of Durham); while Bishop R. Bickersteth of Ripon, Bishop Smith of China, Bishop Vidal of Sierra Leone, and the Hon. A. (afterwards Lord) Kinnaird, spoke twice each. So did the venerable Dr. Marsh, who appeared for the last time on an Exeter Hall platform at the C.M.S. and Jews' Society Meetings in 1858, in his eighty-third year. Bishop Montagu Villiers spoke three times. E. Hoare, J. C. Miller, and J. C. Ryle, were also speakers, but their more prominent time was later. Three distinguished foreigners appear in the lists, viz., Baron Bunsen, the famous Prussian Ambassador, and virtual founder of the Jerusalem Bishopric; Dr. C. G. Barth, of Stuttgart; and Dr. Tyng, of New York. Of Anglo-Indians there were Archdeacon Pratt, of Calcutta (son of

Leading
men
among the
speakers.

Foreigners

Anglo-
Indians.

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Mission-
aries.

Josiah Pratt); Mr. J. F. Thomas, Secretary to the Madras Government; Mr. Macleod Wylie, of Calcutta; Major Edward Lake (afterwards General, and Hon. Sec. of the Society); and, above all, Colonel (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, whose memorable speech in 1860—which will be noticed hereafter—has always been regarded as the greatest ever made at a C.M.S. meeting. The missionaries are again in this period but meagrely represented. Dr. Duff spoke again in 1851; and of C.M.S. men there were John Thomas of Tinnevely, Cobbold of China, Hunter of Rupert's Land, Bowen of Palestine (afterwards Bishop of Sierra Leone), Townsend of Abeokuta, Cobb and Leupolt of Benares, Jetter of Smyrna, Robert Clark and Fitzpatrick of the Punjab, and French of Agra; but in three several years no missionary at all spoke.

Valedic-
tory
meetings.

During our period, there was another class of meetings, of no less intrinsic interest, though not attracting crowds like the Anniversaries. It will be remembered that the Society's earliest large public gatherings were Valedictory Dismissals;* and we all know that in the present day these are the most attractive of all our assemblies. But for many years the Farewell Meetings were technically open Committee meetings, and were sometimes held in the ugly and incommodious old parish schoolroom of Islington, before noticed;† sometimes in the Liverpool Road Schools; sometimes in the Children's Home at Highbury; sometimes in the Church Missionary College; although a good many of the most interesting Dismissals took place at actual Committee meetings in Salisbury Square—as indeed is still the case when there are only two or three going. But some of the Dismissals during our period deserve notice, either here or in future chapters. Before glancing at them, however, we must introduce the missionaries themselves.

The new
mission-
aries.

Of 246 names that came on the roll in the thirteen years from 1849 to 1861 inclusive, sixty-two are those of University men, seventy-two of Englishmen trained at Islington, forty of Germans and Swiss (most of whom were also at Islington), and seventeen of women. The remainder comprise several young laymen trained by the Rev. Thomas Green at Friezland in Yorkshire, some schoolmasters from Highbury Training College (the Principal of which, the Rev. C. R. Alford, made special arrangements for C.M.S. candidates‡), and a few engaged in the Mission-field. The high proportion of University men will be noticed. Indeed, in the first five years following the Jubilee they exceeded in number the Islington men; but this lead was not long maintained. In the whole of our period they included thirty-five men from

University
men.

* See Chapter X.

† See Vol. I., p. 493.

‡ There was a great demand at this time for trained schoolmasters in the Missions; and in 1853-4, no less than twelve were sent out, to West Africa, India, Ceylon, New Zealand, and Rupert's Land.

Cambridge, of whom twenty-five had graduated in honours (eight were Wranglers); twelve from Oxford, of whom six were honour-men; fourteen from Dublin, some of whom also had a high academical record; and one from London University. These graduate missionaries need not be named here, as a later chapter is devoted to them. Islington, too, supplied first-rate men at this time; but, for the same reason, it is not necessary now to specify them. The miscellaneous list also has good names: John Horden (afterwards Bishop of Moosonee); W. Duncan, of Metlakahtla; T. S. Grace (a clergyman from St. Bees'), of New Zealand; S. Coles, of Ceylon; G. Candy, formerly an officer in the army, then a missionary of S.P.G., and afterwards of C.M.S.; and Colonel Martin, the devoted founder and benefactor of the Amritsar and Peshawar Missions, and afterwards an honorary missionary. The few single women sent out were mostly schoolmistresses; but two must be specially mentioned, viz., Miss Louise Ellwanger, a lady from Wurtemberg, who worked in North India for thirty-six years, and Miss Jane Hooper, who went to India with her brother, the Rev. Dr. W. Hooper, in 1861, and laboured for just the same period,—latterly, as Mrs. Low, in Palestine.

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Others.

Women.

Many of the recruits of this period served twenty, thirty, and forty years; and no less than twelve of that period are still in the field, viz., Bishop Stuart (already 48 years), R. Clark (already 47 years), Bishops Burdon and Williams (each already 45 years), Bishop Moule (40 years), Higgins (47), Zeller (43), Alexander (41), Clarke, Coles, Simmons, Wolters (each 38), and Wolfe (37).

Long services.

It will be readily understood how deeply interesting some of the Valedictory Meetings must have been at which men like these were taken leave of. It is true that in most cases the future course of the young recruit could not be foreseen. But to many of the men considerable interest attached before they started; sometimes the new work to which this or that one was designated invited special attention; and sometimes other circumstances made the gathering notable. Thus, on October 5th, 1849, the second and third African clergymen, G. Nicol and T. Maxwell (S. Crowther having been the first), who had been educated at Islington and ordained by Bishop Blomfield, were included in the Dismissal, and so were three young Negro women, trained in England as schoolmistresses; and on the same occasion four men were commissioned to accompany Bishop G. Smith (the second C.M.S. missionary raised to the Episcopate) to China, three of them (Gough, Moncrieff, Welton) clergymen of University standing and some ministerial experience, and two of them to start a Mission at Fuh-chow. On August 20th, 1850, two men of high academical distinction were sent forth to found a new College at Agra. The project was an important one, and Venn's Instructions laid down valuable principles regarding Educational Missions; but none knew that day the lustre that would afterwards attach to the names of French

Some memorable farewell gatherings, and Instructions by Venn.

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and Stuart. The remarkable circumstances attending the dismissal of Dr. Krapf for East Africa, on January 2nd, 1851, will appear hereafter; and we shall also have to refer to Venn's Instructions delivered on June 20th in that year to R. Clark and Fitzpatrick, going to start the Punjab Mission. A leave-taking of several missionaries for different fields in June, 1852, was notable for the presence of the well-known New Zealand Christian chief, Tamihana (Thompson) Te Rauparaha, whose speech (translated) was reported *verbatim*, and for a powerful address by Francis Close on "the Preaching of the Everlasting Gospel"; and a meeting on November 1st in the same year has a historic interest as the farewell to (among others) Mrs. Anna Hinderer. On April 8th, 1856, another Maori Christian chief of high reputation, Hoani Hipango (John Williams), who had been presenting the kingly insignia of several of his brethren to the Queen, took leave of the Society. In September, 1860, at a time when political perplexities of various kinds prevailed in India, China, Africa, and Turkey, Venn delivered his memorable and weighty Instructions on the relation of missionaries to political questions, and to the rulers of the countries in which they labour—Instructions that have been again and again referred to and quoted from ever since.*

The Mis-
sionaries'
Children's
Home.

From the Missionaries and the Valedictory Meetings we should pass naturally to the Church Missionary College; but as a separate chapter is devoted to it, we go on to the Society's other home institution, the Missionaries' Children's Home. This, as before mentioned, was one memorial of the Jubilee; but such an institution had been thought of before, so far at least as one half of its work was concerned. On the death of Josiah Pratt, in 1844, it was proposed to raise a fund in memory of him for the establishment of a home for missionaries' *daughters*, to be called the Pratt Female School. Only about £800, however, was contributed, and the project was therefore merged in the larger one announced at the Jubilee.† In order to begin the work experimentally, three houses in Milner Square, Islington,‡ were rented in the first instance; and the Home was opened with fifteen children, under the charge of the Rev. S. H. and Mrs. Unwin. On March 7th, 1850, the President and Committee met in one of the houses, and dedicated the Home, thus modestly commenced, to the service of the Lord. Applications for admission quickly came in; a fourth house was added; and at length a piece of ground was purchased in Highbury Grove, and a commodious

New
Home at
Highbury.

* See Chapter XLIX.

† Being in North Wales for a holiday, Venn invited three boys at King William's College in the Isle of Man, who were sons of missionaries, to join him. This led to the train of thought whence came the idea of the Children's Home.

‡ Twenty years afterwards, one of these houses was taken by the Author of this History, in complete unconsciousness of its former connexion with the Society.

building erected to accommodate about eighty boys and girls, at a total cost, including fittings and furniture, of about £19,000. To defray this sum, the Jubilee Fund was drawn upon for £8237, to which was added the Pratt Fund contributions, and a legacy of £5000 bequeathed for the purpose by Miss Cook, of Cheltenham; the balance being obtained from a surplus in the Capital Fund account. The new building was opened on April 8th, 1853, with addresses by the President, the Director (Mr. Unwin), the Rev. E. Auriol (who spoke to the children), the Rev. B. Bailey (representing the missionaries), and the Rev. J. W. Cunningham. Seventy children were already in the Home, and ere long it became quite full. In the following year, Mr. Unwin retired, and was succeeded as Director by the Rev. W. G. Barker.

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The Children's Home has all along proved the greatest possible boon to the missionaries. It is, as a rule, most undesirable to rear and educate English boys and girls in tropical countries; and as a matter of fact New Zealand is the only country occupied by the Society in which the missionaries have felt able to keep their children with them. The Society's Home does not, it is true, even now in the large building at Limpsfield, accommodate all who are eligible; and many parents prefer to take the small sum allowed them towards the maintenance of children, and place them under the care of relatives or friends. But other parents have no relatives or friends who are able to receive them; and in these numerous cases the Home is highly valued. Not a few missionaries now in the field are the sons and daughters of missionaries, and were themselves educated at the Home; but no attempt has been made to press the children into the Society's service. A hereditary "missionary caste" would be a perilous experiment. Many of the boys have, by their talents and energy, afterwards achieved for themselves academical and other distinctions. The present Public Orator at Cambridge, Mr. Sandys, is a distinguished example. Altogether, the words of Ps. cii. 28, adopted from the first as the motto of the Home, have been abundantly fulfilled, "The children of Thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before Thee."*

Value of
the Home.

There is yet another branch of the Society's work at home, concerning which little has so far been said in this History. This is the department of Publications. In early days, Publications were regarded as an important part of the missionary work abroad in which the Society was to engage; and considerable sums were spent upon the production of linguistic works in various languages, grammars, dictionaries, primers, tracts, and translations of the Scriptures, the Prayer-book, &c. This work, of course, is still as important as ever it was; but the Society itself

The Publi-
cations.

Foreign
transla-
tions.

* A lady sent Venn a small contribution to be used in some kind of decoration in the Home. With it he had this text painted in a little recess opposite the entrance.

PART VI. does not take a large share in it. So far, that is, as the expense
1849-61. is concerned; for as regards the writers and translators, they are
Chap. 35. of necessity supplied from among the missionaries. But the
arrangements are for the most part made, and the funds supplied,
by the Bible Society, the S.P.C.K., the R.T.S., and the Christian
Literature Society for India. The word Publications, in the
Society's later sense of it, means missionary literature for circula-
tion at home: reports, periodicals, tracts and booklets, and
occasional larger works.

Periodicals Confining our attention just now to Publications of this kind,
we find that for the first few years the only information published
was in the Annual Report, which itself only occupied a few pages;
nor did other societies, the S.P.G., the L.M.S., and the Baptists,
do any more. The real start was made by Josiah Pratt when he
began the *Missionary Register* in 1813. Of this remarkable work
a full account has been given in the chapter on "Forward Steps,"
for a very important forward step it really was. The *Register*
was, as we have seen, not an official C.M.S. publication; but for
several years the Society purchased a large number of copies for
distribution. After Pratt retired from the Secretaryship, the
Committee began to think that, good as the *Register* was, the
Society needed a periodical of its own. A small four-page *Quarterly*
Paper had been begun in 1816, for humbler contributors; and now
for a short time a small *Monthly Paper* was issued. In 1830
this was enlarged, and started under the new title of the *Church*
Missionary Record, 24 (afterwards 32) pages octavo. The price
was threepence, but it was for the most part supplied free, as the
Register had been, to subscribers and collectors. A few copies of
both *Quarterly Paper* and *Record* were sold; but taking at random
the year 1836 as a specimen, we find £1500 spent upon them, and
only £41 received. In 1838, a small paper called the *Missionary*
Gleaner was started by Charles Hodgson, and in 1841 the Society
adopted it, as a twopenny magazine, twelve pages octavo, with a
woodcut on the first page. In the following year, the importance
of Juvenile Associations was set forth in a special circular, and
with a view to foster them the *Church Missionary Juvenile*
Instructor was commenced, which soon became affectionately
known as the "Little Green Book," and attained a circulation
of 80,000 copies a month. It also was at first free, but in 1847
the price of a halfpenny was put upon it. It circulated for the
most part among the children of the educated classes; and for
free distribution among Sunday-school subscribers of a farthing a
week, the *Quarterly Token* was begun in 1856.

Meanwhile, immediately after the Jubilee, the Committee
formed plans for the issue of a superior monthly publication, for
the use of educated men and women, in which articles on the
geography, ethnology, religions, &c., of the various mission-fields
could appear, and what may be called the science of Missions
discussed; and in which important missionary letters could be

published at once, instead of awaiting, perhaps for some months, their turn in the systematic reports *seriatim* of the various Missions given in the *C.M. Record*. Accordingly, in May, 1849, appeared the first number of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, consisting of twenty-four pages royal octavo, printed in double columns, as all the leading magazines were in those days.

It is a fact of historic interest that this first number contained a letter which proved to be one of the most important communications ever printed from a foreign land. It contained John Rebmann's announcement of his discovery of the snow-capped mountain Kilimanjaro.* That announcement was the commencement of the long and thrilling story of Central African exploration, and actually led, in its ultimate issue, to the partition of Africa among European States in our own day. Accompanying the letter is a good-sized folded sketch map, drawn by Rebmann himself, and dated September 22nd, 1848, in which for the first time a rough attempt is made to indicate the geography of East Africa.†

The first Editor of the *Intelligencer* was the Rev. Joseph Ridgeway. He had been Rector of High Roding, Essex, and in 1845 had become an Association Secretary of the Society. In 1850, he was appointed Editorial Secretary, which office he held for twenty-one years, until his death in 1871, though for a considerable portion of the time he also had an incumbency at Tunbridge Wells. During the whole period he edited the *Intelligencer*; and the *C.M. Record* and other smaller papers were prepared under his supervision—except the *Juvenile Instructor* and *Quarterly Token*, which were long conducted by Charles Hodgson, and the former afterwards by R. C. Billing (subsequently Bishop of Bedford) and by Miss E. S. Elliott.

When the *Intelligencer* was fairly started, the price of the *Record* was reduced to twopence, and that of the *Gleaner* to a penny, and so they continued for many years. The total cost for (say) 1852 was no greater than it had been for 1836, notwithstanding the new charge for an editorial salary; for the sales of the *Intelligencer*, *Gleaner*, and *Juvenile Instructor*, brought in £2400 to set against the increased expense. It is worth noting that the *Intelligencer* was announced as having the advantage of being "stamped," so that it could be sent by post to missionaries and others abroad. This intimation reminds us how differently we are served now. In those days, every copy of a registered newspaper or periodical had to go to the Government Stamp Office to be stamped with a crown in red ink, each "stamp" costing a penny. Of course penny newspapers did not then exist. The *Times* was 5*d.* unstamped, or 6*d.* stamped, and the same price was put on the *Intelligencer*. Cheap magazines like the *Record* and *Gleaner* could not afford to have a penny added

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Interest of
its first
number.

The Editor,
Joseph
Ridgeway.

Prices and
sales.

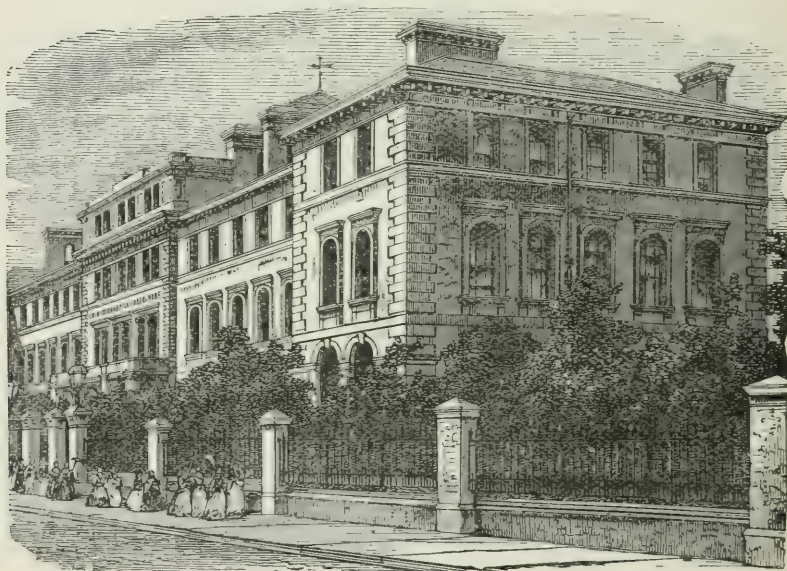
* See p. 127.

† Of this map a facsimile is inserted in the present Volume.

PART VI. to their price for stamping, and therefore could not pass through
1849-61. the post, but had to be sent in parcels.
Chap. 35.

Mr. Glad-
stone,
offended
by the
"Quarterly
Paper,"
leaves
C. M. S.

An extremely curious incident belongs to the history of the periodicals at this time. In 1850, one of them, and that the one intended for the humblest supporters, caused the withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from the Church Missionary Society! In the *Quarterly Paper* for Christmas, 1849, there was a small and rough missionary map of the world—not a coloured one, but shaded with dark lines in different degrees. On so small a scale, and for the inferior printing of a very humble paper, only four grades could be given. Heathenism was quite black, and Protestant Christianity quite white. Mohammedanism was represented by a very dark shade; and there remained one lighter shade to stand for Roman and Eastern Christianity. Mr. Gladstone was offended by the Roman and Greek Churches being represented by the same shade. The former he thought might well be dark, but the latter should be much lighter. In point of fact, a more exact gauging of the different degrees of orthodoxy was not possible in such a paper; but although Mr. Venn earnestly pointed out the narrow-mindedness of discarding a great work for a cause so small, the future Premier was inexorable, and from that time ceased to subscribe to the Society.



THE CHURCH MISSIONARIES' CHILDREN'S HOME, Highbury Grove, opened 1853.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SOME RECRUITS FROM THE UNIVERSITIES.

C.M.S. at Oxford and Cambridge—Venn at Cambridge—Cambridge C.M. Union—Fox and Noble—Ragland—Cambridge Men of the 'Fifties: Gough, Paley, Greaves, &c.—The Oxford Men: French—H. Wright's Offer—The Dublin Men: Bowen, Fitzpatrick, &c.

"By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed."—Heb. xi. 8 (R.V.).

"Considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith."—Heb. xiii. 7 (R.V.).



HARLES SIMEON'S reply to the inquiries for men sent out in the earliest days of the infant Society will not have been forgotten—"I see more and more *Who* it is that must thrust out labourers into His harvest."* Although the first offer of service the

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Society ever received came from a Senior Wrangler, the Universities were slow in sending forth men to go on their Lord's errand to the Heathen He came to save.† We have seen that William Jowett was the first, in 1815; that fifteen others from Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin went out between that year and 1840; that sixteen others went out in the eight years 1841-48; and that among those thirty-two were several who became devoted and distinguished missionaries, and four who became bishops, W. Williams, Hadfield, G. Smith, and Russell. In our present period of thirteen years, 1849-61, we have seen that sixty-two University graduates came on the roll, nearly double the number of the whole half-century preceding.

The Universities
slow to
give men.

But it is remarkable that Oxford and Cambridge were ready to give money when they were slow at supplying men. The beginnings at Cambridge were described in our Eleventh Chapter, when we saw that the Association was founded in 1818, and that zealous undergraduates, bearing names afterwards highly honoured, had collected on a large scale before then. The Rev. W. Mandell, Fellow of Queens', and the Rev. W. Scholefield, Fellow of Trinity,

But ready
to give
money.

* See Vol. I., pp. 74, 81.

† The East India chaplains, however, sent forth by Charles Simeon, must not be forgotten. Besides H. Martyn, the names of Thomas Thomason and Daniel Corrie reflect honour on Cambridge. Thomason was Fellow and Tutor of Queens'. Corrie became the first Bishop of Madras; and his brother, the late Master of Jesus College, survived to our own day.

PART VI. and afterwards Regius Professor of Greek, continued joint
1849-61. secretaries for twenty-six years. In 1844, Mandell's name dis-
Chap. 36. appears, but Scholefield continued to hold office till his death in

Secretaries
at Cam-
bridge.

1853. He was one of the ablest and truest friends the Society ever had. It was once said of him by way of complaint, "That man never gets beyond Christ." * It would be well for both Cambridge and Oxford if the same thing could have been said, and could still be said, of all their Professors. The Rev. C. Clayton, Caius College, joined Scholefield as Secretary in 1850, and succeeded him when he died. The list of contributors year by year is a very interesting thing to examine, containing as it does scores of names that have become well known since. For instance, in 1842, "G. G. Stokes, B.A., Pembroke," begins to subscribe; in 1843, "Rev. J. W. Colenso, St. John's"; in 1847, "B. F. Westcott, Trinity." From 1837 onwards there was a younger secretary for the University, in addition to Mandell and Scholefield. "J. S. Howson, Trinity," appears as holding this office in 1840; "Andrew Jukes, Trinity," in 1841-42; "T. G. Ragland, Corpus," in 1843-45. Then comes "T. Y. Nicholson, Emmanuel," who afterwards joined Clayton as General Secretary, and was a most active worker for some years.

And con-
tributors.

Secretaries
at Oxford.

At Oxford there was no Association till 1825, but the Rev. John Hill, Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, had collected in the University for the Society for ten years before that. He became Secretary of the Association when it was founded, and continued so till 1851. He, therefore, at Oxford, and Scholefield at Cambridge, were the leading C.M.S. workers for just the same period, about thirty-six years. Sometimes he had co-secretaries, and among these were some notable men. John Henry Newman appears for one year, in 1830; Walter Kerr Hamilton (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury), in 1839-41; Samuel Waldegrave (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle), in 1844; E. Meyrick Goulburn (afterwards Dean of Norwich), in 1845. The two brothers Newman appear together as subscribers from 1825 to 1830, when F. W.'s name disappears, but J. H.'s continues to 1835. It is curious that just when Francis Newman drops out, owing to his joining the Plymouth Brother, Anthony Groves, the name of Benjamin Wills Newton, the well-known Plymouthist leader in after years, takes exactly the same place in the alphabetical list. In 1835 and following years appear together R. W. Church, G. Moberly, and F. Oakeley; in 1837, J. T. Delane (the great editor of the *Times*); in 1838, A. H. Clough, W. C. Lake, A. P. Stanley, and A. C. Tait; in 1842, W. Walsham How; in 1850, Charles Voysey. These notable names, some so unexpected, suggest grave reflections.

And con-
tributors.

When one's eye runs down the long lists of guinea subscriptions (or more) from graduates and half-guineas from undergraduates—

* *Christian Observer*, August, 1853, p. 562.

such subscriptions being far more numerous then than now,—it is impossible not to feel surprised that so few men seem to have thought of personal service. And yet the surprise is lessened when one reads an incident recorded by Henry Venn.* A Cambridge graduate appeared before the Committee, with an offer of himself.† When he left the room, some of the Committee-men said, “A man with so many accomplishments should go out as a chaplain, not as a missionary”! One only voice, that of the Lay Secretary, Coates, “was lifted up to testify that the office of a missionary deserved the consecration to its use of the highest intellectual acquirements.” “But the first sentiment prevailed; an Indian chaplaincy was procured. The aspirant for missionary labours was lost to the work.” “With such inadequate notions at headquarters,” remarks Venn, “it is not to be wondered at that within the Universities themselves the missionary spirit was at so low an ebb.”

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Why not
personal
service?

When Venn became Secretary, one of his first thoughts was, how to quicken missionary zeal in Cambridge, his own *alma mater*. In 1843 he spent several days there, consulting with Heads and Fellows and Tutors who had been his own contemporaries. Mr. Carus, the Senior Dean of Trinity College, who had succeeded Charles Simeon at Trinity Church, had begun periodical missionary meetings at the “Black Bear,” but these were not specifically for gownsmen. It was, however, arranged that terminal visits should be paid by representatives of the Society, and men be gathered in the rooms of some leading friend; and the first to receive Venn in this way, soon afterwards, was Ragland, Fourth Wrangler and Fellow of Corpus, who was already “University Secretary,” and who quickly set the still brighter example of going himself to the mission-field. “We began,” says Venn, “in Ragland’s rooms with ten to fifteen collectors. The number greatly expanded in the rooms of Nicholson of Emmanuel, till we were forced into the larger capacity of public rooms in the Town Hall or the Red Lion.”‡ “I have a most happy recollection of those meetings,” says the Rev. John Barton, then an undergraduate of Christ’s College.§

H. Venn
at Cam-
bridge.

In 1857-58, two events occurred which led to an important step forward. First, on December 3rd, 1857, David Livingstone paid his memorable visit to Cambridge, one result of which, the foundation of the Universities’ Mission to Africa, has been noticed in our Thirty-Third Chapter. Secondly, a few months afterwards, Nicholson left Cambridge to take a college living; and so keen was the sense of the value of his services to the missionary cause,

Living-
stone at
Cambridge

* In an address at Cambridge in 1870. *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1870, p. 350.

† The name and date are not given, but it would be some time between 1835 and 1845, for Venn and Dandeson Coates were both present.

‡ *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1870, p. 352.

§ In a paper read at Cambridge in 1894. *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1895, p. 94.

PART VI. that a sum of £250 was quickly collected in the University as a
1849-61. testimonial, which was given to the Society, and used towards the
Chap. 36. establishment of the Divinity School in Travancore, called after
 him the Cambridge Nicholson Institution. Livingstone's visit and
 Nicholson's departure combined, says Mr. Barton in the paper
 already quoted, "to originate the idea of a Missionary Union, to
 be officered and mainly conducted by undergraduates." The idea
 came from the Rev. W. Monk, then curate to the Rev. J. H.
 Titcomb, Vicar of Barnwell (afterwards first Bishop of Rangoon).
 It was Mr. Monk, indeed, who had brought Livingstone to Cam-
 bridge. The Cambridge University Church Missionary Union
 therefore, was established, and started in 1858 with ninety-two
 members. Monk, however, says Mr. Barton, "forsook his
 bantling, and threw his energies into the Universities' Mission";
 but Barton himself took up the Union, and started it again in the
 October term of that year in the Hall of St. Catherine's. From
 that day to this it has been a power in Cambridge. Its later
 history will come before us by-and-by. No similar story can be
 told of Oxford; and the number of Oxonians joining the Society
 has never equalled those hailing from the Cam, though there are
 brilliant names among them.

Cambridge
University
C.M.
Union.

Some of
the men
who did
go out.

Let us now glance at some few of the men who came forward
 from both Universities in the 'forties and 'fifties, tracing briefly
 such particulars as we can find of their early training and subse-
 quent personal careers, but leaving any accounts of their work
 itself to their proper places in the history of the several Missions.
 And we will begin with those two distinguished comrades in arms,
 Henry Watson Fox and Robert Turlington Noble. Fox's career,
 indeed, we have already seen closed by his early death;* but
 we cannot fairly think of his comrade Noble without a passing
 reference to him also.

Fox and
Noble.

At School.

Fox and Noble are both illustrations of the unspeakable value
 of early dedication to the Lord, and also of the blessed influence
 which a sister may exercise. Fox was a Rugby boy, in the sixth
 form under Arnold; and his position in the School is shown by
 his being President of the Debating Society. Apparently his first
 religious impressions were derived from a schoolfellow, but the
 influence of his sister Isabella and his brother George (afterwards
 the much-respected Rev. G. T. Fox of Durham) is evident from
 the correspondence in his Memoir.† Dr. Arnold himself, however,
 by his noble character and simple, manly teaching, also did much
 towards developing all that was good in him; and Fox always
 regarded the great head-master with the deepest reverence and
 affection. Robert Noble owed still more to his sisters. He was
 the boy at Oakham School who was awakened early in the morning
 to see his young married sister, Mrs. Palmer, on her way to
 Africa, and who was enjoined by her, as her parting message, to

* Vol. I., p. 501.

† *Memoir of H. W. Fox*, pp. 3-40.

read his Bible;* and from his elder sister came the care, and the money, which maintained him at school and college, and which were a help and support to him all through his missionary life. He, too, was fortunate in his school. The head-master of Oakham, Dr. Doncaster, added to high academical distinction a personal influence the results of which were seen in the lives of many of his pupils in all parts of the world.† Home affections and school life—what can they not, by Divine grace, effect, if their influence is cast on the right side?

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What, again, can be greater than the power upon the after-life of the quickly-passed years of University study? To Fox, his Oxford days were not his best. The principle of *noblesse oblige*, which had helped to give him a sense of dignity and responsibility as a præpostor under Arnold's system, no longer availed when he became an undergraduate at Wadham; and his passion for boating seems to have led him into company uncongenial to his Christian life.‡ Noble, on the other hand, could look back on his Sidney Sussex days as "the most profitable portion of his life."

At College.

I found Christ," he says, "to be indeed precious";§ and the breakdown of his health, which involved his losing a high place in the classical tripos and a fellowship to follow, which his tutor (one of the Examiners of the year) confidently predicted for him, he regarded as the Lord's interposition to prevent University claims standing in the way of his dedication to a missionary career. Fox, again, came to some small extent, for a short time, under the influence of the Tractarian leaders, and his brother and biographer attributes to this some dulling of his spiritual perceptions; but Noble never wavered in his onward and upward progress in the old paths.

A small point of likeness between the two—yet not an uninteresting one—is the fact that both received the definite call to the Telugu Mission in the same place, Brighton, and at the same time, though each was unacquainted with the other, and unaware that the other was also being called. Fox was with H. V. Elliott at the time, and Noble with Sir T. Blomefield, to whose family he was deeply attached. More important is another contrast between them. Fox was ordained at the earliest canonical age, married nine days after, and went to India within three months at the age of twenty-three. Noble, though nine years older, had only just been ordained, having, with an over-sensitive scrupulosity, thought himself unworthy to enter the sacred ministry till he attained the age at which our Lord Himself, and John the Baptist, began their public lives; and with the high motive of giving up *all* for Christ, he deliberately put aside the thought of marriage, encouraged by the example of Charles Simeon, and by the signal influence which Simeon, as a bachelor, had attained

How the
call came
to both.

R. Noble
chooses
celibacy.

* See Vol. I., p. 177.

† *Memoir of Fox*, pp. 43-46.

‡ *Memoir of R. T. Noble*, p. 23.

§ *Memoir of Noble*, p. 33.

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at Cambridge. "I have felt it," Simeon said to him, "a great sacrifice; but I have never regretted it; and if, to be more useful as a missionary, you determine on a life of celibacy, God can and will support you, and you will be blessed in the deed." In fact both types of missionaries are wanted; and if it be true that among some sections of the population of India an unmarried missionary is regarded with exceptional respect, it is equally true that among African tribes his celibate life is not understood. The married woman, too, is needed in the mission-field as well as the single woman; and the example of Christian home-life is, especially among barbarous people, of inestimable value.

Fox and
Noble in
India.

The careers of Fox and Noble were very different. Fox laid the foundation of the Village Mission in the Telugu country, buried his wife at Madras, brought his two young children to England, went out again, broke down himself in health, came home again, and died a few days after his thirty-second birthday; leaving, however, a bright memory in India—Ragland wrote of him, "I never met with any one so like an angel, so sensible and able, so loving and gentle and holy"; leaving, moreover, the little son and daughter to be eminently used of God in after years—the son to become Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Noble started his famous school, had not registered a single convert when Fox died, but laboured patiently for twenty-four years without once coming home, and died at his post, leaving several spiritual children, gathered from the highest castes, who became the leaders, lay and clerical, of the Telugu Native Church.

Character
of Noble.

Robert Noble was of the stuff of which great missionaries are made. Such men are not always popular. They will work in their own way, confident that they are right; and generally they prove to be right in their own case, though their course may not be the best for others. The men who administered the C.M.S. Missions in South India from the headquarters at Madras, Ragland, Royston, and W. Gray, did not find Noble easy to manage, though they honoured and admired him. One great controversy, which nearly led to his retirement, will be noticed hereafter, when we glance at some of the problems of Missionary Education. Another time, the commissary of the Bishop of Madras, during the latter's absence in England, withdrew Noble's license, because on the occasion of the C.M.S. Jubilee he invited some godly English people at Masulipatam to join the missionaries and Native Christians at a special Communion Service in the mission chapel, thereby intruding into the province of the chaplain of the station; but the license was restored by a new Bishop (Dealtry) who just then succeeded to the see. Noble's very decided character as an Evangelical, and his very marked separation (on the same principle as his celibacy) from all that was of "the world," made him obnoxious to many of the civil and military officers and chaplains; but there were always some among them,

spiritually-minded men, who loved him and clung to him all the more for his staunchness. The Bible-readings and prayer-meetings, however, which he arranged for these latter, exposed him to the complaints of chaplains who regarded extempore prayer irregular, and excluded him from any share in the English services in the Fort church. But this he did not mind, as he held very strongly that missionaries who took part in them could scarcely help neglecting, more or less, their primary duty among the Natives.

Robert Noble's great work we shall see more fully hereafter. But these personal features of his character and career are too interesting to be passed over.

Our next Cambridge missionary, Thomas Gajetan* Ragland, was indebted, not like Fox and Noble, to a sister, but to a cousin who was both mother and sister to him (he being an orphan from infancy); and also, like them, to the excellent schools at which he was educated. He, too, was under the influence of Divine grace from very early years. While a schoolboy of fifteen he taught in a Sunday-school. He was an enthusiastic student of the histories and genealogies of the Bible before he learned to appreciate its deeper teachings; and the accurate knowledge thus gained proved of great help in after years. Another element of value in his early training was the experience of business gained in his uncle's mercantile house at Liverpool, in which he worked up to the age of twenty-two. But when his uncle proposed to retire and leave the business to him, his sensitive conscience told him, while not condemning others, that in his own case Christian principle would forbid customs that seemed essential to success; and he then resolved to go to Cambridge, with a view to holy orders. He knew nothing of mathematics, and he had no thought of reading for a tripos; but Carus, to whom godly undergraduates looked much for advice at that time, always urged them to aim at honours, and under this influence he set to work. The result was that he came out Fourth Wrangler,† and was speedily elected Fellow of his college, Corpus. Spiritual growth, however, and work for Christ, were meanwhile not neglected. He joined a freshmen's prayer-meeting—not so common a thing then as since,—taught in Jesus Lane Sunday-school, and regularly visited the village of Barton with tracts. But when he was a Fellow and Lecturer himself, if a freshman asked his advice on this matter, his first question always was, "How will it affect your reading?"

After his ordination in 1841, Ragland served as curate in Cambridge, part of the time at St. Paul's, under the Senior Wrangler of an earlier year, Charles Perry, afterwards Bishop of Melbourne. He had no thought of a missionary career. "He

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Ragland.

In early life.

And at Cambridge

No thought of a missionary career.

* So named after his grandmother, an Italian lady, Lucretia Gajetani.

† Sir G. G. Stokes was Senior Wrangler; Dr. Boulton, Principal of Highbury, Fifth; Professor Swainson, Sixth.

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even occasionally," writes his friend W. S. Dumergue, "repressed the ardour of some of his companions on the subject, urging that there was plenty to do at home." He disliked travelling, and had no desire even to visit foreign lands. The voice of the Lord first came to him through a letter he read from H. W. Fox, then in India. Then, as before mentioned, he became University Secretary for the C.M.S., and in that capacity received Henry Venn at the first undergraduates' meeting, in his own rooms, in the Lent term of 1845. In the next term, Venn attended the usual Anniversary of the Cambridge Association, in the Town Hall. He observed two clergymen holding the plates at the door, Ragland himself and R. L. Allnutt of Peterhouse; but it did not occur to him that both of them were then solemnly considering the question of personal service. It was on that night, May 19th, however, after that meeting, that Ragland opened his mind to the specially dear cousin before alluded to; and on June 2nd he wrote to Salisbury Square. He then consulted his Vicar, Mr. Perry, who, "with moistened eyes, said that so deeply did he feel the need of men offering themselves, he would not hold back the dearest friend he had in the world." On November 20th in that same year, he sailed for India; and in the following July, Allnutt followed him thither. The latter's health soon broke down, and he had to return; in after years giving, in the person of his son, a valuable missionary to the Cambridge Delhi Mission connected with the S.P.G. Ragland was privileged to labour devotedly for thirteen years, notwithstanding the gradual advances of lung disease, and then died at his post. He was for six years Secretary at Madras, in succession to John Tucker; for which office his mercantile training specially fitted him. He afterwards initiated the North Tinnevely Itinerant Mission, of which more hereafter.

Yet he
becomes a
missionary

Character
of Ragland.

Ragland was a man of singular humility, of even excessive lowliness, if such a thing be possible. "His complete self-abasement," wrote his friend and fellow-worker at Madras, Colonel C. A. Browne, "appeared almost to subject him to the spirit of bondage, and to deter him from realizing the spirit of adoption. No one ever cast himself more absolutely on Christ; but he was as one lying low down with his mouth to the very dust before the cross, and forgetting to lift up his eyes to the Crucified One." His austere habits made his friends think that in the Middle Ages he would have been a singularly holy monk. He was not quite happy in so leading a post as he occupied at Madras. He wanted to give it up, and go and live in two rooms in Black Town, among the lowest of the people; and at one time he thought of going to Japan—then absolutely closed—and meeting a cruel death there for Christ's sake. "Gradually, however," says Colonel Browne, "his sky brightened up, and he learned to joy in God; and though always softly, he ever afterwards walked peacefully." His own account of himself was, "I

am sometimes in the clouds, sometimes in the dust; but generally with *my hand locked in the hand of my gracious Saviour.*" *

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Ragland's portrait now hangs in the hall of Corpus; and that college has given more men to the Mission-field than any other college at an English University, Trinity only excepted; and even Trinity, with its immensely larger number of men to draw from, is only a little ahead. "Of all plans," wrote Ragland to R. Clark, "for ensuring success, the most certain is Christ's own—becoming a corn of wheat, falling into the ground, and dying."

The next Cambridge man after Ragland and Allnutt did not go forth direct from Cambridge. R. M. Lamb was a Trinity man, but he had been for some time Incumbent of Over Darwen, Lancashire. He had been born at Meerut in North India, and baptized by Henry Martyn; and this led him, when a special appeal was put forth for the Meerut Mission, then in a desolate condition, in 1846, to offer to give up his parish and go out himself. He laboured with much blessing for ten years, when, just after the breaking out of the Mutiny, he was killed by a fall from his horse.

Other
Cambridge
men: R. M.
Lamb.

The next in order of sailing was M. J. Wilkinson, also of Trinity College, son of one of the early missionaries trained by individual clergymen, Michael Wilkinson of Gorakhpur. He worked at Benares six years. And then R. H. Cobbold of Peterhouse, Curate of Melton Mowbray, one of the pioneer C.M.S. missionaries in China, and Archdeacon of Ningpo under Bishop Smith. In later years he was Rector of Ross and Prebendary of Hereford, and the chief friend and supporter of the Society in that part of England.

Cobbold.

China also claimed the next Cambridge recruit. In the year following Ragland's sailing for India, six or seven undergraduate friends were meeting on Saturday evenings for Bible study and prayer: among them, Frederick Foster Gough, a Foundation Scholar of St. John's; also Edmund Carr and J. W. Consterdine, who, though they never became missionaries themselves, have both, in these latter days, given sons to the foreign field. But Gough went himself, and so, a few years later, did one whom, as a young freshman, Carr introduced into that praying band, George Evans Moule. Gough was a thorough scholar, and became a perfect master of classical Chinese, exasperating the Bible Society, says Bishop Moule, by his minute and elaborate corrections of the "Delegates' Version." But his thirty-two years' work for China will come before us in another chapter. Here it need only be added that it was Gough who suggested the establishment of the Cambridge University Prayer Union, started in 1848, and now numbering over 1500 members in all parts of the world. While at St. John's, he had a small prayer-meeting in his rooms

F. F.
Gough.

* These particulars of Ragland's earlier life, and of his character, are gathered from the deeply-interesting biography of him by Archdeacon T. T. Perowne (London, 1861).

PART VI. at 6 a.m. on Sundays, and this led him to propose that, when
1849-61. they left Cambridge, they should not cease praying for one
Chap. 36. another.*

Welton. Then on the roll comes the name of William Welton, one of
the first two missionaries to Fuh-chow. He was a Caius man,
but not of this period, as he was forty years old when he went
out, and had, before his ordination, been a surgeon in Suffolk
for twelve years. He laboured seven years at Fuh-chow without
seeing any fruit to the Mission; came home in broken health;
and died, leaving £1500 to the Society. With him may be
Fearnley. mentioned Matthew Fearnley, of St. John's College, 19th Wrangler
in 1847; as he also went to Fuh-chow, and worked four years,
but retired before the first converts were gathered.

The years 1851-52 brought a group of young Cambridge men
in whose accession to the ranks Venn's journal shows that he
greatly rejoiced. First, Robert Clark, of Trinity College, 28th
R. Clark. Wrangler, who, after forty-seven years' service, is still in the
field. Then came the two brothers, Christopher and David
The brothers Fenn, sons of the veteran Travancore missionary and honoured
Fenn. member of the Committee, Joseph Fenn, and brothers of men
of mark in the home Church. C. C. Fenn† was a Scholar of
Trinity, and graduated in 1846, being in the first class of the
Classical Tripos, as well as Senior Optime. David, three years
his junior, took, in 1849, the same mathematical position, but a
Meadows. second in classics. Then R. R. Meadows, Scholar of Corpus,
and Superintendent in his day of Jesus Lane Sunday-school; ‡
then Clement F. Cobb, Scholar of Trinity, who had been captain
of Marlborough School; then R. C. Paley, of Peterhouse, grand-

* See an *In Memoriam* of Gough, by Bishop Moule, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1889.

† "I have never met with a more ingenuous, simple-minded, and straight-forward candidate."—H. Venn's *Private Journal*, January 11th, 1850. "A young man of great intellectual activity."—*Ibid.*, January 17th. "He was subjected by our Clerical Sub-Committee to a suspicious cross-examination on doctrinal points, but I trust all will end well."—*Ibid.*, February 4th, 1851.

‡ This seems a convenient place to enumerate the C.M.S. missionaries who have been teachers in this most famous of all Sunday-schools. Meadows is the only one who was Superintendent; but Dr. T. Maxwell was Superintendent of the "Choristers' Section," and F. H. Baring was Treasurer. The other names are—F. Owen (one of the original teachers when the School was started in 1827), G. Valentine, R. L. Allnutt, T. G. Ragland, C. C. Fenn, F. F. Gough, B. Davis, R. Clark, C. F. Cobb, H. D. Hubbard, G. E. Moule, R. C. Paley, R. P. Greaves, P. S. Royston, H. C. Milward, R. E. Clark, S. Atlee, J. M. Speechly, R. R. A. Doolan, J. H. Bishop, G. Ensor, R. F. Trench, R. Young, E. K. Blumhardt, M. G. and H. D. Goldsmith, W. Jukes, T. Bomford, H. E. Jennings, J. H. Horsburgh, J. C. Hoare, R. Shann, F. Nevill, F. N. Eden, W. L. Groves, E. Bellerby, P. I. Jones, A. J. Shields, G. H. Pole, E. Corfield, H. Sykes, W. Weston, B. F. Buxton, C. E. R. Romilly, H. J. Tanner, H. P. Napier-Clavering, J. Neale, C. J. F. Symons, C. F. H. Battersby, W. J. Humphrey, A. I. Birkett, J. Cropper, E. S. and D. W. Carr, E. F. E. and B. E. Wigram, C. B. and A. C. Clarke, F. N. Askwith, W. F. Cobb, A. H. Sheldon, R. W. Ryde, E. Millar, E. A. Hensley, R. S. Heywood, A. W. Crockett, H. W. Weatherhead, H. W. Moule, E. W. Mathias.

son of Paley of the *Evidences*. Among the names in the next few years are those of Arthur Stock, of Pembroke, afterwards Archdeacon in New Zealand; A. H. Frost, of St. John's, a Yorkshire rector, who had been 11th Wrangler in 1842; R. Collins, of St. John's; Henry Whitley, of Queens', a Leicestershire curate of singular devotion,* who went to Galle Face Church, Colombo, and five years after was killed by a falling wall; Peter S. Royston, of Trinity, Classical Tutor at the C.M.S. College, and in after years Bishop of Mauritius and Assistant Bishop at Liverpool; R. P. Greaves, of Corpus; H. C. Milward, of Christ's, 33rd Wrangler; H. W. Shackell, of Pembroke, 10th Wrangler, first class in Theology and second in Classics; George Evans Moule, of Corpus, afterwards Bishop in Mid China; Brocklesby Davis, Scholar of Peterhouse, Browne University Scholar, and 21st Wrangler in 1849, and Fellow, who laboured in East End slums for some years before going out; R. C. Macdonald, Foundation Scholar of Sidney Sussex; Roger E. Clark, of Trinity, brother of Robert Clark; R. B. Batty, Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel, 2nd Wrangler and 2nd Smith's Prizeman in 1853; T. K. Weatherhead, of St. John's; John Barton, of Christ's, in after years Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge, and then Secretary of the C.P.A.S.; J. M. Speechly, of St. John's, afterwards first Bishop of Travancore and Cochin; and Dr. A. A. Harrison, of Trinity, 24th Wrangler and 1st Class Nat. Sc. Tripos in 1853, the medical missionary of Abeokuta elsewhere referred to.†

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Other
honoured
names.

Of the forty-two Cambridge men enrolled in the twenty-one years, 1841-61, twenty-eight graduated in honours, nine being Wranglers. But apart from academical distinctions, what a noble band it is! We think of Christopher Fenn's work in Ceylon, and then for over thirty years as Secretary; of the North Tinnevely trio, Ragland and Meadows and David Fenn; of the episcopates of Royston and Speechly and Moule; of the educational work done by R. Noble and Cobb and Frost and Collins and B. Davis, the last-named for nearly forty years; of Greaves's deliberate conviction that the foreign field might justly even claim clergymen already in important home spheres, and his consequent exchange of Lancashire for Bengal; of the simplicity and liberality of Shackell, sent forth to bring his learning to bear on the educated Hindus, and presently burying himself among the uncultivated Santals, and establishing a station at his own expense; of Barton's influence both at Calcutta and at Madras; of the pioneer labours of the four men in China, Cobbold, Gough, Welton, Fearnley; of the deaths, at their posts, of such bright young missionaries as Paley and Batty and Roger Clark; and we praise God for them, and for all the Cambridge recruits of the two middle decades of the century.

The men
and their
work.

Of two of these, Richard Charnley Paley and Richard Pearson R.C. Paley.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1861, p. 55. † See Chapter XXXIX.

PART VI. Greaves, something more may be said. Paley and R. R. Meadows were special friends at Cambridge. Both were active in Sunday-school work and district visiting, each being superintendent of his school; and both offered to the Society together, for Africa.

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Paley is an illustration of the good influence of Sunday-school interest in Missions, not on the scholars only, but on the teachers also. His scholars had contributed towards the building of a church at Abeokuta; and the missionary's letter acknowledging the money, which Paley had to read to them, proved a message to himself. The two friends were the first men from an English University to offer for Africa; but Meadows was refused by the doctors for that climate, and went to India instead. Paley was appointed to start a training institution at Abeokuta for Native evangelists and teachers. In the Committee's Instructions to him, the prestige of his grandfather's name was felicitously alluded to. That name was connected with "the noble achievement of communicating to the youthful mind clear and simple, yet acute and profound, knowledge of the Evidences of Christianity"; and the Committee hoped the grandson would be enabled to teach the youth of Africa "to build their hopes of salvation upon the solid foundations of reason and fact," and "to own the religion of Christ to be the only '*reasonable* service.'" The question of Paley's ordination cost some little trouble. Bishop Blomfield, always so ready and kind about ordaining C.M.S. candidates, refused him, pronouncing him unsound on "baptismal regeneration." * However, he allowed the newly-consecrated first Bishop of Sierra Leone to ordain him, as he was going to that diocese; and in November, 1852, Paley and his young wife sailed with the Bishop and Mrs. Vidal; Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer, three young Germans, a missionary surgeon, and one of Mrs. Paley's Sunday-school girls going out to teach the infants, being also of the party. They arrived in due course at Abeokuta; but from the first, both Paley and his wife were continuously down with fever. On April 1st he "gently breathed his life away," wrote Mrs. Hinderer. The poor young widow was tenderly carried through the African forest to Lagos, and put on board ship; but on May 6th, at sea, she too "finished her course."

"Paley's
Evi-
dences."

His early
death, and
his wife's.

R. P.
Greaves.

The other whose offer of service may be noted here, R. P. Greaves, was an example of a successful parish clergyman leaving his parish to go abroad. In his case, as in so many others, the environment of his childhood spoke to him of Christ's service, and of the mission-field. Though English by parentage, he was born at Basle, and in childhood knew many of the men training in the Missionary Seminary there. His heart was early given to the Lord, and of his school-days afterwards in this country the master testified that "he was a boy who always turned his back upon evil." After taking his degree at Cambridge, he worked as a

* See next Chapter.

curate at Bolton, and then became Incumbent of St. Peter's, Manchester. There he laboured with great devotion for a few years; and he was just such a man as most people would keep at home, and in just such a position as seemed to claim the continuance of his services. But after long and calm consideration of the relative claims of the thousands at home who have the Gospel at their doors and the millions abroad who have never heard it, God led him to the right decision. His period of service was only fourteen years; but when the Lord took him, he left behind in the Bengal Mission a bright memory of whole-hearted faithfulness. Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer*, commenting on his career, said, "A Babel-like determination to build up the Church at home, instead of 'replenishing the earth,' is a preference of man's wisdom to God's command." *

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We now turn to Oxford. Its recruits were not so numerous, but they were emphatically men who made their mark. Of Fox we have already spoken. To Part V. of our History belongs also George Smith, of Magdalen Hall, who subsequently became the first English Bishop in China. Among the twelve names in our present period, 1849-61, we find those of T. V. French, of University College, of whom more presently; W. Leonard Williams, of Magdalen Hall, now Bishop of Waiapu, who has been mentioned before in this History, and will appear again; W. Keene, of Brasenose, who laboured thirty years among the Sikhs; T. Tuting, of Lincoln, who, like Roger Clark, lies in the Peshawar Cemetery; E. L. Puxley, of Brasenose, previously an officer in the 4th Light Dragoons, and afterwards founder of the Santal Mission; and then, in the last year of our period, 1861, three men who sailed in the same month, viz., W. E. Rowlands, of Worcester College, who both by personal service and by liberal gifts, has done so much for Ceylon; John Sharp, of Queen's, the Rugby boy who became the first *Rugby* "Fox Master" at Noble's School, and is now Secretary of the Bible Society; and W. Hooper, of Wadham, a first classman and Boden Sanscrit scholar, one of the most learned of North India missionaries, and still in the field. These again are men to praise God for.

Oxford
men.

Of Thomas Valpy French, the most distinguished of all C.M.S. missionaries, something more must be said. His diversified and devoted labours we shall trace in future chapters. As an Oxford recruit we must look at him now, guided by Mr. Birks's admirable biography. †

T. Valpy
French.

Like some of the other missionaries mentioned in this chapter, French owed much to his home training. His father, the Rev. Peter French, Vicar of Burton-on-Trent for forty-seven years, was a staunch Evangelical, a vigorous and successful parish clergyman, and a recognized leader in the Midlands; while the

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1871, p. 95.

† *Life and Correspondence of T. V. French, First Bishop of Lahore*. By the Rev. Herbert Birks. Murray, 1895.

PART VI. "sweetness and gentleness" of his mother was of no ordinary kind. The place of his birth, a quiet old abbey by the Trent, only separated from the bustling brewing town by its own wall, was typical of the future bishop's own life, passed amid incessant and pressing occupations, yet marked by a certain aloofness and ecclesiastical quietism which made him breathe the atmosphere of the venerated past even in the environment of the urgent present. Touching his boyhood, mention is made of "his keen interest in the various deputations who came to plead the cause of Missions, his carefulness to mention their names in his prayers, and his own early wish to 'teach the little black boys about Jesus.'"

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His early years.

At Rugby and Oxford.

Like Fox, French was a Rugby boy under Arnold; and the great headmaster's sermons rather perplexed him, as, despite their manly earnestness, not quite "the Gospel" he was familiar with at Burton Vicarage.* At Oxford he was a thorough student, while teaching in the Holywell Sunday-school under E. M. Goulburn (afterwards Dean of Norwich); and he obtained a first class in "greats," along with Conington, Bright, and Ince—all of whom became Professors,—and subsequently won the coveted Chancellor's Latin Essay Prize, and was elected Fellow of his college. The influence of Arnold at Rugby, and that of the Tractarians at Oxford, were not without effect upon him, though he himself said, long afterwards, that he owed much to that of Samuel Waldegrave, which no doubt kept him staunch to the essentials of Evangelical truth, while in non-essentials he much broadened as the years went on.

The missionary spirit of his childhood did not evaporate. At Oxford he was a collector for the C.M.S.; and he formed—"it is believed," says Mr. Birks—a little missionary union, one of the members of which was A. H. Mackonochie, then reputed as an Evangelical, but afterwards of St. Alban's, Holborn. The Divine call to himself to go forth came in different forms. First, H. W. Fox, during his first visit to England, addressed a breakfast party of men in Trinity College; and Canon Curteis, who was French's contemporary at University College, and was taken by him to the breakfast, writes that he "can hardly doubt that that address made a permanent mark" on his "sympathizing and enthusiastic soul." Then Fox, on his return to India, wrote to French, and begged him to come out. This letter† is a most powerful one. It urges that the Gospel is thoroughly preached in England; that evangelization is Christ's command, and He never told us to preach over and over again to the same people till they were converted; that the joy of His felt presence is as great in India as in England; and then:—

His missionary call.

"Now what I ask of you is carefully to search and examine, that it

* Mr. Birks inserts a very interesting sketch of French at Rugby, by the Rev. G. P. Pownall, afterwards Dean of Perth, Western Australia, and then Vicar of Hoxton. French, Pownall, and R. A. Cross (now Lord Cross), used to study together.

† *Life of French*, p. 17.

may not be through unfaithfulness that you decline to enter on an apostle's work. The excuse of the wants of England seems to me one of the most unfaithful excuses a Christian can give; it implies a direct unbelief in God's promise of blessing the liberal. If God's promise be true, the more men come out the more men will He raise up to bless the Church with, which out of its poverty gives its best to His cause."

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—

Then came a great speech by Bishop Wilberforce, appealing to Oxford men to go out; which French himself looked back to in after years as having brought him to the point. He and a friend prayed together over it, and that friend, Arthur Lea, was killed in a railway accident soon after. "The one was taken," says Mr. Birks, "and the other left, and so their mutual vows of consecration appeared to him doubly binding"; and he at once put himself in communication with the C.M.S. Two years, however, elapsed before he actually went out. He sailed September 11th, 1850, commissioned to establish a new Mission College at Agra. Of that great work a future chapter will speak.

The call
responded
to.

Another inquiry from Oxford is alluded to in Henry Venn's Private Journal, which did not lead to a definite offer, but which is of deep interest in view of the then unknown future:—

(Friday, December 12th, 1856.) "Had a long conversation with a young Oxford man, the second son of Mr. Wright of Derbyshire, a man of enormous wealth. He has long wished to go out as a missionary, but his father would prefer his labouring as a missionary at home among the colliers and miners of his estate. I was greatly interested by his ingenuousness and simplicity; but feeling that there would be some difficulties in paying a missionary stipend to a wealthy man, I suggested that he should go out at his own charges for a few years, either to Jerusalem or Calcutta, placing himself altogether under the direction of the Society. He was to confer with his father on the subject."

Henry
Wright's
offer.

That is all. But how little did Venn think that day that he was talking to his successor! It is curious, by the way, to see that the Society then did not seem to understand that a man could be altogether on its missionary staff and yet be at his own charges.

Ireland was not behind in the supply of missionaries. It contributed a fair share of men for training at Islington or otherwise; and Trinity College, Dublin, though it did not rival Cambridge in the number of its recruits, exactly equalled the total from Oxford from the beginning to 1861, twenty-two from each. Among the earlier names, those of J. H. Gray of Madras, R. Maunsell of New Zealand, T. McClatchie of China, and W. A. Russell (afterwards Bishop), are especially notable. Russell was a son of a gentleman in Tipperary, and had dedicated himself to missionary work from boyish days, along with his schoolfellow D. T. Barry, who went to India in middle life, thirty years later. Russell owed much spiritually, while at Trinity College, to John Gregg, afterwards Bishop of Cork. In our present period we find men much honoured for their work.

Trinity
College,
Dublin.

Russell.

PART VI. First, in 1849, John Bowen : he was the son of a Welsh gentleman of some property, and had spent part of his youth in the wilds of what was then an unsettled part of Canada, on the banks of Lake Erie ; and there he was brought to Christ by the instrumentality of an S.P.G. clergyman, the Rev. C. B. Gribble, afterwards a chaplain at Constantinople. Giving up his backwoodsman life, he returned home, and studied for orders, graduating at Dublin, and beginning to think of the foreign field. When Captain Allen Gardiner was planning his expedition to Patagonia, he asked Bowen to go with him ; but the Divine Hand did not seem to point in that direction. After a meeting at York in connexion with the C.M.S. Jubilee, at which Edward Bickersteth spoke, he mentioned to Bickersteth his readiness for the mission-field. In due course he went as a kind of special commissioner to the East, as we shall see hereafter. On his return, he became Rector of Orton Longueville, Hunts ; then went out again to Palestine, and started the Nazareth Mission ; and ultimately became Bishop of Sierra Leone, but died after a short episcopate of twenty months.*

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Bowen.

Stuart.

Then, in 1850, appeared Edward Craig Stuart, fresh from a sheaf of academical honours, and offering to accompany French to India. With French he worked at Agra ; like French, after many years' service in other parts of India, he became a bishop, being consecrated in the very same month, December, 1877,—only in New Zealand, for the see of Waiapu ; like French, after a laborious and fruitful episcopate, he laid down his dignity and authority ; and, like French, he went forth again as a simple missionary, to devote his latter years to the evangelization of the Mohammedans of Western Asia.

Fitzpatrick

In the next year, 1851, came Thomas Henry Fitzpatrick. Educated for the law, the young Gray's Inn student had been converted to Christ (like R. W. Stewart long afterwards) just when about to be called to the bar, and then (like Stewart) chose holy orders instead. After taking a theological course at Dublin and his degree, he became curate at Bishop Ryder's Church, Birmingham. One day, just when it was known that the Punjab was open for a C.M.S. Mission, he was startled by an old clergyman laying his hand upon his shoulder, and saying, "Fitzpatrick, you are wanted there!" The arrow went home : he offered to the Society ; he was appointed, with Robert Clark, to begin a Mission in the Punjab, where he laboured with unstinted self-sacrifice for several years. Illness at last drove him back : and after a fruitless attempt to work again in India, he took a Cumberland parish, married a sister of John Barton, and died a few months after, in 1866. After he had been in India two or three years, he wrote home as follows :—

"If any of my younger brethren in Orders, or any of our University men ready for Orders, ask you, 'Does Fitzpatrick still think he was right

* See further, Chapters XXXIX. and XLI.

in his leaving his curacy in a district of 10,000 poor in the town of Birmingham, to go to preach Christ to the Heathen of India? tell them he can never be too thankful for it. And if they ask, 'Would he venture to say that others similarly circumstanced should do likewise?' say it is one of his most frequent and most earnest prayers that they may have grace to do so."

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—

In 1857 came John Ireland Jones, who laboured thirty-five years in Ceylon, and F. W. N. Alexander, who has already been forty years in the Telugu Mission, and still works on. Meanwhile, a Scholar of Trinity, a Gold Medallist, and a First Class-man in Logic and Ethics, William Gray, had in the preceding year gone to Madras as Vice-Principal of the Doveton College; and on New Year's Day, 1858, he joined the C.M.S. Mission, shortly afterwards marrying, in Madras, the sister of Peter Royston, who was then C.M.S. Secretary there. Together they joined the North Tinnevely Itinerancy, just then bereaved by the death of Ragland; and Mrs. Gray was the first lady in India to live in tents as an itinerant missionary. Gray's later valuable services, in three forms of secretarial work, at Madras, at Nottingham, and in Salisbury Square, cover five-and-thirty years.

J. I. Jones.

W. Gray.

That same year, 1858, saw the accession to the ranks of Robert Bruce, whose conspicuous labours, first on the Afghan Frontier, and then as the founder of the C.M.S. Mission in Persia, will command our attention by-and-by; and in 1860 was enrolled Joseph Welland, afterwards the highly-valued Secretary at Calcutta, whose successful ministry at the "Old Church," recalled the former days of David Brown and Thomas Thomason, and who held the honourable post of Domestic Chaplain to two Viceroys, Lord Lawrence and Lord Northbrook. Once more, for these and other "T.C.D." men, we may well praise the Lord.

Bruce.

Welland.

This chapter has been mainly occupied with biographical details. But Biography makes History; and a Society consists of its Members; and perhaps these brief notices of the early days of some of our missionary heroes and the varied and prolonged services of others, may be privileged to stir the hearts of readers to "follow in their train."

Let one more personal circumstance be added. It is an additional cause of thanksgiving to Him who prepared so many of these His servants by godly influence and environment in their childhood, that so many of them in their turn became the fathers of missionaries. Of those we have specially noticed in this chapter, the following are, or have been, represented in the Mission-field by sons or daughters:—Barton, Clark, Cobb, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Gough, Gray, Greaves, Jones, Maunsell, Moule, Rowlands, Royston, Stuart, Weatherhead, and Williams. Again we may quote the motto of the Missionaries' Children's Home—"The children of Thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be established before Thee."

The
Missionary
Succes-
sion.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ISLINGTON COLLEGE AND ITS MEN.

Variety of Men—Graduates—Basle Men—Africans—Other Non-Europeans—Returned Catechists : Ronaldson—English Non-Graduates : Long, &c.—Bishop Blomfield's Examinations—Childe and Green—Green's Catechists—The Students in the Angel Courts—"Look out!"

"*He . . . calleth unto Him whom He would : and they came unto Him.*"—St. Mark iii. 13.

"*That they should be with Him, and that He might send them forth to preach.*"—Ver. 14.

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The "In-
stitution."



HIS seems a convenient place in our History to give "the Institution" a chapter to itself. "The Institution"—for the word "College" is of much more recent date. The Committee of former years always disclaimed the idea of the Society carrying on a college; and it will be remembered that some difficulty arose in the days of Pearson's principalship, owing to Edward Bickersteth and other friends desiring to emphasize still more than was already the case the family character of the "Institution." Not for nearly fifty years after that, in Mr. Barlow's time, was the word College officially recognized—a change symbolized to the outward eye by the adoption of caps and gowns for the men. But in quite early times, as Mr. Childe tells us,* "the natives"—i.e. the people of Islington—"would have it that it *was* a college," and the builders of the street behind named it "College Street."

The
"College."

In former chapters we have seen something of the Society's early difficulties in the training of its candidates, and how the "Institution"—or College, as we may now not shrink from calling it—came to be established.† The twenty years of Mr. Childe's principalship, 1838-58, were a period of much interest in the history of the College, during which a remarkable succession of good and able men were sent forth from it; and a brief notice of it, and of them, at this period, will throw not a little of side-light on the history of the Missions to which they went.

Childe's
period as
Principal.

* In some MS. "Reminiscences," read at a meeting in the College a few years ago. From this MS. several particulars in this chapter are gathered.

† See Chapters VIII., XVIII., XIX.



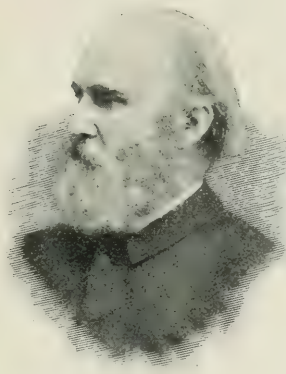
REV. J. N. PEARSON



REV. C. F. CHILDE.



REV. T. GREEN.



REV. A. H. FROST.



REV. J. G. HEISCH.



REV. DR. W. H. BARLOW.

ISLINGTON COLLEGE.

Principals: J. N. Pearson, 1825-1838 C. F. Childe, 1839-1858;
T. Green, 1858-1870; A. H. Frost, 1870-1875;
W. H. Barlow, 1875-1882.
Vice-Principal: J. G. Heisch, 1858-1879.

One of the most serious difficulties in the conduct of the College has always been the extremely diverse degrees of education in the candidates; and this difficulty was far greater of old than it is now. There was no Preparatory Institution, to serve as a *sieve* through which men might fall out whose training, after a few months' trial, it seemed unadvisable to continue, and also to prepare the "fittest" who "survived" for the systematic teaching of the College. Accordingly, in Mr. Childe's words, "We had to carry on the several works of an English School, a Grammar School, and a Theological College, at one and the same time in one and the same place." Besides the Principal and two Tutors, there was then, he says, "a worthy man who used to attend as a sort of male daily governess, to perfect our new recruits in the Three R's, and especially to improve their style of composition." But, he adds, "it used to be a matter of daily wonder to mark the intellectual vigour, and the rapid progress, of some whose previous culture had been the most slender. Again and again I found myself saying, 'If So-and-so had enjoyed my advantages he would have far outstripped me in the race of scholarship.' It was impossible not to recognize in their success the blessing of a faithful God, in answer to believing prayer."

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Difficulties
of the
work.

The variety in the type of men will be better realized by observing Mr. Childe's classification of the students in the College during his term of office:—(1) Returned catechists, (2) English non-graduates, (3) Graduates, (4) Germans, (5) Africans, (6) other non-Europeans. Of course the second of these classes were the normal type, for whom the College was intended; but Nos. 1, 3, and 4 were all of them important groups. No. 3 has always been a specially interesting one. University graduates have often found it a great help to take a year's theological course at Islington; and some of our best men in an academical sense have done so with much profit—W. Hooper, for instance, fresh from his first class in "greats" at Oxford. Mr. Childe specially mentions David Fenn, John Ireland Jones, W. Keene, R. R. Meadows, R. C. Paley, and W. A. (afterwards Bishop) Russell.

Varied
classes of
men.

University
graduates.

The No. 4 Group comprised the large majority of the men from the Basle Seminary. A few, like Krapf, went straight from Basle to the field. Others, like Pfander, were missionaries of the Basle Society itself, and joined the C.M.S. in India, receiving English orders there. But most of them came to Islington for a year's (or more) instruction in English Church doctrine and practice, and to be presented to the Bishop of London for ordination. Among the very first students in the College, when it was opened in 1825, were two Basle men of high reputation in after years, Samuel Gobat,* who became Anglican Bishop in

Men from
the Basle
Seminary,

and after-
wards at
Islington

* See Chapter XXIV. for notices of Gobat at Islington and in Salisbury Square.

PART VI. 1849-61. Chap. 37. Jerusalem, and J. R. T. Lieder, who held the fort for forty years at Cairo. Both these, however, laboured for some years before receiving English orders. Of the men regularly prepared for ordination at their first residence at Islington, special mention should be made of J. J. Weitbrecht and C. B. Leupolt, identified respectively with Burdwan and Benares; C. W. Isenberg and C. H. Blumhardt, of Abyssinia and India; G. A. Kissling, of Sierra Leone and New Zealand, afterwards Archdeacon; J. F. Schön and C. F. Schlenker, great West African linguists; J. H. Bernau, the one missionary on whose account the British Guiana Mission is still remembered by some old friends. These were before Childe's days. Then under him were C. A. Gollmer and D. Hinderer, of Yoruba; J. Rebmann, who laboured in East Africa twenty-nine years without once coming home; S. W. Koelle, Ph.D. (Tübingen), the celebrated author of *Polyglotta Africana*, and afterwards at Constantinople; J. J. Erhardt, the constructor of the famous map that led to the first geographical explorations of Central Africa, afterwards stationed in North India; F. A. Klein, who discovered the Moabite Stone, and J. Zeller, both of Palestine; H. Stern, of Gorakhpur; J. G. Deimler, of Bombay; and many others not less excellent, though with less familiar names.

Gollmer. Those of whose early life particulars are available seem all to have had the untold blessing of pious parents. Certainly it was so with Weitbrecht, Leupolt, Isenberg, and Gollmer. The last-named was born on St. Andrew's Day, 1812, and was named Andrew accordingly; and we are told that his father and mother constantly prayed that he might be an Andrew indeed. There was something very beautiful in the simplicity of what was known as "Pietist" religion in Germany, particularly in the kingdom of Wurtemberg—whence the majority of Basle men came,—and this was so, not only with the humble poor, but with families in good position. Weitbrecht and Leupolt were of gentle birth. All the four became earnest Christians in early youth. They knew what conviction of sin is; they knew what a well-grounded assurance of salvation in an all-sufficient Saviour is; they longed to tell others of Him they loved. They were well-furnished, too, mentally: their education was marked by German thoroughness.

Weitbrecht and Leupolt. Of Isenberg it is recorded that he was at different times under the instruction of Stier, Neander, Hengstenberg, and Schleiermacher. Weitbrecht studied English, Arabic, Amharic, and Tigré simultaneously; and when he went up for the Bishop of London's examination, as his English was still imperfect, he was allowed to give his answers in Latin. After all, he was appointed to Bengal, and thereupon at once took up Bengali.

Africans: Samuel Crowther. Of No. 5 Group, Africans, the typical example is of course Samuel Crowther. "He came to us well-grounded at Fourah Bay College," says Mr. Childe, "and entered at once upon the theological course; and he proved a diligent and successful

student." When Dr. Scholefield, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, conducted one of the annual examinations at Islington, he took away with him Crowther's answers to the paper of questions set on *Paley's Evidences*, saying, "I should like to show these to some of our Trinity Fellows who maintain that the African mind is incapable of appreciating, or even apprehending, an argument." Other well-known Negro clergymen trained at Islington and ordained by the Bishop of London in our present period, were George Nicol and T. Maxwell. Henry Johnson and Dandeson Coates Crowther will be mentioned hereafter. Others were educated in the College, but ordained in Africa; for instance, J. S. Wiltshire, a Jamaica Negro, and James Quaker, the successful Head Master for many years of the Sierra Leone Grammar School. Others, again, lived in the College, and received some little instruction, while engaged in medical and other studies elsewhere. The following letter from the now venerable Rev. George Nicol, written on hearing of Mr. Childe's death, gives a striking picture of his old Principal. Mr. Nicol, it may here be added, married a daughter of Bishop Crowther:—

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Nicol's
recollections.

"Oxford Street, Regent Square, Sierra Leone, April 29th, 1898.

"I ought not to withhold my pen, though at this distance, from recording my own grateful recollections of the spiritual benefits which, under God, I received from that good man. I entered the C.M. College along with another friend in 1844, and returned to Sierra Leone; went back in 1848 with a view to ordination. It was then that we were placed more immediately under the influence of Mr. Childe in our theological course. From the first, he was keen enough to discover that my predominating aim was the mere acquisition of intellectual knowledge, especially mathematical and scientific pursuits! Somehow he found out that I was in the habit of rising early, say 4 or 5 a.m., lit my fire, even in winter, and commenced reading. This, of course, would have simply ruined my health, and defeated the great object of my visit to England. True, I knew what was the object the Committee had in view in sending me to England. True, also, I felt in some degree my responsibility; but I must confess that Divine light had not beamed into my soul: it was within the walls of Islington College that my heart was warmed by Divine grace. And two circumstances combined, under God, to produce the desired effect.

"(1) Good Mr. Childe, in one of his private interviews, called me into the Library one morning for prayer. I can never forget his eyes peering through his spectacles: 'I am afraid you are sacrificing real spiritual knowledge, which alone can qualify you for usefulness to your country and people, and glorify God, for mere intellectual pursuits—*Bene orâsse, est bene studisse.*'

"(2) Then, again, we had a very earnest and prayerful student named Jerrom, a hard-working, plodding man. I believe he commenced Greek at the College; but he was remarkably clever. His mental powers were of a high order. He could master any subject he took up. He took a liking to me, and his room was a few doors from mine. He had asked me one day to go out for a walk with him. After hurriedly putting aside my books after lectures, I went to his room and knocked at his

PART VI. door; but there was no answer. I fancied I heard groans. I said to
 1849-61. myself, What could be the matter with Jerrom? After awhile he
 Chap. 37. opened the door and said, 'Oh, please excuse my keeping you waiting; I
 — was engaged.' Jerrom was praying aloud. That settled the point with
 me. I endeavoured by God's grace to follow, though, alas! with
 faltering steps, the good hints of dear Mr. Childe and the example of
 my friend Jerrom."

Other non-
Europeans.

Of No. 6 Group, "other non-Europeans," who have resided for
 a time at Islington, Mr. Childe mentions the two famous Maori
 Christian chiefs, Tamihana (Thompson) Te Rauparaha and Hoani
 Wiremu (John Williams) Hipango.* Both, at different times,
 came to England to do homage for their respective tribes to the
 Queen. "Hipango, especially, was a disciple of ripe experience
 and exemplary walk." Among other of these "irregulars" were
 Chun de Quang, a youth attached to the Chinese court in the
 Great Exhibition of 1851, and afterwards tutor at St. Paul's
 College, Hong Kong; William Sandys, a Burmese from Calcutta,
 named after the veteran missionary there, afterwards employed as
 a catechist in North India; and Pundit Nehemiah Goreh, the
 distinguished Indian clergyman, afterwards a "Cowley Father" at
 Poona.† Of him Mr. Childe writes, "He came to this country
 as Pundit in the suite of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. He was a
 man of superior intellectual power, but with a metaphysical turn
 of mind, which was a source of the most distressing experience to
 him. I believe we had few more genuine Christians in our body,
 but we had none so sorely exercised with speculative doubts." Mr.
 Childe also mentions "a Turk and an Egyptian," who are
 un-named; ‡ and he speaks with special affection of the only Red
 Indian from North-West Canada received at the College, Henry
 Budd, junior, son of the Rev. Henry Budd, senior, the first Native
 clergyman in Rupert's Land. "We never had a pupil who wrote
 more beautiful English than this Red Indian, full of poetry and
 pathos; and he held his own in all our classes. To our deep
 regret, for he was much beloved, he had to leave before the com-
 pletion of his course; symptoms of consumption having appeared.
 His farewell letter to his fellow-students was touching in the
 extreme." He was ordained in his own country by Bishop
 Anderson, but died while still young.

Nehemiah
Goreh.

Henry
Budd, jun.

Returned
catechists.

The class of "Returned Catechists," No. 1 Group, was a very
 important and interesting one. Men of humble attainments,
 though of true missionary spirit, received what is now called a
 "short course" at Islington, and then went as catechists or
 schoolmasters, chiefly to Africa. Some of them were men of even
 a heroic type; and they needed to be. On one occasion, the first
 Principal, Mr. Pearson, mustered the body of students in the hall,

* See pp. 319, 638.

† See Chapter XLII. The Committee, in 1855, presented Nehemiah with a
 watch.

‡ But see p. 154.

and said, "The Committee have just received tidings that six more men have been removed from their posts at Sierra Leone by death, and two by dangerous attacks of fever. I am instructed to ask whether there are any of our number who will volunteer to supply the vacancies." Four men stepped forward, then and there; and two others volunteered next morning. Mr. Childe compares this scene with that well-known picture of the gladiators, about to be "butchered to make a Roman holiday." "Their attitude is striking, as they stand looking up to the chair of state, in which the emperor is seated, waiting for the savage combat to begin. Whilst with uplifted hands grasping their flashing swords, and with a resolute and almost joyous expression of countenance, they pay their final homage, they are supposed to raise the united shout, *Ave, Cæsar Imperator; morituri te salutant.*"

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One of these volunteers was Henry Townsend, who lived to give forty years' service to Africa. But sometimes the humble warriors of the Lord did go only to die. "In my second year, 1839," says Mr. Childe, "two young brethren, Murphy and White, sailed together for Africa, whose period of service was reckoned by weeks. In the following year, the catechist Reynolds and his wife arrived in the Colony, whose span of labour was measured only by days, since they died within a month, and within four days of each other. The world," he adds, "makes absolutely no account, and the Church sadly too little, of these 'holy and humble men of heart'; but the memory of such men would shed a hallowed lustre upon any Society, and the College from which they went forth may well regard it as a sacred inheritance."

Catechists
who did
not return.

Now it was some of those whom God spared for longer service, who, when they had purchased to themselves a good degree by good and faithful work, were invited home to receive further training with a view to ordination; and these it was who formed "the class of Returned Catechists." "They were not eminent," says Mr. Childe, "in the world of letters. I more than doubt whether one of them ever composed an *Alcaic stanza* or wrote a *Greek Iambic*. Nevertheless, they were men of thoroughly vigorous minds and solid sense, of single eye and steadfast purpose, Bible-read and Spirit-taught." Two of this class became bishops in after years, J. W. Weeks and Edward Sargent. Of two others, whose names are probably unknown even to the most diligent students of C.M.S. history, Mr. Childe supplies some interesting particulars. One, Edmund Reynolds, was originally a footman in the house of Dr. Longley, Head Master of Harrow, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Longley prepared him for confirmation, and his instructions were blessed—as such instructions so often have been—to the young man's conversion of heart to God, and to his dedication of himself to missionary service. After some little training as a schoolmaster, he was sent in that capacity to Jamaica; and when some of the stations in that island

And who
did.

Two future
bishops.

Dr. Long-
ley's foot-
man.

PART VI. were being transferred to the Colonial Church, he was recalled
 1849-61. and received into Islington. In due course he was ordained by
 Chap. 37. Bishop Blomfield, and sent to the then expanding Krishnagar
 Mission. After two years his health failed, and he returned home.
 He eventually closed his ministry as Incumbent of St. Andrew's,
 Whittlesey.

W. Ronald-
 son : his
 strange
 career.

The other case was that of William Ronaldson. He, like so many others, had the blessing of godly parents ; but, unlike others we have seen, he rejected their counsels, ran away to sea, and shortened his praying mother's days with grief of heart ; and for years he lived a wild and reckless life. Ultimately, a ship he was serving in before the mast was wrecked off the coast of New Zealand ; every soul on board was lost except Ronaldson, and he was washed ashore almost lifeless, and lay on the sand "like a piece of human seaweed." Consciousness returned, and, on opening his eyes, he saw a little company of dark-skinned tattooed men kneeling over him, and one of them apparently praying in a strange tongue. They chafed his limbs, clothed him with their own blankets, and carried him to a hut ; and he recovered. But that Maori prayer had gone to his heart, and his restored life he yielded to the Lord he had so long forgotten. He engaged himself as farm-servant to an English settler, but lived as much as he could among the Maori Christians, learned their language, and presently, at the request of the local chief—who was the very man that had offered that prayer—became their teacher. By-and-by he went to Bishop Selwyn's College, and then into C.M.S. service as a catechist under the Rev. R. Taylor. During Mr. Taylor's absence he was in charge of the district, and for his conduct during some disturbances he received the thanks of the British Government. In 1851, he was invited to England by the Committee and sent to the College. In due course he was ordained by Bishop Blomfield, and returned to New Zealand, where he laboured for several years, and then joined the Colonial Church. The presence in the College of a man with such a history must have been a great encouragement to the students of that day. What a testimony, too, to the reality of God's work in New Zealand !—a testimony that was emphasized in a striking way during Ronaldson's time at the College ; for that praying chief himself, Hipango or John Williams, was brought to England at that very time, and, as before mentioned, was likewise an inmate of the College !

English
 full
 students.

James
 Long.

The men of mark in Mr. Childe's time in the principal group, No. 2, are too numerous to claim more than passing mention. When he became Principal, the most notable student was James Long, the "Irish Mezzofanti." "Long," said the outgoing Principal, Pearson, to his successor, "is a remarkable fellow, undoubtedly clever and original. They tell me that he knows nine languages, but I am not prepared to vouch for the fact!" Mr. Childe says he trembled at the thought of having such a

pupil, but that he proved "too sensible to give himself airs." Long's career was quite unique. In the whole succession of C.M.S. missionaries, there has been no one quite like him. But we shall meet him again. Another student was described by Pearson to Childe in these terms: "He is a mason by original calling, and he is able either to build a stone wall, or to go through one, as occasion may require." "This judgment," says Childe, "was quite correct." The student in question was well known in after years as Archdeacon Abraham Cowley, and laboured in Manitoba for nearly half a century.

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1849-61.
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Abraham
Cowley.

Looking for other names as we glance through the roll, we find those of J. T. Tucker, of Tinnevely, who in twenty years baptized two thousand persons with his own hands, and built forty-eight village churches; the brothers Hobbs, Stephen and Septimus, both also of Tinnevely, but the former afterwards Archdeacon of Mauritius and the latter in Ceylon; Henry Baker, junr., of Travancore, the apostle of the Hill Arrians; James Hunter, of Rupert's Land, the pioneer to the extreme north, and Archdeacon; Samuel Hasell, of Bengal, in after years the able and beloved Central Home Secretary of the Society; W. Clark, successively in Tinnevely, Ceylon, Travancore, and Bombay; Robert Hunt, a sharer of Allen Gardiner's sufferings in Patagonia, afterwards a pioneer in Rupert's Land, and by-and-by, in his retirement, the first chaplain at Mr. Pennefather's Deaconess Institution at Mildmay, and the author of a syllabic system for reducing languages to writing; Robert Bren, of Ceylon, afterwards in charge of the Society's Preparatory Institution at Reading; R. Pargiter, also of Ceylon, afterwards Association Secretary, and father of two missionaries; George Parsons, also of Ceylon, and also the father of a missionary; W. Salter Price, first the head of Sharanpur, in India, where he trained Livingstone's "Nasik boys" and other liberated East African slaves, and afterwards the founder of Frere Town and organizer of the East Africa Mission,—he, too, a missionary's father; E. T. Higgins, the veteran of Ceylon, still labouring after forty-seven years' service, and father of missionary daughters; J. Pickford, another Ceylon man; E. A. Watkins, the first missionary of the Church of England to the Eskimo; A. P. Neele, of Bengal; J. S. Burdon, pioneer at several new China stations, and afterwards Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong; James Sheldon, of Sindh, another missionary's father; James Leighton, French's comrade at Agra, afterwards Incumbent of Nelson Cathedral, New Zealand, now Rector of Harpurhey; Charles Every, the Exeter solicitor's son, Ragland's much-loved fellow-worker in Tinnevely; Ashton Dibb and James Vaughan, friends when young men at Hull, fellow-students at the College, and both able and devoted workers for many years in Tinnevely and Bengal respectively; Samuel Dyson, Professor of Logic and Philosophy in the Cathedral Mission College, Calcutta, then

A long list
of good
Islington
men.

PART VI. Principal of that College, and now for many years Vice-Principal
 1849-51. of Islington College; Henry Andrews, of Travancore, who was
 Chap. 37. led to offer for missionary service by reading H. V. Elliott's
 preface to the Memoir of H. W. Fox; * A. B. Valpy, of
 Tinnevely, now Rector of Stanford Dingley, father of two
 missionary daughters; W. T. Storrs, the evangelist of the Santal
 people, now Vicar of Sandown, father of four clerical sons,
 two of them missionaries; John Gritton, of Tinnevely, after-
 wards Secretary of the Lord's Day Observance Society; C.
 Tanner, of the Telugu Mission, father of a son now in the same
 Mission; C. C. McArthur, the C.M.S. representative of the island
 of Iona, who, after a period of service in Ceylon, was for many
 years the much-valued Association Secretary in Norfolk; E.
 Champion, founder of the Gond Mission; James Hamilton, after-
 wards Archdeacon of Lagos and Association Secretary at home;
 George Smith, of Fuh-chow, to whose importunity was due the
 Society continuing its then fruitless Mission there, and who soon
 afterwards baptized the first converts; Alfred Menzies, of both
 West and East Africa.

The foregoing completed their course under Mr. Childe. It is
 worth noting that four of them had been under him as boys
 when, before he came to Islington, he was Head Master of Walsall
 Grammar School, viz., W. S. Price, J. Sheldon, E. A. Watkins,
 and A. P. Neele. When he retired in 1858 he left some men in
 the College whose names have since become very familiar;
 among them, T. T. Smith, of Rupert's Land, afterwards Associa-
 tion Secretary in Lancashire and Yorkshire; R. H. Weakley, of
 Constantinople, a reviser of the Turkish Bible; W. J. Edmonds,
 the first missionary to the Koi tribes on the Godavery, now
 Canon of Exeter; Nigel Honiss, of Tinnevely and Mauritius;
 J. D. Simmons, still labouring—and his son too—in Ceylon;
 A. E. Moule, of Mid China, Archdeacon of Ningpo, father of
 three missionary sons; and John R. Wolfe, the missionary *par
 excellence* of Fuh-kien, and father of two missionary daughters.
 At this point our enumeration must stop for the present.

Successive Bishops of London have expressed their satisfaction
 with the Islington men presented to them; but at one time there
 was imminent danger of real difficulty in obtaining ordinations
 for them. This was after the Gorham Judgment, referred to in
 our Thirty-third Chapter. Bishop Blomfield was much exercised

Bishop
 Blomfield
 and the
 Islington
 men.

* He was struck by Elliott's adaptation of Horace's Ode, *Quem tu, Melpomene, semel*; "the sentiment of which," wrote Elliott, "is that when the muse has once fixed her eyes on a youth, and marked him for her own, in vain to him will any other course of life display its honours or attractions. His destiny is fixed. That beautiful fiction of poetry is in the history of Missions a reality. He that is called of God to be a missionary, 'by His Spirit working in due season, will through grace obey the calling.'" "How little," he wrote afterwards, "did the Epicurean infidel imagine that an ode of his would move a Christian missionary to go out and preach the Gospel of a crucified Jew on the shores of the Indian Ocean!"

about that judgment, and his examining chaplains, taking the cue from him, put what Mr. Venn called "entrapping questions" to the Society's candidates about baptismal regeneration. The men generally got through successfully by resolutely adhering to the *ipsissima verba* of the Prayer-book and Articles. But on one occasion, in 1852, two men, "conceiving," says Mr. Childe, "that they were directly challenged to bear witness to the truth," gave answers directly in the teeth of the examiner's known views; and the result was that the Bishop reported to Venn that he must refuse both candidates for unsoundness in doctrine. It so happened that both of them were Cambridge graduates, R. R. Meadows and R. C. Paley, though they had been reading theology at Islington. Venn warmly took their part, and assured them that he "would stake the reputation of the Society upon their answers." Ultimately the Bishop yielded as regards Meadows, though he still refused Paley; but on further representation he so far yielded again as to give letters dimissory to the newly-consecrated Bishop of Sierra Leone, Dr. Vidal, to ordain him as a man going to his own diocese. It rounds off the story well when we find that one of the chaplains who harassed C.M.S. students was the Rev. T. W. Allies, who had given Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford much trouble,* and who ultimately went over to Rome.

In 1858, Mr. Childe resigned the Principalship on his appointment to the rectory of Holbrook, Suffolk. He left fully recognized as one of the ablest men who ever served the Society. He was a ripe scholar, a sound divine, a singularly instructive preacher. He was regarded as a somewhat strict disciplinarian, but his strictness—if such it was—arose from the intensity of his feelings regarding the duty of the missionary candidate to subordinate everything that was of self to Christ's claims and commands; and it certainly produced a remarkable succession of self-denying, patient, courageous missionaries. His successor, the Rev. Thomas Green, was a very different man, gentle and tender, less exacting, and exercising an influence perhaps less bracing upon the men under his care. A combination of Childe and Green would go far to make a perfect Principal.

Mr. Green had been Incumbent of Friezland, near Manchester. Under his influence several young men, "Lancashire lads" and others, had dedicated themselves to foreign missionary work; but their education had not been such as to prepare them for the College. What was to be done with them? Mr. Green himself trained them, in a simple way, for simple service as lay catechists in Africa. His success in this work no doubt led, in part, to his appointment as Principal. After he came to Islington, a "Supplemental Class" was formed for the same purpose, under the leadership of the Rev. S. D. Stubbs, which was a kind of precursor of the Preparatory Home afterwards established at Reading,

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Chap. 37.

The two
Principals,
Childe and
Green.

Green's
Lancashire
lads.

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. ii., ch. i.

PART VI. and now at Clapham. Twelve of the men prepared under this
 1849-61. original scheme of Mr. Green's appear in the Register of
 Chap. 37. Missionaries, several of whom did excellent service, and six were
 afterwards ordained. The most important name is that of
 J. L. B. Jonathan L. Buckley Wood, who achieved the almost unique distinction
 Wood. of labouring in Africa forty years, his only rival in this
 being Henry Townsend.

Callings of
 the men.

Mr. Green's annual reports on the College and its students were always specially interesting documents, and were generally printed in the Society's Report. In 1861 he presented a list of the callings of fifty-five students who had been under him for part or the whole of the year. There were five University graduates, one solicitor, six sons of missionaries, three Scripture-readers, four school-teachers, two professors of music, two printers, one landscape-painter, four chemists, three farmers, ten clerks, one manufacturer, one builder, one soldier, one domestic servant, three tradesmen, seven artisans.

Tutors.

Under both Childe and Green, the Rev. J. G. Heisch was second in command at the College, being appointed Tutor in 1842, and Vice-Principal in 1858. The latter office he retained, to the grateful satisfaction of both the Committee and the missionaries, until 1879. P. S. Royston, also, afterwards Bishop of Mauritius, was Tutor in the College for two years, 1853-55, and was succeeded by G. F. W. Munby, now Rector of Turvey.

The
 College
 Mission in
 the
 "Angel"
 courts.

In our Thirty-fourth Chapter we have seen how prominent a part Mr. Childe took in the establishment and working of important Home Mission organizations in Islington. The same thing may be said of all the Principals and Tutors. But Home Mission work also formed—and still forms—a definite part of the College curriculum. The late Graham Wilnot Brooke used to say that the best training the men could get for foreign work, particularly among Mohammedans, would be by joining the evangelists of the Irish Church Missions in Dublin and Cork. But the Islington students for many years had a precisely similar sphere of labour. The College definitely undertook the charge of one of the worst districts in London, known as the Irish Courts, seven in number, near the "Angel." These courts were crowded with the lowest class of Roman Catholic Irish, a lawless, drunken, and quarrelsome population, among whom no policeman used to go alone. They were regularly visited by the students, and day-schools, Sunday-schools, and Sunday services were set on foot. The services were held in a large upper room approached by an outside staircase, which was familiarly called by the men "St. Patrick's Cathedral." The "cathedral" windows were now and then broken by stones, and the "cathedral" doors battered, and once nailed up. The visiting was certainly no bad preparation for Inland China or the Afghan Frontier. Ashton Dibb, who was some six feet in height, was confronted one day by an Irish

virago waving a red-hot poker. "Yer see this here poker, don't yer? Well, I've hotted it a purpose for yer; an' ef yer don't make yerself scarce this blessed minnit, by the holy Vargint, I'll do, and I'll do, and I'll do." Another member of the same agreeable sisterhood poured a kettle of boiling water down the stairs when a student was going up. Nevertheless, the work went bravely on, and such an influence was gained over the people, especially the children, that the Mission was publicly denounced from the altar in the large Roman Catholic church in Duncan Terrace. And denounced by whom? By the Very Rev. Canon Frederick Oakeley, once, when an Oxford undergraduate, as we saw in the preceding chapter, a member of the Church Missionary Society!

One of the interesting MS. addresses by Mr. Childe, from which a good deal in this chapter is borrowed, closes with the quotation of two "plain directions" in the New Testament; and our chapter may appropriately close with them likewise. The first is, "Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest." The second is embodied in one word, *Ἐπισκέψασθε*, "Look out." As the Apostles bade the whole Church "look out" among its members "seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom," for certain Church work, so the aged former Principal, speaking primarily *ad clerum*, but really to us all, bade us "look out" for men now, so that the College might be continually replenished with fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry—or ministries—of the Church.

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Perils of
home mis-
sion work.

"Look
out."



THE CHURCH MISSIONARY COLLEGE, ISLINGTON.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION : THE CHURCH OF NEW ZEALAND.

The Church, Visible and Invisible—The “Euthanasia” of a Mission—Native Christians in a Colonial Church—C.M.S. Views and Aims—Bishop Selwyn struggles for Liberty—The Synods and C.M.S.—Plans of Bishops Selwyn and Perry—The Colonial Office gives way—New Bishops—William Williams and the Diocese of Waiapu—Should C.M.S. Withdraw?—Bishop Patteson—Further Steps to Freedom—The Privy Council Judgments.

“That the Church may receive edifying.”—1 Cor. xiv. 5.

“For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting.”—Titus i. 5.

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The
Church,
Visible and
Invisible.



THE object of a Mission in the present dispensation may be said to be twofold: (1) the preaching of the Gospel as a witness; (2) the gathering out of the Ecclesia, the “called out” Church of God. But in fulfilling the second purpose we have to bear in mind the character of the dispensation. As in the Jewish period, so in the Christian period, there is the Visible Body, and there is the Invisible Body. Under the old dispensation, “all were not Israel who were of Israel.” Under the new dispensation, the visible and external Christian “Church” is not identical or co-terminous with the invisible and spiritual “Church” which is in the highest and fullest sense the Body of Christ. The distinction, indeed, is not admitted by modern High Church writers. On the contrary, they strongly protest against it. But they thereby only show how far they have diverged from genuine Church of England teaching. The high authority of Hooker, who was no “Low Churchman,” is against them. His famous passage on the subject is very familiar, but it can never be quoted too often. Of the Invisible Church he says:—

Hooker's
view of the
matter.

“That Church of Christ which we properly term His Body mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) *we do not discern* under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body.”

* *Eccl. Pol.* iii. 1.

But the Visible Church he describes as "a sensible known body":—

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"The unity of which Visible Body and Church of Christ consisteth of that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that one Lord, whose servants they all profess themselves; that one faith, which they all acknowledge; that one baptism, wherewith they are all initiated."

Is it possible, he asks, that baptized men who are wicked belong to the Church of Christ?—

"Unto that Church which is His mystical Body, not possible; because that Body consisteth of none but only . . . true servants and saints of God. Howbeit of the Visible Body and Church of Jesus Christ, those may be, and often-times are."

But it is not wrong to apply to the Visible Church, in a lower sense, the language that is in strictness only applicable to the Invisible; for St. Paul does so repeatedly. While, therefore, we may rightly express the second object of Missions in the words used above, "the gathering out of the Ecclesia, the 'called out' Church of God," these must be taken in both senses. The members of the Church Missionary Society have been wont to think most of (1) the salvation and (2) the edification of individual souls as the chief object of their continual prayers. That is right; but it is not all. Along with the conversion of individuals, the outward profession of Christianity grows and spreads; and along with the "edifying" or "building up" of the converted souls, the outward and visible Church must be "built up" and organized. So, as regards both the spiritual Church and the visible Church, there is, as we saw in our First Chapter, not only the "fishing" but also the "shepherding." "This ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

Visible
Church
must be
built up.

"The object of the Church Missionary Society's Missions, viewed in their Ecclesiastical aspect," says the Society's official paper on Native Church Organization, "is the development of Native Churches, with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system. When this settlement has been effected, the Mission will have attained its *euthanasia*, and the Missionary and all Missionary agency can be transferred to the regions beyond." The formulating of plans towards the attainment of this *euthanasia* was one chief work of Henry Venn's life. Before he gave his mind to the subject, no one had done so. It was an untrodden field. We may search missionary papers during the first half of the nineteenth century, and search in vain, for any signs that the matter was even thought of. Now, in almost all Missions, the principles laid down by Venn are accepted, and his plans to a large extent followed, though adapted to the varying circumstances of different peoples.

One object
of C.M.S.
Missions
to develop
Native
Churches.

A later chapter, however, will introduce us more closely to these principles and plans, as applied to purely Native Churches.

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Difference
between
Colonial
and Native
Churches.

There is something in this chapter to come first. Colonial Church Organization comes before Missionary Church Organization, both in order of time and in order of thought. It is the latter that has owed so much to the wisdom and resourcefulness of Henry Venn. The former, as we now see it in many Colonies, was mainly the work of Bishop Perry of Melbourne and Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand.

With Colonial Church Organization this History is only indirectly concerned. The C.M.S. was not established to provide ministrations for British settlers abroad. Its purpose is the evangelization of Native Races. The S.P.G. performs both functions; the C.M.S. only one. But in so far as the C.M.S. works among Native Races within British Colonies, it necessarily has relations with the Church in those Colonies.

Venn and
Selwyn.

And here we see a broad distinction between the *euthanasia* of a Mission in a Colony—that is, in a Colony such as Canada or New Zealand, in which the British settlers become the majority of the population—and the *euthanasia* of a Mission in China or India or Equatorial Africa, where the white man is only a traveller or a sojourner. In the former case the Native Christians, necessarily, naturally, rightly, become absorbed in a Church the bulk of whose members are of British descent. The latter case is quite different, and far more complicated. The Church to be organized should be, eventually at least, native in character. It is to this latter case that Venn's principles and plans apply. It was the former problem that Bishop Selwyn had to tackle in New Zealand.

Organiza-
tion of
Colonial
Churches
difficult,

It is not easy in the present day, when we see flourishing self-governing Colonial Churches, or Branches of the Church of England, all round the world, to realize the perplexities that attended their foundation. The Church of Ireland has given us an object-lesson of the success of even an ancient Church in governing and providing for itself on the withdrawal of State aid and recognition. But in 1841 there were no precedents for guidance. In India, the Church, as represented by the Bishops and chaplains, was little more than a department of the State. In Canada and Australia, the Church had been provided with State endowments; the S.P.G. work was auxiliary to them; and there was no thought of local self-government. Mr. Tucker, in his *Life of Bishop Selwyn*,* thus forcibly describes the condition of things :—

Owing
to State
connexion.

“ It needed but the throwing out of swarms from the mother-country to prove how lamentably deficient is the Church of England in powers of self-government and of adaptation to the varying necessities of a rapidly-changing order of things. At home, with the support of endowments and the influence of State connexion, these deficiencies are not so patent, although anything like unusual tension brings them into prominence; but when the mother-Church, awaking from her slumbers,

* Vol. ii. p. 84.

and regarding the daily exodus of her children to all parts of the world, followed them with the fulness of her organization, it was no longer possible to conceal how inadequate was the provision for the due administration of her discipline and the maintenance of her position, both in the Colonies and among the Heathen. PART VI.
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"At first, it is true, this was not revealed in the full light of its necessity. In India, which was treated as a garrison,—in Australia, which was regarded as a large convict station,—in Canada and the West Indies, where the Church was an appanage of the State and maintained by subsidies in the shape of either lands or money voted from the public treasury, the life of the Church and its inherent powers were suppressed in consideration of the material aids which the civil power secured to it.

"But there came a time when Colonies outgrew the stage in which Imperial nursing was possible. For a time they had been appendages to the Colonial Office and had been governed from Downing Street; but when the claim for local self-government in matters civil could no longer be resisted, the value of Letters Patent, on which the coercive jurisdiction of the Episcopate had depended, was discredited on the first occasion on which it was tested, and the Church was found to have fallen between the two systems, and to be given up to anarchy almost without power of extricating herself."

Bishop Selwyn, from the first, contemplated a different order of things in New Zealand. He perceived that Establishment would give the Church there no advantages; and he was not disposed to submit to its disadvantages. His views on the general subject, prior to any attempt to carry them out in New Zealand, may be seen from some incisive letters of his to friends in England, not primarily regarding his own diocese, but *à propos* of a scheme before Parliament in 1846 for endowing a new bishopric for Manchester with the income of two of the Welsh sees, to be abolished for the purpose. This scheme he earnestly opposed, on the ground that the "spiritual existence" of the sees was quite independent of their temporalities, "as the soul of man is exempt from the power of the gaoler who may confine his body, or the hangman who may put an end to his life":—

"Let the State, if it pleases, be the gaoler or the hangman of the body of the Church; let it suspend or alienate its revenues at pleasure, provided always that the soul of the Church, its living principle, its scripless and purseless spirit, its divine origin, its holy and inward energy, be not confounded with such beggarly elements as seats in the House of Lords, and thousands a year, and parks and palaces, things which statesmen love to 'touch, and taste, and handle,' but which 'perish in the using.' even if
despoiled
by the
State.

"The true essence of the Church, which man can neither give nor take away, [is] that patrimony and perpetual inheritance which it possessed, even when its Founder had not where to lay His head, when His disciples had but a few tattered nets and leaky boats, and had left even them, and when they went out without scrip or purse, and yet lacked nothing."*

In another letter he refers to the ardent young Tractarians

* *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, pp. 214, 215.

PART VI. who were dissatisfied with the Erastianism of the Established
1849-61. Church, and who, professing to be longing for opportunities of a
Chap. 38. life of austerity and self-denial, talked of retiring into monasteries
and hermitages. Could they not, he asks, try a missionary life
in New Zealand?

A chance
in New
Zealand for
would-be
anchorites.

"I have at command," he says, "a rill of water, a shady wood, a rocky cave, and roots of fern, for every one of these would-be anchorites who desires to walk in the steps of St. Winfrid or St. Dunstan."

And they should find a Church to which their complaints would not apply:—

"My desire is, in this country, so far as God may give me light and strength, to try what the actual system of the Church of England can do, when disencumbered of its earthly load of seats in Parliament, Erastian compromises, corruption of patronage, confusion of orders, synodless bishops, and an unorganized clergy. None of these things are inherent in our system, and therefore are not to be imputed as faults."*

Alarm at
Selwyn's
bold plans.

At the present day, with the lives and labours before us of a Patteson and a Hannington, a French and a Horden,—to say nothing of living men like Bishop Bompas,—we have got far beyond the old coach-and-six notion of episcopal dignity; and Selwyn's bold words do not shock us. We may not concur in every expression, but we can all admire their spirit. But half a century ago they were courageous indeed; and we need not be surprised if their author was in some quarters dreaded as half a Papist and half a Political Dissenter. It must be confessed that the vision of a ship-load of Tractarian anchorites from Oxford arriving in New Zealand was not calculated to commend the Bishop's plans to Evangelical missionaries; but there was one fear that haunted them, and haunted the C.M.S. Committee at home, which was undoubtedly due to at least partial misconception. That fear was the fear of Episcopal Autocracy.

Fear of
episcopal
autocracy.

In an old Established Church, as in England, Episcopal Autocracy is avoided by means of the legal rights of clergy and laity conferred by Establishment. In a non-established Church, the true preventive against Episcopal Autocracy is the very thing that was feared as likely to introduce it—Synodical action. The Letters Patent given to the early Colonial Bishops practically endowed them with autocratic power. Bishop Perry, of Melbourne, said, "The government of the Church of England in this Colony is a pure autocracy"; and he complained of the result, namely, that men of good standing in England would not go out to spheres in which they were subject to the will of an individual.† What was Bishop Selwyn's view of the matter? "I believe," he said, "the monarchical idea of the Episcopate to be as foreign to the true mind of the Church as it is adverse to the

But
Selwyn's
aim just
the con-
trary.

* *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 88.

Gospel doctrine of humility." By "monarchical," of course, he meant "absolutist" or "autocratical"; for constitutional "monarchy" was what he aimed at. "I would rather resign my office," he continued, "than be reduced to act as a single isolated being." * To obviate the risks of Episcopal Autocracy, therefore, was one purpose of his efforts to organize the Church of New Zealand.

In passing, let it be observed that, years after, when Selwyn became Bishop of Lichfield, he worked for the same object, so far as was possible in an Established Church, by forming a Diocesan Conference of clerical and lay representatives. The same dread and suspicion arose, and as needlessly. Gradually, in the course of twenty years or so, every diocese in England imitated the plan; and though in England such Conferences have no power, and only limited influence, they have unquestionably done good by familiarizing the lay mind with Church affairs.

We may now proceed to review briefly the steps actually taken by Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand.

In 1844 he summoned an informal synod of the clergy at Waimate. This, tentative and informal as it was, is interesting as being the very first experiment of the kind in the Anglican Church. The meeting was attended by three archdeacons, four other presbyters, and two deacons; most of them being C.M.S. missionaries. The object of the gathering was "to frame rules for the better management of the Mission and the general government of the Church," and the discussions were limited to questions of Church discipline and Church extension, particularly practical matters such as sponsors in baptism, the admission of polygamists to the Church, &c. This is exactly the sort of meeting that is now universally recognized as most useful and desirable; but the news of it, on reaching England, threw the legal members of the C.M.S. Committee into transports of alarm. The royal supremacy was being invaded by priestly assumption! We can afford now to smile at these fears; but they were excusable at the time. The legal mind is always cautious, and keen to see difficulties; and here was a distinct "innovation"—no doubt "the thin end of the wedge"! The missionaries themselves, though not sympathizing with the Bishop in all his designs, did not share the fears of the Committee at home.

In 1847, a second informal synod of clergy was held; on which occasion Selwyn delivered his Primary Charge, a very able and comprehensive address, in which he expounded at length his views on the whole subject, and upon the Church controversies of the day in England. It need not now detain us.† In 1850

* Address to his tentative preliminary Synod in 1847. *Life*, vol. ii. p. 89.

† One sentence, *à propos* of the Oxford Movement and Newman's secession, is worth quoting:—"Three mighty men . . . when they found us hemmed in with enemies, and thirsting for Catholic unity, went forth to draw water for

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Conference
of Bishops
at Sydney.

he attended an Episcopal Conference—again the first of its kind—convened at Sydney by Bishop Broughton, which was attended also by four recently-appointed Australian Bishops, Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle, and Tasmania. This Conference led to important results. The six Bishops resolved to act on the advice given shortly before to the Church in the Colonies generally by Mr. Gladstone, that in view of the rapid removal of the seeming support of the civil power, they should “*organize themselves on that basis of voluntary consensual compact which was the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first.*” Some of them, indeed, sought to obtain legal sanction, first from the British Parliament, and then, failing that, from the Colonial Legislatures, for the synodical action and other arrangements for self-government which they contemplated; * but Bishop Perry was the only one who succeeded in organizing his diocese upon the basis of legal authority derived from the Colonial Legislature.† On the other hand, the example of adopting Mr. Gladstone’s counsel in its entirety was set by Bishop Selwyn.

More fears
at home.

Not, however, immediately. The C.M.S. lawyers were again frightened; and in 1851 the Committee sent out instructions to the missionaries to keep aloof from the proposed Church organization. They did not condemn it *per se*; they gave no opinion as to its applicability to a Colony where the clergy were in no way dependent upon the mother country; but they considered that missionaries supported from home were not free to join in a scheme which might separate the Church in New Zealand from the Home Church. We may again regret that the Society should have stood in the way of a development that was rapidly becoming, not only desirable, but absolutely necessary; but we can scarcely be surprised at the hesitation of a law-abiding Committee in the uncertainty whereunto the Bishop’s schemes would grow. Moreover, Selwyn himself did not yet see that State authority might safely be dispensed with. In an important circular issued in 1852, he urged “the necessity of applying to the heads of the State and of the Church in England for authority to frame, under their sanction, a form of constitution for the Branch of the English Church” in New Zealand. And to obtain this authority he proceeded to England in 1854.

Selwyn’s
visit to
England.

At this very time the Church in the Colonies had been before Parliament. Mr. Gladstone had introduced a Bill, and failed to carry it. Archbishop Sumner had introduced a Bill, and failed

us from the well of primitive antiquity; but one was taken captive by the foreign armies which had usurped the well.”—Quoted in *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. i. p. 240. Is it necessary to interpret the allusion to Keble, Newman, and Pusey?

* See *ante*, Chapter XXXIII., p. 13.

† The whole history of the efforts made by various dioceses to organize themselves in various ways is ably summarized in Canon Goodman’s *Church in Victoria during the Episcopate of Bishop Perry* (London, 1892).

to carry it.* It was becoming more and more evident that Church legislation in Parliament would soon become almost an impossibility. And Bishop Selwyn could get neither an Act nor a Royal Charter to enable him to organize the Church in New Zealand. But his visit bore important fruit in other ways. For one thing, he was joined by John Coleridge Patteson, with a view to work in Melanesia. For another thing, his great course of Advent Sermons in the University Church at Cambridge resulted in the offer, for missionary work in South Africa, of C. F. Mackenzie, afterwards the first Bishop of the Universities' Mission. But what more immediately concerns this History was his concordat with the Church Missionary Society.

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On June 23rd the Committee received Bishop Selwyn and Sir George Grey. It was on this occasion that the request for Archdeacon Henry Williams's reinstatement was made, as related in our Twenty-eighth Chapter. The Bishop presented an important memorandum, embodying many questions as to the future course of the Society in New Zealand. At subsequent meetings this memorandum was carefully considered, and the result was a series of resolutions which appear to have been very satisfactory to the Bishop. As regards a Church constitution, the Committee now understood that no separation from the Church of England was intended, that the Queen's supremacy was recognized, that questions of doctrine and ritual would be excluded from the purview of the Synods, and that the interests of the Maori Christians would be cared for; and they cordially withdrew their instructions to the missionaries of three years before, and approved of their joining with the Bishop in the work of organizing the Church. The Bishop having proposed to divide his diocese into four, and to obtain the appointment of three of the missionaries as bishops of the three new dioceses, the Committee agreed to continue their stipends, and also to contribute land endowments for them. (But this fell through, as the Colonial Office refused leave for the new bishoprics.) A great many other resolutions were come to, which need not detain us; but the two following should be put on record:—

Selwyn
and C.M.S.

New
concordat.

"7. The Committee do not wish their missionaries to be regarded as a separate body in the New Zealand Church. It has pleased God to make them mainly instrumental in the introduction of the Gospel into the land, and there is therefore every reason why they should identify themselves with its rising Church, and assist the Bishop and clergy in consolidating and establishing it upon that Protestant and Evangelical basis upon which all its prosperity, under God, depends."

"19. The Committee wish that the trust under which they hold their lands should be generally known and understood in New Zealand, namely:—That, as the land held by the Society in New Zealand was acquired by the Committee solely for the purposes of the Mission, and the possession of it intended to promote, through the Mission, the spiritual

* See Chapter XXXIII.

PART VI. welfare of the Natives, it be appropriated, under the direction of the
 1849-61. Committee, to endow, or aid the endowment of, a bishopric, if necessary ;
 Chap. 38. of a parochial ministry in connexion with our Church, when the state
 — of the Mission shall be sufficiently advanced to admit of the Mission
 stations conveniently assuming the parochial form ; of educational and
 collegiate establishments ; and to other objects of permanent benefit to
 the Natives, at the discretion of the Committee, to the extent to which
 the land so held by the Society shall be of value to effectuate some or all
 of the objects above referred to, in whole or in part.”

How could
 Church
 organiza-
 tion be
 author-
 ized ?

Still, the problem remained, Where was the authority to organize the Church to come from ? In the following year, Bishop Perry, of Melbourne, bent on the same quest, came to England, and applied to the Colonial Office for the royal assent to an Act of the Legislature in the Colony sanctioning his plans (which, as before-mentioned, differed from Selwyn's plans). Lord John Russell, at that time again Colonial Secretary, said No. Lord John just then went out of office, and was succeeded by Sir William Molesworth, who said Yes for himself ; but the law officers of the Crown said No. Suddenly Sir W. Molesworth died, and Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton) came into office ; and he not only obtained the royal assent to the Melbourne scheme, but got a permissive Act passed for the Canadian Church, and moreover, by a single sentence in a despatch to Canada, provided Selwyn with a key to the solution of the problem. The sentence was simply this :—“ *I am aware of the advantages which might belong to a scheme under which the binding force of such regulations should be simply voluntary.*” * It is curious that such simple and natural words should have proved so powerful. But they opened men's eyes instantly. There could be nothing illegal in any society, whether a cricket club or a Church, making rules for its own members, provided that they bound no one who did not voluntarily submit himself to them. “All at once,” writes Dean Jacobs, “but upon some sooner than others, the light of their actual freedom dawned, and they saw that their bondage had been mainly self-inflicted ; like some bedridden hypochondriacs, they suddenly believed that they could rise and walk, and they did so.” †

The key :
 voluntary
 compact.

Conference
 to frame
 constitution.

Accordingly, in May, 1857, the Bishop summoned a Conference at Auckland to draft a constitution for the Church. There were two Bishops, Dr. Harper having come out as Bishop of Christchurch, a new diocese formed for a rising Colony in the Middle

* It would appear from the *Letters of Lord Blachford*, that he, then Sir Frederick Rogers, and an Under-Secretary in the Colonial Office, was the real author of this more liberal policy. He was an active High Churchman, and one of the founders of the *Guardian*. H. Venn wrote in his diary (February 12th, 1856), “The Archbishop showed me copies of despatches sent by Mr. Labouchere to Canada and to Melbourne giving the Queen's consent to the Melbourne Church Act, and enunciating precisely the principles advocated in my pamphlet.” (*Life of H. Venn*, p. 234.)

† *Church History of New Zealand*, p. 167.

Island; eight clergymen, of whom five were C.M.S. missionaries, viz., the brothers Williams, Brown, Hadfield, and Kissling—all five of them archdeacons then or afterwards; and seven laymen. Bishop Perry's constitution for Melbourne was already at work: the first meeting of his fully-organized Synod had been held there in the previous year; so that to him must be awarded the honour of having first presided over the Synod of a Colonial Church. To him, also, was largely due the scheme of representation of the laity which, in substance, is now generally adopted. Bishop Selwyn's task, however, was more difficult, owing to the existence of a Maori section of the Church, and to the fact of a great English missionary society having large interests in connexion with it. Into the details of the New Zealand constitution it is needless to enter here. No special provision for the Maori members of the Church was made at that time. Their share in its affairs will come before us much later in this History. Suffice it to say that the constitution was drawn with much skill; and although it afterwards underwent some hostile criticism from the High Church clergy of Christchurch Diocese (who all along were far more troublesome to Bishop Selwyn than the Church Missionary Society, *vide* Dean Jacobs's History, *passim*), it has proved eminently workable to this day. It owed something to the American Church, whose constitution Selwyn had studied; and in its turn it proved of great value as a pattern to other Colonies, and also to the Church of Ireland.

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Chap. 28.

Bishops
Perry and
Selwyn.

The first General Synod under the new constitution met at Wellington in March, 1859. There were now four bishops to attend. Three new dioceses had been formed, Wellington, Nelson, and Waiapu. Selwyn had originally nominated Hadfield for a bishopric, in accordance with his arrangement with the C.M.S.; first to Christchurch, then to a proposed diocese of "Wellington and Nelson," and thirdly to Wellington alone; but Hadfield declined all three times. So three old Etonians had been procured, H. J. C. Harper* for Christchurch, C. J. Abraham for Wellington, and E. Hobhouse for Nelson. For Waiapu, the eastern diocese of the North Island, which was in the main a Maori sphere, Archdeacon William Williams, who had been for twenty years the chief missionary in that part of the country, was selected, as had all along been intended; and he was consecrated during the session of the Synod, by the other four.

The first
regular
General
Synod.

The new
bishops.

The Synod was opened by Bishop Selwyn with a masterly address.† It was, of course, chiefly occupied with questions of practical organization, with which we are not now concerned. But one passage must be quoted, which admirably embodies the true view of the externals of Church arrangements and machinery:—

Selwyn
on the
externals
of the
Church.

"There is but one doubt of any importance, which I have heard

* Harper had not been an Eton boy, but he was a private tutor there. Selwyn said, "We must naturalize him."

† Printed at length in the *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 108—126.

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expressed on the subject of Church Constitutions, and that is, that we may be tempted to rely on mere external and material organization, instead of resting on the one foundation-stone of Jesus Christ, and seeking for the quickening influences of His Holy Spirit. But is not this a danger inseparable from our mixed nature in its fallen state? As the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and these are contrary the one to the other, so must everything that is outward and visible endanger the purity and vitality of that which is spiritual. However precious may be the ointment, a dead fly might cause it to stink. The brazen serpent might be made into an idol. The sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb might become an empty form. The temple of the Lord might be made a den of thieves. The word of God may be the letter that killeth, instead of the Spirit that giveth life; the savour of death unto death, instead of the savour of life unto life. We may have the form of godliness while we deny the power thereof. The tables of stone may draw away our thoughts from the Holy Law of God written on the tables of the heart. Prayer, Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, every ordinance that has a form of words or an outward sign, is liable to the same danger; and even where no form of words is used, the lips may still draw near to God, while the heart is far from Him. If every sacramental sign were removed, formality would still grow up from the dead heart within.

"The danger then, which is feared, of trusting to external organization, rather than to the inward life of the Spirit, is not peculiar to our present work, but is the besetting danger attendant upon every religious ordinance, and common to the Church at large, and to all its members. It would be vain, then, to seek for spiritual life by rejecting outward organization."

The only other portion that need be referred to is the Bishop's argument against seeking from the Colonial Legislature a legal status for the Synod, similar to that which Bishop Perry had obtained for Melbourne. "We should," he observed, "incur all the liabilities of a Church established by law, while at the same time, in the eye of the Colonial Legislature, we should only be as one of many denominations, all equal to one another." The authority claimed by the C.M.S. over its missionaries, too, would, he thought, be interfered with under any other system than that of mutual voluntary compact.

The most interesting incident of the session was the consecration of William Williams. The other bishops had all been consecrated in England; and all had received Letters Patent, which so closely attached them to the Established Church that they could not proceed to a legal consecration themselves without the consent of the Crown and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The necessary commission, however, arrived from England during the sitting of the Synod; and no time was lost in acting upon it. On the very next day, Sunday, April 3rd, 1859, the four bishops solemnly laid their hands on William Williams, and he then took his episcopal seat as first Bishop of Waiapu. No man, next to Samuel Marsden, more deserves to be called the Apostle of the Maoris. He and his brother Henry had for thirty-four years been the leaders of the missionary band; but William had

William
Williams
consecrated first
Bishop of
Waiapu.

certainly had the larger share in the actual work of evangelization. If Henry by his great energy had, as we have before seen, made enemies as well as friends, William by his gentleness had won only friends. He was faithful to Evangelical truth, and at the same time a loyal supporter of Selwyn in his plans for organization. Twelve years before, Selwyn had written of him, "He is an episcopally-minded man, and it would give me great pleasure to divide my diocese with him. Yea, let him take all, as I cannot pretend to equal his piety or maturity of wisdom."* Bishop Broughton had said of him, "He is the man I should like to have with me when I am dying."†

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There is a tradition that when Selwyn, at his interview with the C.M.S. Committee in England, proposed four new bishoprics, John Tucker of Madras drew a little picture of four lights at four corners being extinguished by four mitres! It was a significant illustration of the fear that many good people have always had, that organization may stifle life. So, undoubtedly, it may; but not necessarily; and assuredly the mitre of Waiapu did not. One consideration which much influenced the Society in desiring to see missionaries at the head of new dioceses was that the result would be the ordination of more Maori clergy. Selwyn's backwardness in this respect, and his reasons for it, have been noticed in our Twenty-eighth Chapter. Up to the time of the General Synod, when he had been seventeen years in New Zealand, he had only ordained two Maori deacons, Rota (Lot) Waitoa and Riwai (Levi) Te Ahu. Bishop Williams, soon after his consecration, gave priest's orders to Rota and ordained six new deacons, two of whom were advanced to the higher degree a year or two later. Bishop Selwyn was now encouraged to go forward a little; and in the same years, 1860-64, he ordained five Maori deacons; but he did not give any of them priest's orders within that period, and indeed only two before he finally left the Colony. The *C.M. Intelligencer* again and again argued the question, and urged the provision of more Native clergy, so that the now numerous congregations might be duly shepherded, and in particular that they might at least have the Holy Communion administered once a quarter; but this was a counsel of perfection except in the new diocese of Waiapu.

Good results.

More Natives ordained.

Before the next triennial General Synod was held, the Diocese of Waiapu had further signalized itself by holding, in December, 1861, a Diocesan Synod conducted entirely in the Maori language. It was attended by three English and three Maori clergymen, and seventeen Maori lay delegates; and several practical resolutions were debated and passed, one of which is worth quoting, as showing that a Maori Synod could take a wider view of its responsibilities than most English Church assemblies:—

Maori Synod in Waiapu Diocese.

"That in the judgment of this Synod it is the duty of those who

* *Life*, vol. i. p. 249.

† *Ibid.*, p. 250.

PART VI. enjoy the blessings of the Gospel to use their exertions to send the
1849-61. Gospel to the nations who are sitting in darkness."
Chap. 38.

Henry Venn, in the next Annual Report, enlarged with excusable pride upon this memorable Maori Synod:—

Venn's
retrospect.

"The missionary who, twenty-five years ago, first carried the message of the Gospel to the Eastern division of the Northern Island has been preserved to rejoice in its complete triumph. In the year 1840, Mr. Williams was the solitary missionary in the Eastern District, and he wrote, 'The size of my parish is two degrees and a half. My present condition is solitary. Here I am, holding on, not to the wreck, but on the spoil; and by God's assistance I will hold on till you send the required help.' In 1861 the same veteran missionary presided as Bishop over a Synod of the Native Church, surrounded by his Native Clergy and Laity, and with his own son in the flesh and in the Gospel, born on the spot, as his Assessor. Such an instance of signal blessing upon the labours of a faithful missionary can scarcely be paralleled in modern times. The mind is carried back to primitive ages, when the Word of God grew mightily and prevailed, and forward to the predicted latter season when a nation shall be born in a day."

That "own son in the flesh" was destined, after thirty-three years, to be elected third bishop of the same diocese; and three years later he appeared in England as a member of the Lambeth Conference of 1897.

Could the
C.M.S.
now with-
draw?

But before passing from the first General Synod of 1859, there is one more matter to refer to, which is omitted both by Mr. Tucker and by Dean Jacobs. When Bishop Selwyn was in England in 1854, one of the subjects discussed between him and the C.M.S. Committee was the expediency of the Society gradually withdrawing from New Zealand, and accomplishing what at the beginning of this chapter we have seen to be its view of the *euthanasia* of a Mission. Now both the Bishop and the Committee wished for the withdrawal, and yet both deprecated it. How was that? The Bishop wished the Society's control withdrawn, and its men, its money, and its lands handed over to the Colonial Church. The Committee wished to withdraw (gradually) the Society's money, in order to employ it in still unevangelized countries; but, so long as the missionaries remained, to retain them in C.M.S. connexion, and so long as this continued, to retain control over the lands and their produce. Mr. Ridgeway, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, wrote article after article* dwelling on the need of still caring for the Maori converts; in other words, of still following up the past "fishing" by watchful "shepherding." And this all the more because of the serious declension in the Native Christian community consequent, as before explained, upon the growth and prosperity of the colonial population. Now at the General Synod, the Bishop proposed that the Society be communicated with, "in order to ascertain whether they would be willing to resign into the hands of the clergy and laity of [the

The Synod
rejects
Bishop's
proposal.

* See especially the numbers for December, 1854, and July, 1856.

dioceses] their present charge of the native settlements, and upon what conditions they would assist in forming a fund for the permanent endowment of native parishes and schools." * Full discussion ensued; and ultimately the proposal was not accepted, but a resolution was passed *nem. con.*—by the Synod of five bishops, ten clergymen, and thirteen laymen, twenty-eight in all, only six of whom were connected with the Society:—

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"That since the colonization of New Zealand, there has never been a period when the native race more urgently required the undiminished efforts of the Church Missionary Society than at the present moment."

A more complete, and unexpected, justification of the Committee's policy could not be conceived.

When the second General Synod met in 1862, it was joined by a sixth bishop. This was Bishop Patteson of Melanesia, who had been consecrated in the previous year, and whose island diocese was included in the Ecclesiastical Province of New Zealand. Of Patteson's noble and devoted life it is not the province of this History to speak in detail, although every reader of these pages honours the man and thanks God for his example.

Bishop
Patteson.

But the difficulty of getting him consecrated cannot be passed over, as it illustrates so significantly the general subject of the present chapter. Although the organization of the Church was now free, the Bishops themselves were still tied by their Letters Patent; and although, as already explained, they had received State sanction for their consecrating W. Williams, it was quite another thing to get leave to send a bishop into a sphere outside the British dominions. There was, indeed, the Act of 1841 (commonly called the Jerusalem Act), which authorized the Queen to authorize the Archbishop of Canterbury to do this dreadful thing; but that Act was held not to apply to the case before us. Bishop Wilberforce, as we have seen, had failed, some few years before, to pass a more elastic measure. Long negotiations ensued between Bishop Selwyn and the Colonial Office; and the former suggested to the Government four alternatives, which are worth citing to illustrate how easy it is to devise methods of circumventing what is supposed to be the law. They were—(1) to give the new bishop a fragment of territory at the north end of New Zealand, which, being within the Empire, might be his nominal diocese, and from whence he could visit the islands as Selwyn himself had done; (2) to issue special Letters Patent, similar to the commissions by which authority is given to Consuls over British subjects abroad; (3) to separate Norfolk Island from the Diocese of Tasmania (to which it then belonged), and make it the see of the new bishop; (4) to permit the New Zealand bishops simply to exercise the inherent rights of their episcopal office, and consecrate a bishop if they pleased without

Problem of
his conse-
cration.

How the
problem
was solved

* This proposal is mentioned in the *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, but the result is not given.

PART VI. definite sanction from the Crown. The Colonial Secretary then
 1849-61. was the Duke of Newcastle, an adherent in Church matters of
 Chap. 38. Mr. Gladstone, who was also in the Ministry (it was the period of his great budgets); and we can scarcely be wrong in seeing Mr. Gladstone's influence—and perhaps that of his friend Bishop Wilberforce—in the Duke's choice. He chose the fourth alternative, only expressing a doubt whether the bishops had not better go and do the extra-legal act on one of the islands, rather than on British soil! Bishop Selwyn, however, was determined to make full use of the leave given, and having been assured by the Crown lawyers in New Zealand that the consecration, though extra-legal, would not be illegal, he, as he said, “no longer felt any scruple, but went forward with a conscience void of offence”; and Patteson was consecrated at Auckland on St. Matthias' Day, 1861. It is noteworthy that the consecration, in the same way, of Bishop Mackenzie for Central Africa, took place at Cape Town in the same year. “Thus slowly,” says Dean Jacobs, “but at length completely, did the obstinate traditions of the Colonial Office, the unreasonable obstacles they put in the way of Church progress, and the imaginary difficulties they were in the habit of raising, give way before common sense and determination.” *

Mistaken
policy of
Evangelicals.

It must be candidly confessed that all this was very distasteful, not to the C.M.S. missionaries in New Zealand—they (or most of them) were in sympathy with it,—but to Evangelical Churchmen in England. The *Record* of that day saw nothing but the cloven foot of sacerdotalism in all these movements to shake off State fetters. The tyranny exercised in the Middle Ages by the Church over the State had given the pendulum a long swing the other way; and the policy alike of Tudor, Stuart, and Hanoverian dynasties was for the State to tyrannize over the Church. One could wish that the universal recognition of the rights of the Church—subject always, in England, to the Royal Supremacy,—which obtains now among Churchmen of all schools, had been initiated, like so many other Church improvements and developments, by large-hearted and far-seeing Evangelicals. But it was not so. We unquestionably owe it to the High Church party that we can all now view with satisfaction the consecration of (say) Bishop Clifford in India, Bishop Leonard Williams in New Zealand, and Bishop Grisdale in Rupert's Land—to name those who happen to have been C.M.S. missionaries,—and that Evangelicals, at all events, have given enthusiastic approval to the action of Archbishop Plunket in consecrating Bishop Cabrera.

Changed
view now.

Effects of
Privy
Council
judgments
on Colonial
Church.

Two more steps in what may be called the complete enfranchisement of the Church in New Zealand should be recorded here, though their dates were a little later than the present section of our History. First, in 1863, the Judicial Committee of the

* *Church History of New Zealand*, p. 260.

Privy Council, on a South African ecclesiastical case,* decided once for all the position of the Church in self-governing Colonies such as Australia, New Zealand,† Cape Colony, and Canada, or in Crown Colonies where disestablishment has been effected, as now in Ceylon. The following sentence in the judgment may be regarded as the charter of the Colonial Churches:—

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“The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better but in no worse position; and the members may adopt, as the members of any other Communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body, which will be binding on those who, expressly or by implication, have assented to them.”

“Thus,” remarks Dean Jacobs,‡ “was the ancient bugbear finally demolished.” The judgment enabled the New Zealand Church to modify its constitution in certain respects, to which it is needless to refer. But a second step was taken two years later which completed the Church’s independence. In 1865, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave another important judgment,§ affirming that the Crown had no power to create territorial dioceses, or grant to bishops ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in Colonies possessing independent legislatures; and that therefore all Letters Patent which had been granted to colonial bishops after legislative independence had been conferred on the Colonies they worked in were null and void. Since then, no Letters Patent have been granted; and all that the Crown does, whenever a colonial bishop is consecrated in England, is to give the Archbishop of Canterbury, being a State officer, authority to perform the ceremony. But Bishop Selwyn and his suffragans felt themselves in a certain sense still morally bound by the possession of their Letters Patent; and they therefore took the remarkable step of petitioning the Queen for permission to surrender them.|| Apparently, no answer to this petition was received; but the Bishops regarded themselves now as free from any possible restrictions imposed by the discredited documents.

Letters
Patent
discarded.

It should be understood that the non-established Colonial Churches are not exempt—as of course they ought not to be exempt, nor have wished to be exempt—from the ordinary purview of the law in the same way as it takes cognizance of other voluntary societies. An individual member of any such Church can sue or be sued in the case of a breach of contract or transgression of a bye-law, just as would be the case with a railway

Freedom of
Colonial
Churches
not law-
lessness.

* The Appeal of the Rev. W. Long v. the Bishop of Cape Town, June 24th, 1863.

† New Zealand was at first a Crown Colony, but received powers of local legislation in 1852.

‡ *Church History of New Zealand*, p. 273.

§ In the case of Bishop Colenso, March 20th, 1865.

|| The Petition is printed *in extenso* in the *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 135.

PART VI. company and its shareholders or servants or passengers; and
 1849-61. from the Colonial Courts an appeal lies to the Privy Council.
 Chap. 38. The Anglican Church, as the judgment of 1863 expresses it, is
 "in no better but in no worse position" than any other religious
 body. For example, if a Colonial Church—as is the case in New
 Zealand—has a clause in its constitution forbidding it to alter the
 Prayer-book, except that it may adopt an alteration legally made
 in England, then any attempt to do so could be stopped by an
 appeal to the local Courts and ultimately to the Privy Council.
 The Church constitutions in the Colonies generally contain both
 "fundamental provisions" and "provisions not fundamental,"
 with a clause (as in New Zealand) forbidding even the General
 Synod to "alter, revoke, add to, or diminish" any of the former.
 Thus the liberty of the Anglican Church in the colonial possessions
 of Great Britain is not a liberty that can degenerate into license,
 but a liberty strictly guarded against any tendency to break away,
 in doctrine or in discipline, from the ancient Mother Church of
 England. And that the various branches of the Church in all
 parts of the world are so skilfully united with it as to combine
 reasonable elasticity with full communion is largely due to the
 vigour and resourcefulness of Bishop Selwyn.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WEST AFRICA: THREE MISSIONS AND THREE BISHOPS.

Sierra Leone—Growth of the Native Church—Fourah Bay College—Dr. Koelle's Linguistic Work—Temne Mission—Yoruba Mission—S. Crowther at Abeokuta—The Egba Chiefs and Queen Victoria—Revival of the Slave Trade—Lord J. Russell, Lord Palmerston, and H. Venn—Dahomey—Sarah Forbes Bonetta—Dahomian Attack on Abeokuta—Lagos captured by the British—H. Venn's Plans for promoting Lawful Commerce—Mr. Clegg and the Cotton Trade—S. Crowther received by the Queen and Prince Albert—Crowther and Palmerston—Crowther's Yoruba Translations—The Hinderers, Van Cooten, Dr. Irving—Progress of Mission—John Baptist Dasalu The Niger Attempt of 1854—The Niger Mission of 1857—The Three Bishops, Vidal, Weeks, Bowen.

"Queens thy nursing mothers."—Isa. xlix. 23.

"White cloth, of green [cotton, marg.], and of blue."—Esth. i. 6, R. V.

"And he died . . . and he died . . . and he died."—Gen. v. 5, 8, 11, &c.



THE Three Missions are Sierra Leone, Yoruba, Niger. The Three Bishops are Vidal, Weeks, Bowen, who all were consecrated, laboured, and died, within our present period. But the latter Three are not to be thought of as corresponding with the former Three.

All three Bishops were Bishops of Sierra Leone; all three visited the Yoruba Mission, which was an offshoot from Sierra Leone; but the Niger Mission was only founded during the episcopate of the third Bishop, and it remained beyond the limits of episcopal journeys until, some years later, it had a Bishop for itself.

During our period, the Colony of Sierra Leone itself was progressing year by year, materially and socially; and not less gratifying was the growth of the Native Church. Every Annual Report tells of increasing numbers, regular church attendance, and tokens of spiritual life. The health of the missionary staff was better preserved than of old; several men completed long periods of service; and for some years there were no deaths. There were often ten or twelve ordained missionaries at work, and nearly the same number of lay men and women. Scarcely any of their names are familiar now, even to well-instructed readers of missionary reports; but those were the days of Young, Warburton, Schön, Bultmann, Beale, Peyton, Denton, Frey, Rhodes, Ehemann, Reichardt, Schlenker, Graf, whose respective periods of service lasted from sixteen to twenty-seven years. Three ladies also were enabled long to carry on schools for African girls, viz. Miss

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Progress
at Sierra
Leone.

Long
service of
mission-
aries.

PART VI. 1849-61. Chap. 39. Hehlen, 1846-62; Mrs. Clemens, 1848-64; Miss Sass, one of the noblest of the Society's female missionaries, 1848-69. In 1857-8 began the equally lengthened missionary careers of Hamilton, Nicholson, and Menzies, which belong more properly to a later section of the History.

H. Venn's
division of
the work.

Henry Venn's Annual Reports are especially interesting on West Africa. His heart was there in a peculiar sense; and his statesmanship is manifest even in so seemingly simple a thing as the selection for publication of passages from the missionaries' letters, and, naturally, still more so in the accompanying comments. They were meant, evidently, not merely for home consumption, but to convey suggestions to the field. From 1850 onwards, he regularly, and significantly, divided his report on Sierra Leone, into three parts, viz., (1) Pastoral Work within the Colony, (2) Educational Work in the Colony *with a view to the Interior*, (3) Extension beyond the Colony. The first reminded the reader that the pastoral work was to be gradually handed over to the Native Church. The second continually laid stress on the fact that the Society's plans for higher education were not for the Colony itself chiefly, but specifically to prepare Native evangelists to go forward into the hinterland. The third naturally pointed the same application.

Pastoral
care of the
Native
Church.

Native
clergy.

(1) The gradual withdrawal of the Society from the pastoral care of the Native Church was steadily aimed at in all the measures initiated by Venn. It was with a view to this especially that the Society persistently pressed on the Government the necessity for a bishopric. For nearly forty years the Mission in West Africa had been carried on; but none of the thousands of Negro Christians had been confirmed; and the only three Negro clergymen had been educated in England and ordained by the Bishop of London. These were Samuel Crowther, George Nicol, and Thomas Maxwell; the two latter of whom had received deacon's and priest's orders in the year following the Jubilee. The Bishopric of Sierra Leone was established in 1852. The Bishops individually we will notice presently. Within our present period four held the office, and short as the careers were of the first three, their good influence upon the whole Mission, and particularly on the Native Church, was very marked. The first Bishop, Vidal, confirmed three thousand candidates, all of them already communicants; and the second Bishop, Weeks, fourteen hundred, most of them younger people. In 1854, two Africans were ordained by Bishop Vidal, but these were for missionary work in the Yoruba country. In 1856-7, Bishop Weeks ordained seven for Sierra Leone and three for Yoruba, and also a Negro from Jamaica named Wiltshire, who had been at Islington, for the hinterland of Sierra Leone. In 1859, Bishop Bowen ordained two, and in 1861, Bishop Beckles three, for Sierra Leone itself. Even before the ordinations for the Colony had begun, several of the congregations were virtually ministered to by the men who

were afterwards ordained, under the superintendence of the missionaries. From the very commencement of the Mission, the people had been taught to contribute weekly to the Church funds. The weekly offertory, which some in England were opposing as a Tractarian innovation, was a matter of course in Africa. The church service would have been thought incomplete without an offering to the Lord. In 1854, the entire cost of the village schools, including the pay of sixteen Native masters and mistresses, and amounting to £800 a year, was thrown by the Society on the Native Church. A School Committee was formed of some of the best laymen, and it is a striking fact that most of those chosen were "Johnson's men," that is, they were the fruits of the revival at Regent in 1817-19. Some of them were elderly men with sons engaged as catechists and schoolmasters; and at the meeting held to inaugurate the new educational *régime*, they said, "If any one had told us in Johnson's time that we would have our own sons to teach and preach to us, we could not have believed it."

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Native
contribu-
tions.

Native
school-
teachers.

The year 1859 was a year of sickness and death; and this led the Society to push forward with increased energy its plans for Native Church organization and self-support. In 1860, a provisional constitution which Venn had drafted eight years before was, with much care and pains, completed, and approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and on All Saints' Day, 1861, nine parishes in the Colony were formally declared to belong to the Church of Sierra Leone, each with its Native pastor supported by Native Church funds, and responsible, no longer to the Society, but to the Bishop and the Church Council only. Venn rejoiced greatly over this "great and blessed consummation of missionary labours." The general subject of Native Church organization will come before us hereafter. Here it is only necessary to record the fact.

Church
organiza-
tion.

The change came at a happy time. First, in the preceding year, the African subjects of the Queen had for the first time set their eyes on royalty. Prince Alfred (afterwards Duke of Edinburgh) visited Freetown, and was presented with an address by twenty-three Negro gentlemen of position, the representatives of the liberated slaves whom England had rescued from hopeless captivity. "That the people of Africa," replied the young Prince, "may continue to enjoy the blessings of Christianity and freedom is the hope of the British nation." Secondly, a schism that might have been sadly serious had been averted. A Roman Bishop, and several priests and sisters, had landed in the Colony, to work—as is so often the case—among an already Christian people; but several had sickened and died, and the rest had left Africa. Thirdly, and above all, Sierra Leone had joined in the Week of Prayer in January, 1860, in response to the Ludhiana invitation; from three to five a.m., every day, the people had crowded the churches; and a general revival of spiritual life and love and zeal had ensued. And thus hopefully the first real Native Church

Prince
Alfred's
visit.

Week of
Prayer.

PART VI. gathered out of Heathendom, in connexion with the Church of
1849-61. England, started upon its new career.
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Industrial education. (2) We go back to the Society's educational measures. First of all, the *new* liberated slaves that were still occasionally landed at Sierra Leone by the British cruisers—for not till 1861 was the sea-going slave-trade finally suppressed, as we shall see—continued to be taken charge of by the Society; and for their benefit industrial schools for boys and girls were established. Two practical German mechanics, from the St. Chrischona Institution near Basle,* Bockstatt and Knödler, were sent out to conduct the boys' schools, and did excellent service. From Germany also had come the ladies in charge of the girls.† But of greater importance

Higher education. were the three higher educational institutions: the Female Institution (afterwards the Annie Walsh), under Miss Sass; the Grammar School, under Mr. Peyton, and afterwards conducted for many years by an excellent African clergyman, the Rev. James Quaker; and the Fourah Bay College, for which new buildings were opened on the day of the Society's Jubilee, November 1st, 1848. Of this College, during the whole of our present period, the Rev. Edward Jones, a coloured clergyman ordained in the United States, was Principal; and sometimes European missionaries were tutors under him. Of these, the most remarkable was Dr. S. W. Koelle, a learned and accomplished man from the Basle Seminary, who, after further theological instruction at Islington, had been ordained by Bishop Blomfield. He was a Semitic scholar, and started a Hebrew class at Fourah Bay; and very soon African youths, the children of liberated slaves, could be seen reading the Old Testament in the original.

Dr. Koelle. Dr. Koelle was encouraged by Venn to pursue investigations into the languages of West Africa on an extensive scale, with the object already referred to, of preparing the way for Missions in the Interior. He threw himself into the work with characteristic German energy and accuracy, and produced his famous *Polyglotta Africana*, a comparative vocabulary of three hundred words and phrases in one hundred and fifty languages and dialects. This he brought to England; and the following entry appears in H. Venn's private journal, March 5th, 1853:—

“Went with Mr. Koelle to breakfast at Chevalier Bunsen's. Exhibited to him the wonderful results of Mr. K.'s investigation of the languages of Africa. . . . We stayed with him till past 12, and then went to Mr. Edwin Norris, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, who . . . was fully prepared to appreciate Mr. K.'s labours; but, as he said, he was perfectly overwhelmed at the magnitude and importance of them.”

His great linguistic work. His Volney prize. This great work obtained the Volney prize annually awarded by the French Institute to the best linguistic publication of the year.

* Not to be confused with the Basle Missionary Seminary.

† One of these was the Mrs. Clemens before mentioned. Another became Mrs. Hamilton.

The same honour was gained in 1877 by the Hausa studies and translations of J. F. Schön, who was engaged upon them during the period now under review. Thus the competition instituted in honour of an infidel brought reward to the work of two missionaries of Christ.

It was with a view to gradual advance into the interior, that a Mission had been begun, as far back as 1840, among the Temne people; Port Lokkoh, sixty miles up the Sierra Leone River, being occupied for that purpose. C. F. Schlenker, a scholarly German missionary, resided there ten years, and did remarkable linguistic work. Subsequently the Jamaica Negro clergyman, J. S. Wiltshire, laboured among the same people at Magbele in the Quiah country; but in 1860 his house was attacked and plundered, and he had to fly for his life. The Mohammedans from the interior were found by no means bigoted. Mr. Schön had much intercourse, at Sierra Leone itself, with traders who had come from Timbuctoo and Bornu, and even from Tripoli and Egypt. "They would sit for hours talking of Ibrahim, Ishak, Yakub, Musa, Daibid, and Isa." * Venn's ardent hopes, therefore, were not unwarranted. Yet the hinterland was never really penetrated. Again and again, good plans came to nought, for lack of men.

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Extension
to the
Interior.

But the Mission on which the eyes of the C.M.S. Committee rested with most eager expectation was that in the Yoruba country. Here was a real advance, a thousand miles beyond Sierra Leone, into the districts which more than any others had suffered from the slave-trade.

Yoruba
Mission.

What led to this Mission we have before seen. In our Twentieth Chapter we left Henry Townsend and Samuel Crowther entering the great Egba town, Abeokuta, on August 3rd, 1846. Very hearty was their welcome, from the Sierra Leone Christians already settled there, from the chief Sagbua, and from the people generally; and forthwith began a work which quickly attracted to itself a large part of the prayerful sympathy and interest of the C.M.S. circle at home. It began with one of the most touching incidents in missionary history. Before Crowther had been three weeks in the town, he came across his mother, from whom he had been torn just a quarter of a century before. For a large part of the time she had been in slavery, though never exported from the country; but she had been redeemed by her two daughters. It was on August 21st that the meeting of mother and son occurred; and Crowther noticed that the text that day in the *Christian Almanack* was, "Thou art the helper of the fatherless." Afala—that was the mother's name—proposed to offer a special sacrifice to her gods in gratitude for the discovery of her long-lost son; but on being assured that it was to the Christians' God that she

Samuel
Crowther's
mother
found,

* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Jesus.—Mr. Schön gave interesting illustrations of this at the Mohammedan Conference held at the C.M. House in 1875.

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and
baptized.

owed this great mercy, she consented to be put under Townsend's instruction, to learn of Him; and on February 6th, 1848, when the first six new converts of Abeokuta were admitted to baptism, Afala herself was one of them, receiving, as the mother of "Samuel," the appropriate name of Hannah. Month by month, the work now expanded and prospered, notwithstanding frequent severe persecution from some of the chiefs; and on August 3rd, 1849, Crowther wrote:—

Three
years'
results.

"This Mission is to-day three years old. What hath God wrought in this short interval of conflict between light and darkness! We have 500 constant attendants on the means of grace, about 80 communicants, and nearly 200 candidates for baptism. Others have cast their gods away, and are not far from enlisting under the banner of Christ."

Lawful
trade and
the slave-
trade.

Meanwhile, the Yoruba chiefs and people were beginning to see the value of lawful commerce with the outer world. At the port of Badagry, some of the Sierra Leone merchants had settled, and they were ready to buy the palm-oil, nuts, indigo, cotton, &c., which the Yoruba country produced. But at Lagos, the chief port, which is nearer and more convenient, the ruler was a slave-trading king, and they could only obtain English ironware and other articles from Portuguese slave-traders, who would only take slaves in exchange. When, therefore, Townsend was leaving for a visit to England in 1848, the chiefs took the opportunity to send by him a letter to the Queen, with a piece of cotton cloth made in the country, not doubting that she could interfere, and "open the road" to Lagos. The letter is worth quoting:—

Yoruba
chiefs'
letter to
the Queen.

"The words which Sagbua, and other chiefs of Abeokuta, send to the Queen of England.

"May God preserve the Queen in life for ever! Shodeke, who communicated with the Queen before, is no more. It will be four or five years before another takes his office.

"We have seen your servants the missionaries, whom you have sent to us in this country. What they have done is agreeable to us. They have built a House of God. They have taught the people the Word of God, and our children beside. We begin to understand them.

"There is a matter of great importance that troubles us: what must we do that it may be removed away? We do not understand the doings of the people of Lagos, and other people on the coast. They are not pleased that you should deliver our country-people from slavery. They wish that the road may be closed, that we may never have any intercourse with you. What shall we do that the road may be opened, that we may navigate the River Ossa to the River Ogun? The laws that you have in your country we wish to follow in the track of the same—the slave-trade, that it may be abolished. We wish it to be so. The Lagos people will not permit: they are supporting the slave-traders. We wish for lawful traders to trade with us. We want, also, those who will teach our children mechanical arts, agriculture, and how things are prepared, as tobacco, rum, and sugar. If such a teacher should come to us, do not permit it to be known, because the Lagos people, and other people on the coast, are not pleased at the friendship you are showing to us.

"We thank the Queen of England for the good she has done in delivering our people from slavery. Respecting the road, that it should not be closed, there remains yet much to speak with each other."

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This letter and present Lord Chichester was permitted to present in person to the Queen and Prince Albert at Osborne; and received the royal command to send a gracious reply, which he accordingly did, as follows : *—

The
Queen's
reply
through
Lord
Chichester.

"I have had the honour of presenting to the Queen the letter of Sagbua and other chiefs of Abeokuta, and also their present of a piece of cloth.

"The Queen has commanded me to convey her thanks to Sagbua and the chiefs, and her best wishes for their true and lasting happiness, and for the peace and prosperity of the Yoruba nation.

"The Queen hopes that arrangements may be made for affording to the Yoruba nation the free use of the River Ossa, so as to give them opportunities for commerce with this and other countries.

"The commerce between nations, in exchanging the fruits of the earth, and of each other's industry, is blessed by God.

"Not so the commerce in slaves, which makes poor and miserable the nation which sells them, and brings neither wealth nor the blessing of God to the nation who buys them, but the contrary.

"The Queen and people of England are very glad to know that Sagbua and the chiefs think as they do upon this subject of commerce.

"But commerce alone will not make a nation great and happy, like England. England has become great and happy by the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ.

Secret of
England's
greatness.

"The Queen is therefore very glad to hear that Sagbua and the chiefs have so kindly received the missionaries, who carry with them the Word of God, and that so many of the people are willing to hear it.

"In order to show how much the Queen values God's Word, she sends with this, as a present to Sagbua, a copy of this work in two languages—one the Arabic, the other the English.

"The Church Missionary Society wish all happiness, and the blessing of eternal life, to Sagbua and all the people of Abeokuta.

"They are very thankful to the chiefs for the kindness and protection afforded to their missionaries, and they will not cease to pray for the spread of God's Truth, and of all other blessings, in Abeokuta and throughout Africa, in the name and for the sake of our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

(Signed) "CHICHESTER."

With this letter were sent two handsome Bibles, English and Arabic, for the chiefs, and a steel corn-mill from Prince Albert. It fell to Samuel Crowther to read the letter at a great assembly of the chiefs and people of Abeokuta, translating it sentence by sentence; and then, "holding the Bibles in my hand," he writes, "I spoke on the prosperous reigns of the kings who feared God, David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah." "After this," he goes

The royal
presents.

* This letter is interesting as the origin of the popular legend that the Queen handed a Bible herself to an African chief, saying, "This is the secret of England's greatness." The story has more than once been contradicted on authority; but it will be seen that it is not quite unfounded.

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on, "the mill was fixed; some Indian corn, having been got ready, was put into the funnel before them, and, to their great astonishment, came out in fine flour by merely turning the handle of the machine."

Revival of
slave-
trade.

At this very time, the slave-trade had been reviving and increasing. This was, in part, an unexpected result of the new Free Trade policy inaugurated by Peel when he repealed the Corn Laws, and applied to sugar in the same year by his successor in the Premiership, Lord John Russell. With a view to cheapening that important article to the consumer, the differential duties on slave-grown sugar were abolished; and the immediate result was an impetus to the sugar-planting of Cuba and Brazil. This increased the demand for slaves, the market-price for whom at once rose twenty per cent.; naturally, the slave-traders, incited by the hopes of larger profits, became more active than ever in their hateful traffic; and in one year the number of slaves shipped more than doubled. "Sugar," piteously wrote Mr. Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer*, "has been cheapened to the individual purchaser, but the cost of the reduction has fallen upon Africa. A greater measure of sorrow has been wrung from her, and as our sugar cheapens, her sufferings increase." Then another peril to Africa threatened. For forty years British cruisers had watched the West African coast, and, as we have before seen, had captured many slave-ships and released thousands of slaves; but the revived activity of the trade was seized by the opponents of so philanthropic a policy as an excuse for moving to withdraw the squadron, on the ground of its ineffectiveness; which motion was backed by economists like Joseph Hume, to save expense. Mr. Ridgeway's retort was obvious: "Would an increase of crime be a good reason for abolishing the police? The controversy became acute in 1850; and the Society used its utmost efforts, through its Parliamentary friends, not only to get the motion defeated, but to obtain more vigorous measures to put the slave-trade down. Venn's private journal gives vivid glimpses of his activity in the matter, and of the Society's deputations to Ministers:—

Proposal
to with-
draw the
British
squadron.

Efforts of
C.M.S. to
influence
Lord Pal-
merston,

"Tuesday, December 4, 1849.—Foreign Office as the clock struck five. Found Lord Waldegrave, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir E. Buxton, Sir T. Acland, Messrs. Hutton (African merchant), Townsend, Gollmer, Major Straith. Waiting three-quarters of an hour. Sir R. H. Inglis obliged to leave. Then introduced to Lord Palmerston. Lord Waldegrave briefly stated the matter, and then referred to me. I pointed out on the map the situation of Abeokuta, and the importance of securing the present opening for legitimate commerce by a British Resident at Abeokuta, an armed boat on the lagoon, or a fort at Badagry. Lord Palmerston asked many questions, and different members of the deputation took their part in the conversation, which lasted an hour. Lord P. seemed inclined to send an envoy to Abeokuta, and wait for his report before further steps are taken."

and Earl
Grey.

"Saturday, December 15, 1849.—At the Colonial Office at 3 o'clock.

Deputation to Lord Grey, consisting of Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir E. Buxton, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Gollmer, and myself. Sir Robert opened the business. I was astonished at the clearness and forcibleness with which he stated the case, going at once to the point of establishing armed forts on the lagoon. Lord Grey entered intelligently and warmly into the business; spoke of the effectiveness of establishing British forts, and his hope that, if the forts we proposed could be established, the slave-trade would be suppressed north of the Line."

"*Tuesday, March 12, 1850.*—To breakfast at Sir T. D. Acland's; a West African party—Lord Harrowby, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir Edward Buxton, Captains Denman, Pelham, Trotter, Mr. Evans. The consultation was to be upon the Parliamentary tactics in reference to Mr. Hutt's motion next Tuesday for the removal of the squadron. A request was sent to Lord Palmerston at about 10 o'clock to see some of the party on the subject. The answer was that his lordship was not up, upon which the messenger was sent back to ask for a note. The answer returned was that he would be ready to see us at 11.30, at which hour we all went in a body to his private residence, Carlton House Terrace, except Lord Harrowby. Lord P. received us in his dining-room as cheerfully as if the Greek affair existed only in Herodotus.* We sat round a table. Sir T. Acland opened the business admirably, putting a few strong points tersely. Lord Palmerston's answers were frank and very satisfactory; the maintenance of the squadron was a Government question; it was to be stated in the House that the measure had been successful to a great extent, but that our experience had taught us that it might be rendered more effectual by new arrangements, without an increase of expenditure; that Lord P. was to write a despatch explaining the law respecting property employed in the slave-traffic—that it might be seized and destroyed, as well as the barracoons. Lord P. engaged to consider of a modification of the head-money upon captured slaves, so as to make it equally profitable to the squadron to prevent the embarkation of slaves as to capture a full slave-ship; also to devise some means of personal punishment of the captain and mates of captured slavers, 'by which,' said Sir Robert, when he ultimately read the memorandum, 'I mean hanging.' Lord Palmerston agreed with us that we should see the First Lord of the Admiralty on the same subject before Tuesday."

Another
interview
with Pal-
merston.

When the hostile proposals came on for discussion in March, Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston stood firm; and the former concluded one of his greatest speeches with words rarely heard in the House of Commons. In allusion to the tranquillity England had enjoyed amid the revolutionary turmoil on the Continent, to the victories in the Punjab, and to the disappearance of the cholera scourge, he said:—

Lord John
Russell's
great
speech.

"Sir, this country has been blessed with great mercies this year. More than once we have thanked God for the dispensation of those mercies. But if this nation were now to say that the unhallowed and cruel traffic in man should be revived, we could no longer have a right to expect those mercies. After all it is the high Christian and moral character of a nation that is its main source of security and strength."

The motion was defeated, and the danger averted. Lord

* The "Greek affair" was Palmerston's quarrel with the Government of Athens in the case of Don Pacifico, which led to the combined attack upon him by Conservatives and Peelites, and his victorious defence.

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A Consul
for Abeo-
kuta.

Savage
Dahomey.

Palmerston fulfilled his promise, and sent Captain Beecroft as Consul to Abeokuta. The Consul arrived there at the beginning of 1851, and found Abeokuta in the midst of a new danger. The various slave-trading chiefs and tribes were combining to destroy a place which they perceived was a standing menace to their evil deeds, and to drive all Englishmen out of the country. At the head of this confederacy were Kosoko, king of Lagos, and Gezo, the bloodthirsty tyrant reigning over the neighbouring warlike kingdom of Dahomey. Commander Forbes, who had visited Dahomey just before, gave a most shocking account of the barbarities prevailing in that kingdom. There was a large army of trained warriors, men and women, the "Amazons" being especially famous for their courage and cruelty; and this army had devastated most of the neighbouring countries. The women and children were taken into slavery, and the men put to the sword. Abomey, the capital, was a city of human skulls. "They are stored up in thousands, and brought forth on state occasions, the heads of kings in large brass pans. Skulls form the heads of walking-sticks and distaffs, ornament drums and umbrellas, surmount standards, decorate doorways, are built into walls, crown the ramparts of the palace, form the footstool of the king's state chair. The very drinking-cups which the ladies of the royal harem carry at their girdles are polished skulls."* Had Gezo succeeded in destroying Abeokuta, the future Bishop Crowther's skull would probably have adorned the palace at Abomey.

Dahomey
attacks
Abeokuta,
and is
repulsed.

The great Dahomian attack on Abeokuta, by an army estimated at 15,000 warriors, took place on Monday, March 3rd, 1851. On the previous Sunday night special prayer-meetings had been held by the Christians; and on the Monday morning, the men among them joined the defending army on the low mud walls and at the gates. A desperate struggle ensued, which ended, through the goodness of God, in the total defeat of the Dahomians, who ultimately fled, leaving hundreds, of "Amazons" particularly, dead upon the field. The Egba chiefs, Heathen as they were, ascribed the

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1851, p. 101. (From Commander Forbes's *Two Missions to Dahomey*.) Forbes brought home from Dahomey a Yoruba girl nine years old, who had been carried away captive when the Dahomians killed her parents, and who had been given him by the king. When she arrived in England, the Queen was interested in her, took her into Buckingham Palace, and then handed her to the Church Missionary Society to be educated, paying all expenses. She was sent to the Female Institution at Sierra Leone, then brought back to England, and placed under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Schön at Chatham. The Queen often sent for her, and gave her valuable presents from time to time. When Mr. Schön's daughter became Mrs. Higgins (now of Ceylon) in 1858, Sarah Forbes Bonetta—her baptismal name—was one of the bridesmaids. She was married herself in 1862, at Brighton, to a leading Negro merchant at Lagos, Mr. J. P. L. Davies; Henry Venn performing the ceremony. The Queen was godmother to her first child, who was baptized at Lagos by the name of Victoria, Captain Glover representing Her Majesty on the occasion. Mrs. Davies died in 1880. Venn was a father to her all through her younger days, and frequently wrote to her to Lagos after her marriage.

victory to the God whom their Christian subjects worshipped; and the result was a real impetus to the whole work of the Mission.

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But now the chief of Lagos, Kosoko, attacked the other port, Badagry; and though he was repulsed, Commodore Bruce, the commander of the British squadron, acting under orders from England, resolved to put an end to his slave-trading and cruelties. A force was landed from the squadron, and after a severe conflict, in which more than a hundred English were killed and wounded, Lagos was taken. Kosoko, who was but an usurper, was dethroned, and the rightful king, Akitoye, reinstated. With this restored ruler a treaty was concluded, suppressing the slave-trade altogether, and making Lagos an open port for legitimate trade with the Yoruba country. The Commodore and the Consul then begged the missionaries to occupy the once great emporium of the slave-traffic without delay. A Native catechist, James White, was immediately sent there; and on January 10th, 1852, he preached the first Christian sermon at Lagos, in the presence of the king. Mr. Gollmer followed as soon as possible from Badagry; and from that time Lagos has been a C.M.S. station, though the period of its real importance, as a commercial port not dependent on the slave-trade, did not begin yet. Akitoye died; his son, Docemu, failed to fulfil his obligations; and the slave-traffic continued to be carried on clandestinely.

Fighting at
Lagos.

Lagos
becomes a
mission
station.

Meanwhile, Venn's fertile and vigorous mind was running on the possibilities of superseding the slave-trade by legitimate commerce, as a more permanently effective plan than merely suppressing it by force. An interesting memorandum describing his efforts in this direction, by his son and namesake, the Rev. Henry Venn,* appears in the Appendix to his Memoir. "You must show the Native chiefs," Venn used to say, "that it is more profitable to use their men for cultivating the ground than to sell them as slaves. When once the chiefs have found that lawful commerce pays better than the slave-trade, the work of the squadron will soon be at an end." This, it will be remembered, was the view of Sir Fowell Buxton, and the motive of the Niger Expedition of 1841. The failure of that Expedition had put an end, for the time, to the plans for planting "the Gospel and the Plough" in the hinterland of the Slave Coast; but Venn's indomitable spirit declined to abandon the hopes that had been raised. He went to work, however, in a quieter way. He determined to find out for himself what were the natural products of the country; he got the missionaries to send him samples of dyes, cotton, ginger, arrowroot, pepper, coffee, palm-oil, ivory, ebony, &c. He submitted these samples to produce-brokers and other experts. "Amongst his papers," says his son, "we found letters from Sir W. Hooker, Director of Kew Gardens, from brokers in London and Manchester, from timber merchants, from wholesale

Venn's
plans to
promote
lawful
trade,

By
personal
experi-
ment.

* Now Vicar of Warbler.

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druggists, and many others, reporting upon various articles from Africa." He himself invested, as an experiment, in 400 lb. of arrowroot and 300 lb. of ginger, and it was due to him that the former article, from the West Coast, became a staple of commerce. He formed a small but influential committee to assist him, comprising Lords Shaftesbury and Harrowby, Sir T. D. Acland, Sir R. H. Inglis, Sir E. N. Buxton (son of Sir Fowell), &c. He arranged for two or three Negroes to be trained at Kew Gardens, and for others he provided a medical education. At the same time, he was strongly of opinion that trade was not the work of a missionary society, and these plans and experiments were kept entirely distinct from C.M.S. affairs. Only a few even of the Committee knew anything about his efforts. Moreover, "he was very jealous of allowing trade to occupy the time or the thoughts of the missionaries, and carefully impressed this upon those friends who helped him." In his private journal (November 28th, 1852) we find him "expounding to three missionaries the principles upon which they were to encourage native industry and lawful commerce, without involving the Mission in the charge of trading."

Distinct
from
C. M. S.

But his most remarkable effort in this direction was in the promotion of a trade in cotton. For this "he saw that it was absolutely necessary to interest some religious Manchester merchants. He knew that one word from Manchester would do more than two hundred letters from him." The help thus needed came spontaneously from a cotton-merchant, Mr. Thomas Clegg, who heard him preach in a Manchester church, and who wrote to the Vicar saying that "if Mr. Venn wanted to promote Christian civilization in Africa, he had better teach the Natives not to waste the products of their country." A small attempt had been made before this. Venn sent out the first cotton-gins ever used at Abeokuta, which were given him by Miss (now the Baroness) Burdett Coutts. When dining at Mr. Samuel Gurney's, he told him he had sent out a press and machinery to the amount of £200. "Is it paid for?" asked the generous Quaker. "No," said Venn, "only half." "Then," rejoined Gurney, "I will give thee the remainder, Henry Venn, on one condition, that thou wilt apply to me for another £100 whenever thou wantest it." * Mr. Clegg, however, went into the business on a somewhat larger scale; and Venn's journal gives an interesting account of one of his visits to that good man at Manchester in 1856, and his interviews with Mr. T. Bazley, Mr. J. Pender, and other well-known Lancashire magnates. Then—

Through
Mr. Clegg
of Man-
chester.

Venn with
the Man-
chester
merchants.

"We set to work upon Mr. Clegg's ledgers, to ascertain the state of his African trade; for hitherto he had treated Africa as though it were a single port like the port of Liverpool, and orders from places 1300 miles apart had all been put down under the general head of 'Africa.' Sixty-three native correspondents had done business with him, and his

* Private Journal, December 11th, 1852.

consignments of goods had often been made to missionaries, when he could not make out the native names of his correspondents; and his book-keepers regarded the petty transactions of this branch as unworthy of their attention! We spent six hours upon these books, to disentangle the accounts, and show that the Church Missionary Society was in no way involved in commercial responsibilities. We found that though for the first two or three years he had sunk £500 or £600, he was now rapidly recovering it by the extent and profits of the trade. His desire, however, was simply to benefit the Natives, and to secure no more profit to himself than a bare commission on the transaction.”*

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—

Small Industrial Institutions were established by the Society at Lagos and Abeokuta, at which instruction was given to Native workmen; but as the business grew, and was able, so to speak, to walk alone, they were transferred to other parties. In 1859, Venn wrote, “There are now 200 or 300 gins at work at Abeokuta, and five or six presses, chiefly in the hands of Natives. Cotton is flowing to England in a stream widening every day, and Abeokuta is rising rapidly in every branch of commerce.” The extensive trade now carried on between England and the port of Lagos is thus largely due to the initiation of the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.†

Success of
Yoruba
cotton.

Another important subject which engaged the attention of the C.M.S. Committee at this time was that of polygamy, and the question of baptizing polygamists. After much deliberation, a valuable memorandum by Venn was adopted and published. It took the same ground that was taken thirty years later by the Lambeth Conference of 1888, and confirmed the previous practice of the Yoruba missionaries, agreed to by them unanimously and with the sanction of the Bishop of Sierra Leone; which was “that while the wives of a polygamist, if believed to be true converts, might be received to baptism, since they were usually the involuntary victims of the custom, no man could be admitted who retained more than one wife.” It is printed as an appendix to the Report for 1856-57.‡

Minute on
Polygamy.

But we must go back to 1851, at which time Yoruba affairs, as we have seen, were commanding considerable attention in England. In that year, after the Dahomian repulse, Samuel Crowther visited this country; and a graphic account by him of his reception by the Queen and Prince Albert must here be given: §—

Samuel
Crowther
received
by the
Queen and
Prince
Albert.

“Windsor, November 18th, 1851.

“At 4.30 p.m. Lord Wriothlesley Russell kindly took me to the Palace to see Prince Albert by appointment. On our arrival at the Palace the

* Private Journal, November 15th, 1856.

† In 1865, when the condition of the West African Colonies was again before Parliament, Venn compiled a valuable pamphlet for the use of M.P.’s and others, entitled *Notices of the British Colonies on the West Coast of Africa*, showing their growth in civilization and commercial possibilities. (London, Dalton & Co., 1865.)

‡ The curious circumstance of the High Church organs opposing the C.M.S. action against Polygamy is mentioned at p. 14.

§ From the *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 275.

PART VI. Prince was not in: the servants in waiting went about to seek him. In
 1849-61. about ten minutes he sent to ask us into his private room. We met
 Chap. 39. him standing by his writing-table. Lord Wriothlesley made obeisance
 — and introduced me to the Prince. A few words of introductory remarks
 led to conversation about West Africa, Abeokuta particularly. The
 Prince asked whether we could find the place on any map, or there-
 abouts. I then showed the large map from the Blue Book which was
 opened partly on the table. About this time the Queen came in, and
 the Prince, looking behind him, introduced her to Lord W. Russell, but
 in so quick a way that I could not catch the sound. The Queen and he
 turned towards the map to find out Abeokuta—Sierra Leone—where the
 slaves are liberated; the Queen joining him.

The Queen
 studies the
 map,

“I produced the small map which Samuel [Mr. Crowther's son] made
 from the large one; the places were found better. I told them the
 tradition which is in Ifé, as to its being the first place in the world where
 all mankind derived their origin, as well as the new moon, the stars, the
 sea, and all rivers took their rise, which amused them very much. As
 Lord W. Russell doubted whether I was aware that the lady who took
 so much interest in the interview was the Queen, he made use of the
 words ‘your Majesty’ once or twice that I might take particular notice,
 especially as she did not come in state, but simply like any other lady.
 The Prince was anxious to find other places in the large map, but the
 lamp was not bright enough, so he requested the Queen to raise it, which
 she did. When the Prince wanted to open the map wider it blew the
 lamp out altogether; there was a burst of laughter from the Prince, the
 Queen, and Lord W. Russell. She hastened to the chimney-piece, and
 got two candles lighted immediately, and advised the Prince to remove
 to a larger table in the centre of the room. Lagos was the particular
 object of inquiry as to its facility of trade, should the slave-trade be
 abolished, which I pointed out as I did to Lord Palmerston and Sir F.
 Baring. She asked what did Lord Palmerston and Sir F. Baring say?
 I told her that they expressed satisfaction at the information. The
 Prince said, ‘Lagos ought to be knocked down by all means; as long as
 they had the lake, as he called it, to screen themselves, and the men-of-
 war outside, it is of no use.’ I related the mischievous disposition of
 Kosoko, his combination with the King of Dahomey against Abeokuta.
 When the slave-trade was much crippled by the ships of war—then
 came the attack of the King of Dahomey upon Abeokuta. She was
 surprised to hear of the courage of the Amazons, but when she heard of
 their slaughter, she was moved with sympathy. Every mention of the
 King of Dahomey was heard with expressions of dislike at the cruelty
 of the barbarous king.

and
 lights the
 candles,

and
 dislikes
 Dahomey,

“In looking on the small map again they were surprised to find such
 populous places still in West Africa, especially Ilorin, estimated at
 70,000. The Prince asked whether the people of Abeokuta were content
 at merely getting something to eat, and merely having a cloth to cover
 themselves. I told him they were very industrious, and are fond of
 finery, as well as inquisitive to get something new. He then said, ‘That
 is right, they can easily be improved.’

“I told them of the reception of Mr. Beecroft, the British Consul, by
 Sagbua. On our visit to him the chief first seated Mr. Townsend, and
 then addressed himself to the missionaries, ‘I consider you as my
 children’; but when he turned to Mr. Beecroft and embraced him, said,
 ‘You are my father,’ and that the general request of the chiefs, both
 in public and in private, was, if he was in earnest to produce legitimate
 trade, he should abolish the slave-trade at Lagos as soon as possible.

"Lord Wriothlesley then introduced the subject of the persecutions at Abeokuta, especially the firmness of the female Christians. The Queen was highly pleased to hear of it. Lord W. Russell then mentioned my translations into the Yoruba language. He told the Queen the proverb about the Agiliti, which he requested me to repeat to her Majesty, that she might hear the sound of the language, which I did. I repeated the Lord's Prayer in addition, that she might hear it better. She said it was soft and melodious, and asked with what language it was classified. I replied, 'Mr. Vidal has not been able as yet to classify it with any of the languages, on account of its peculiarity.' Lord Wriothlesley mentioned Mr. Vidal as an extraordinary linguist. I told them that he was very clever indeed, that even now the proofs of my translations are sent to him to revise before they pass through the press, which quite astonished the Queen and the Prince. Lord Wriothlesley then said to the Prince, 'It is not the Germans alone who have the talent for languages, but Englishmen also.' The Prince did not reply much to that.

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1849-61.
Chap. 39.

and is
pleased at
firmness of
persecuted
Christians.

"The Prince's attention was again directed to the map. When we were finding out places the Queen and Lord Wriothlesley were engaged in conversation about a certain pamphlet and the Bishop of — about five minutes. They ended with a smile, and the Queen said, 'I hope Mr. Vidal is not going to teach that in Africa.' As Lord Wriothlesley looked towards me, as wishing me to say something, I said, 'I believe Mr. Vidal is truly evangelical in his views,' and that I believed he would be truly a nursing father to our West African Mission.

The Queen
favours
Evangelical
views.

"Lord Wriothlesley informed the Queen of my having seen Sir H. Leeke, who rescued me from slavery many years ago, which interested her very much. She was told that Mrs. Crowther was recaptured in the same way. The Queen then asked whether Mrs. Crowther was in England. She inquired of Lord Wriothlesley of my family, and of Sally Forbes Bonetta, of whom I told her. They asked whether she was a princess. I told her she was in no way related to the King of Dahomey, but may be related to some Yoruba chiefs. The Queen then withdrew with a marked farewell gesture.

"The Prince and Lord Wriothlesley took up the conversation of the squadron—its narrow escape from being withdrawn some two years ago. Lord Wriothlesley said: 'My brother stood firm with Lord Palmerston for it.' The Prince said: 'Yes, they helped me.' He then looked into the map again, and, pointing to Lagos, asked: 'What is now to be done?' I said: 'Nothing more than what the chiefs and people of Abeokuta have requested Mr. Beecroft to do, in order to introduce lawful trade—remove the slave-traders from Lagos, introduce lawful trade there, and the resources of the country up to the banks of the Niger will be called forth.' I told him of the increase of our palm-oil trade at Badagry since the establishment of our Mission there; whereas, before that time, nothing scarcely was exported from that place. With this our conversation concluded, the Prince withdrew, and we returned home. Lord Wriothlesley could not restrain himself from breaking out on the way with expressions of thanksgiving to God for the success of the proceedings of the day, and for the kind and attentive reception of both the Queen and the Prince. Lord Wriothlesley said the Queen was not much short of half an hour with us, and we were an hour and a quarter together with the Prince."

Prince
Albert
favours
strong
measures
against
the slave-
trade.

Lord Palmerston also gave Crowther an interview, and entered carefully into the political and commercial relations of Abeokuta, Lagos, &c. In the course of the conversation, Crowther chanced

PART VI. to allude to his own experience of slavery. "What!" cried
1849-61. Palmerston, who only saw before him a well-dressed clergyman
Chap. 39. with a black face, "do you mean to say that *you* were a slave?"

Palmer-
ston and
Crowther:
"What!
you a
slave!"

It is worthy of note that a speech of Palmerston's to his Tiverton constituents in which strong words occurred about the slave-trade, was delivered only a few weeks after this interview. When Crowther was leaving England, Palmerston addressed to him the following letter:—

"Foreign Office, December 18th, 1851.

Palmer-
ston's
letter to
Crowther.

"SIR,—I have been informed by the Church Missionary Society that you are about to return to your native country; and I am glad to have an opportunity, before you leave England, of thanking you again for the important and interesting information with regard to Abeokuta and the tribes adjoining that town, which you communicated to me when I had the pleasure of seeing you at my house in August last.

"I request that you will assure your countrymen that Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest in the welfare of the Egba nation, and of the community settled at Abeokuta, which town seems destined to be a centre from which the lights of Christianity and of civilization may be spread over the neighbouring countries.

"Her Majesty's Government trust that the measures which the British Commodore on the African station has been instructed to take in consequence of the attack made last spring by the Chief of Dahomey against Abeokuta, will prevent the recurrence of such an unprovoked and barbarous expedition, and will have the effect of promoting the security and well-being of the Egba nation.

"I am, &c.,
(Signed) "PALMERSTON."

Crowther
and Sir
H. Leeke.

An incident of this period is worth mentioning. One day, when Crowther was sitting in the C.M. House at his translational work, a gentleman walked in. Crowther sprang to his feet, rushed at him, and embraced him, much to the visitor's astonishment. It was Sir Henry Leeke, who had been captain of the ship that rescued the slave-boy Adjai thirty years before; and Crowther had never seen him since. Sir Henry invited him to his country-house in Kent, and in the parish church there the Negro clergyman preached in the presence of his deliverer on the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free.

Crowther
at Cam-
bridge.

This visit of Crowther to England, the first since his ordination, was notable also on other accounts. It was on this occasion that, addressing a gathering of men at Cambridge, and referring to St. Paul's vision of the man of Macedonia, he said,—“But it is no vision that you see now; it is a real man of Africa who stands before you, and on behalf of his countrymen invites you—Come over unto Africa, and help us.” It was just after that meeting that a Cambridge graduate, R. C. Paley, offered for Abeokuta.

Crowther's
Yoruba
transla-
tions.

The visit was also important in regard to linguistic work. Crowther had already made preliminary translations of parts of the New Testament into the Yoruba language; and it was specially with a view to work of the kind in West Africa that Venn had, with infinite pains and patience, obtained the concurrence of

other missionary societies in a standard system of orthography which he himself had assisted Professor Lepsius of Berlin to devise. This system has never come into the general use it was designed to attain; and upon the wilfulness of translators who prefer some private system of their own, and thus give great additional trouble to the Bible Society's printers, Dr. Cust remarks severely.* It has, however, been very useful in the Yoruba Mission at least. Crowther brought home with him a draft Yoruba Vocabulary; and with a view to preparing it for the press, he was introduced to a Sussex clergyman whose leisure hours had been given to linguistic study, and, among other languages, to the Yoruba. That clergyman, O. E. Vidal, was chosen in the following year to be the first Bishop of Sierra Leone. Perhaps the most interesting part of Crowther's work, however, was his translation of the Prayer-book, as will be gathered from a letter of his, which Venn mentions having shown to Bishop Blomfield, to the latter's immense satisfaction:—

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The
Prayer-
book in
Yoruba.

"Some translated portions have been upwards of five years in use, and have had a fair trial among the people. The devout language and comprehensive prayers of our excellent Liturgy are becoming those of the people who hitherto knew no other prayers than the like recorded in the eighteenth chapter of the first Book of Kings, 'O Baal, hear us,' give us a long life, give us children, give us money, and kill all our enemies!

"The most bigoted idolaters who attended our Church Service were struck with the charitableness of Christianity, and remarked, on the use of the Litany, 'They pray, not only for themselves, and for all in general, but specifically, and for their enemies also.'

"My attachment to the use of the Liturgy has not in the least abated, but, on the contrary, since I have been sifting various portions in translating them into my native tongue, I have found its beauty sparkles brighter and brighter; scriptural in its language, and very well adapted for Public Service, and I can find no substitute for my countrymen."

The year 1852 is memorable in the history of the Yoruba Mission for the going forth of a Christian woman whose Memoir has made her name one of the best known and most honoured among those of missionary heroines—Mrs. Anna Hinderer. The Rev. David Hinderer was one of the Basle men who had been further educated at Islington, and been ordained by the Bishop of London. He had first gone out in 1848, being one of the party whose farewell formed part of the Jubilee proceedings. He was commissioned, after a short time of preparation at Abeokuta, to go forward into the further interior and try and reach the Mohammedan Hausa people. This he did not succeed in doing; but on May 20th, 1851, he was the first white man to enter the great town of Ibadan, the name of which was afterwards to be inseparably associated with his own. In the following year he visited England, and married Anna Martin, a *protégée* of the Rev. Francis

Mrs. Anna
Hinderer.

Hinderer
at Ibadan.

* *Modern Languages of Africa*, vol. i. p. 77.

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and Mrs. Cunningham of Lowestoft,* a young lady of great devotion and ability, and a leader in most of the good works in the parish. Shortly before they sailed, Mrs. Hinderer happened to see a chronological chart of the Society's missionaries which had been prepared in connexion with the Jubilee. Against each name was entered the length of service, and as she read against many West African names such entries as "one year," "five months," "six weeks," and so on, a cloud came over her face, and, turning to her husband, she said, "I do trust that God will give us a little longer than that to live and work for Him: don't you hope so?" His reply is surely worth perpetuating in these pages:—

Hinderer
comforts
his young
wife.

"I will tell you how it is. There was a city. It was large and strong, and fenced up to heaven." An army encompassed that city, to besiege it and take it. For long years they fought, but still they took it not. It was destined that they should conquer, and they knew it. But yet, long time passed; whole ranks of the army fell; and that city stood yet untaken. Now this was the reason wherefore they could not prevail against it. Round about the city was a very large trench. So deep and wide was it, that because thereof the army could not approach near enough to throw down the walls. Still, they would not raise the siege, until, at last, they found that that mighty trench had been quite filled up with the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, who had fallen in the fight. Then they marched over them and they took the city.

"Now, so it is with Africa. Long time, our brethren have been attacking the strongholds of Satan there, though as yet they have not stormed it. But we, who come after, will conquer by the grace of God. Look [and he pointed once more to the names], those are only the bodies of our soldiers, filling up the trench. We will not fear them. We will step over them boldly, in the name of our God, and we will take the city, will we not?"

Hinderers
and
Paleys.

"Yes, dear, we will," was the satisfied and ardent reply; and David and Anna Hinderer went forth, to labour many years among the people of Ibadan, and to bequeath to the Church of God a bright example of whole-hearted missionary consecration. But with them there sailed another young couple, whom we have met before. Richard and Louisa Paley, and against their names had soon to be written, to indicate the length of their missionary careers, "three months" and "four months." Which couple was the most highly favoured, who shall say? Three other young men, Wurtembergers like Hinderer, were also of the party. One died in a year and a half, and another in two years and a half. The third, J. A. Maser, lived to labour for more than thirty years.

J. C.
Müller.

Before this, indeed, the Yoruba Mission had, like Sierra Leone, yielded its tribute to death. Another Wurtemberger J. C. Müller, who had served both in Abyssinia and at Sierra Leone, reached Badagry in January, 1848, lost his wife within a

* Mrs. Cunningham was Richenda Gurney, who, with her sisters, is so vividly pictured in Mr. Augustus Hare's fascinating book, *The Gurneys of Earlswood*. Miss Martin was highly esteemed by the Gurney clan, who often resorted to Lowestoft: and her marriage was the occasion of a great gathering. The Author of this History was present at the wedding breakfast.

month of their landing, laboured most zealously at Abeokuta for two years, and then followed her to the "better country." At the time of the Jubilee, there was in the Islington College a young Dutch surgeon, Eugene Van Cooten, of whom it was said that rarely had such a "burning and shining light" appeared among the students. Several owed their manifest growth in grace to the example of his beautiful Christian character and fervent spirit. His missionary call had originally come from a young lady in Suffolk, whose sister he was attending medically; and that sister, on his appointment to the Yoruba Mission, accepted his proposal to her to accompany him. Venn's private journal exhibits him instructing Van Cooten how to use his medical skill as a passport for the Gospel in the interior of Africa. The young surgeon and his young wife landed at Badagry in March, 1850. Within two months she was at rest; and ten months after, his body also was laid by her side. What his brethren thought of him, and of the position he had already taken in the Mission, may be gathered from the words that opened the letter announcing his death. They were, "How are the mighty fallen!"

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Eugene
Van
Cooten.

Three other medical men sent to the Yoruba Mission during our period fulfilled but a short period of service. Mr. W. C. Hensman had been a surgeon with the Niger Expedition in 1841. In 1851 he joined the Society, and went to Abeokuta; and there he died within eighteen months. Dr. E. G. Irving, M.D., R.N., had been a naval surgeon on the West African station for nine years; and he and Captain Foote went to Abeokuta on a Government mission in 1852. Of this visit he wrote a most graphic account, the best description of the Yoruba country and people then extant.* On his return to England he retired from the navy, joined the C.M.S., and sailed for Lagos on Christmas Eve, 1853, commissioned "to act as an adviser of the missionaries in temporal matters, to relieve them from the various political relations in which the Mission is necessarily involved, and to give them the benefit of his medical skill." For a year and a half he worked usefully at different stations, and then succumbed to dysentery at Lagos. Dr. A. A. Harrison, who went out towards the close of our present period, in 1861, was a Cambridge man of some distinction, being 24th Wrangler, and in the 1st class in the Natural Science Tripos, in 1853. He laboured at Abeokuta three years and a half, and was then invalided home, but died on the voyage. His widow, who was a daughter of Isaac Taylor, author of *The Natural History of Enthusiasm*, afterwards married the Rev. S. D. Stubbs, and their house has been well known ever since as a hospitable rendezvous for West Africans.

Three
more
doctors.

Irving.

Harrison.

Four other missionaries of the period should be mentioned: Isaac Smith, who went to Sierra Leone in 1837, was transferred to Yoruba in 1847, retired in 1855, but lived on nearly forty years

I. Smith,
Mann,
Bühler,
J. B. Wood.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, August, and October, 1853.

PART VI. after that, dying in 1894 at Clevedon; Adolphus C. Mann, another
 1849-61. of the many Wurtembergers trained at Basle and Islington, who
 Chap. 39. went out in 1852, laboured thirty-two years, and still survives in
 Germany; Gottlieb F. Bühler, another Wurtemberger, though
 not from Basle, who was at Abeokuta from 1855 to 1865, and
 trained several of the best Africans who became ordained pastors
 and evangelists; and Jonathan L. Buckley Wood, whose forty
 years began in 1857, so that he belongs rather to a later period.

Henry But of all the Yoruba missionaries, the man after Venn's own
 Townsend. heart was Henry Townsend. We have already seen him going
 out to Sierra Leone, and being the first to visit Abeokuta; and
 we shall meet with him again. Here let us notice an allusion to
 him in Venn's journal:—

“Dec. 24th, 1849.—Townsend called: he exhibited a fine determined spirit for penetrating into the interior of Africa. Mrs. T. was quite ready to go with him. I felt I could lay no restrictions upon him, but assured him that if he felt he was called of God to the interior he must go, and the Lord be with him. I have seldom parted with a missionary with the same feelings. It was as if I had parted with Paul after he had said, ‘I am ready not only to be bound, but to die also at Jerusalem.’”

Progress of Up to the year 1860, the Yoruba Mission continued to grow
 Yoruba and prosper. There were about a thousand communicants, which
 Mission. would indicate double that number baptized, and four or five times that number of adherents. Not only were Lagos, Badagry, Abeokuta, and Ibadan occupied, but also, for a longer or shorter time, several other towns, Otta, Oshielle, Ijaye, Ishagga, Ogbo-mosho, Oyo; and even the great Mohammedan city of Ilorin was visited. Besides the missionaries already named, several others, young men trained by the Rev. T. Green (as mentioned in our Thirty-seventh Chapter), went out; and although death frequently removed one and another, the leaders, Townsend, Gollmer, Maser, Mann, Hinderer, were graciously preserved; and several Native clergymen and catechists were doing excellent work. Among the smaller tokens of progress was the establishment at Abeokuta of a Christian newspaper, called *Iwe Irohin*. Translations of the Scriptures also went forward, the Yoruba clergyman, the Rev. T. King, being especially useful in this direction.

John One incident of the period must not be omitted. When
 Baptist Dahomey attacked Abeokuta in 1851, an Egba Christian, John
 Dasalu's Baptist Dasalu, once a slave-dealer, but then a faithful though
 strange ad- severely persecuted servant of the Lord, was supposed to have
 ventures. been killed; his brother identifying as his a headless body found among the dead. Some time after, a ransomed Egba prisoner said he was alive, in captivity at Abomey; but all efforts to hear of him further, or to obtain his release, failed. When Miss Tucker's delightful little book, *Abeokuta, or Sunrise within the Tropics*, was published in 1853, his fate was still unknown; but his name and story became familiar in England, and “prayer was

offered continually unto God for him." In 1855, there arrived at Plymouth, from Cuba, a party of fifty "emancipados," men, women, and children. The "emancipados" were Negro slaves in the Spanish West Indies who had, by dint of strenuous labour through many years, worked out their freedom, under an arrangement extorted from Spain by the British Government. As soon as they were free, they set about earning enough to take them back to Africa; and these fifty were the first to get away. Henry Townsend, who happened to be in England, went to Plymouth to see them, and found that they were Yorubas; and the elder of them, who were African-born, were overjoyed to meet a man who could speak their native tongue. But when he told them his name, they recognized it at once, having heard it in Cuba from a recently-imported slave there; and that slave was John Baptist Dasalu, who had been carried across the Atlantic in a Spanish ship. They knew from him what had been going on at Abeokuta, and something, too, of the Christian religion. In due course they sailed for Lagos; but now the Church Missionary Society moved the Government to obtain Dasalu's release from the Spanish authorities. This was granted; the British Consul at Havana, with some difficulty, discovered him there; he arrived in England in August, 1856, was warmly welcomed, and sent on to Africa; and at length, after an absence of five years and a half, he reappeared in Abeokuta, to the astonishment and joy of the people. For years afterwards, no story was more often told at missionary meetings.

In 1860, a calamitous war broke out within the Yoruba country, particularly between the Egbas and Ibadans; and fresh attacks on Abeokuta were made by Dahomey. These events, and the trying period that ensued to the Mission, will come more conveniently in a future chapter. Meanwhile, in 1861, Lord Palmerston aimed a final and successful blow at the traffic in slaves. He dethroned the slave-trading king of Lagos, seized the Island, and made it an integral part of the British Empire. Then, at last, the West African sea-going Slave Trade came to an end.

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End of the
Slave
Trade.

The Niger Mission, too, though begun in 1857, must be left for further treatment in a future chapter. But it must here be related that, after the lapse of thirteen years since the ill-fated Expedition of 1841, a second Expedition was at last determined on. No grand flourish of trumpets announced it. No great meeting at Exeter Hall, with Prince Albert in the chair, inaugurated it. No Prime Minister honoured it with his patronage. It consisted of a single steamer, the *Pleiad*, fitted out at the expense of that tried friend of Africa, Mr. Macgregor Laird, commanded by Dr. Baikie, and accompanied by the same African Christian who had been up with the first Expedition, and who was now the Rev. Samuel Crowther. This Expedition was a signal success. The *Pleiad* was up the river one hundred and eighteen days, yet not one

The Niger.

Second
Expedi-
tion.

Small, but
successful.

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man died, nor was there any serious sickness. It had occurred to Crowther that the mortality in 1841 might have been due to the noxious vapours generated by the raw and green firewood with which the bunkers had been loaded; and he suggested that it should now be kept in the canoes accompanying the steamer, and only be taken on board as it was wanted. This was done; and he has always attributed the good health enjoyed by the party to this cause. In other ways, he was of essential service to the Expedition; and on its return, Dr. Baikie wrote to him as follows:—

Crowther's
valuable
service.

“Your long and intimate acquaintance with Native tribes, and your general knowledge of their customs, peculiarly fit you for a journey such as we have now returned from, and I cannot but feel that your advice was always readily granted to me, nor had I ever the smallest reason to repent having followed it. It is nothing more than a simple fact, that no slight portion of the success we met with in our intercourse with the tribes is due to you.”

Geographi-
cal results.

The geographical results of this Expedition were important. At a point 230 miles from the mouths of the Niger, the channel divides. To the left appears the Kworra, or Niger proper, coming from the north-west; to the right is seen the Tshadda, or Binue, flowing from almost due east. The Natives, fancying they can see a difference in the colour of the two streams, call the former “the white water” and the latter “the black water.” Before 1854, only the Kworra had been explored. It was the Kworra which Mungo Park had struck in 1797, at a point something like 2000 miles further up its mighty course. It was the Kworra on which, only some 300 miles above the confluence, he had been afterwards killed. It was the Kworra which the Landers had descended. It was the Kworra which the *Albert* had ascended in 1841. But the *Pleiad*, on reaching the confluence, turned eastward, and explored the Binue for nearly 400 miles; and it might have gone further but for the failure of fuel.

The Binue
explored
for 400
miles.

Openings
for mis-
sionary
work.

Very encouraging were the openings for missionary effort. Crowther wrote to the Society, “The reception we met with all along, from the kings and chiefs of the countries, was beyond expectation. I believe the time has fully come when Christianity must be introduced on the banks of the Niger. God has provided instruments to begin the work, in the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone who are Natives of the Niger territories.” Yes: the wise purpose of God in leading the Society to Sierra Leone was now revealed. The work among the freed slaves settled in the Colony, which had been carried on for forty years under great trials of patience, and with heavy sacrifice of life, was now bearing noble fruit. By a marvellous providence, the slave-trade itself had been made the instrument of gathering representatives of a hundred tribes and languages to a common centre, whence, redeemed from heathenism and ignorance as well as from slavery, they could be sent forth again to carry the Gospel to the countries whence they

had been kidnapped. "Our God had turned the curse into a blessing." The flourishing Yoruba Mission was already one example of good brought out of evil by these providential circumstances. The Niger Mission was now to be another.

Yet not without further delays. The problem was, how to get up the river. Trading steamers had not yet begun the regular visits which have now for years past made the Niger a highway of commerce. Mr. Laird pressed the Government to send a small steamer up yearly, as a beginning; but the Crimean War then filled all thoughts and taxed all energies, and there was no time to attend to Africa. Dr. Barth's travels in the Soudan, however, emphasized, just at this time, the importance of evangelizing Hausa-land. On July 18th, 1856, after the conclusion of peace, the C.M.S. Committee presented a memorial on the subject to Lord Palmerston, the result of which was an agreement between the Government and Mr. Laird to carry out his proposal; and when the next 18th of July came round, the *Dayspring* was steaming up the river, with Samuel Crowther on board, commissioned by the Society to start the Niger Mission.

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Third
Niger
Expedi-
tion.

Crowther
starts the
Mission.

We must close this chapter with a glance at the short careers of the three first Bishops of Sierra Leone.

The Society's efforts to obtain a bishopric for West Africa have already been mentioned more than once. At length, mainly by Venn's exertions, an endowment was raised, and placed in the hands of the Colonial Bishoptics Fund; and to this the Government added an annual grant for chaplain's duties. The clergyman selected to be the first Bishop, Owen Emeric Vidal, was the Sussex Rector with singular linguistic gifts whom we have already seen helping Crowther with his Yoruba translations. Vidal had previously learned Tamil, that he might correspond with the Native Christians in Tinnevely; when the Borneo Mission was started which was afterwards taken up by the S.P.G., he edited for it a Malay grammar; and he was at this time studying the East African languages in correspondence with Krapf. He was consecrated on Whit Sunday, 1852. He began to execute his episcopal office before leaving England, by ordaining Mr. Paley, the Cambridge man for Abeokuta already mentioned; and on February 20th, 1853, he held, at Sierra Leone, in the presence of an immense and deeply-interested congregation of Negro Christians, the first ordination in West Africa—of three young German missionaries. He himself preached the ordination sermon, from the significant and solemn words of 2 Cor. iv. 12, "Death worketh in us, but life in you." He completely won the hearts of the people. When he visited a village church to preach, "they did not want to go home: they would like to remain in the church all night." The importance of white men in West Africa frequently taking change to England was then beginning to be realized; and in 1854, Vidal brought his sick wife home, and

Three
Bishops of
Sierra
Leone.

Bishop
Vidal.

His work
in Africa.

PART VI. spoke at the C.M.S. Anniversary. After a few months, he sailed again, straight to Lagos, to visit the Yoruba Mission; and although the work there was still so young, there were, at Lagos, Abeokuta, and Ibadan, six hundred candidates for confirmation. He also ordained two Negroes from Sierra Leone who had joined this Mission, Thomas King and Thomas Babington Macaulay, who were thus the first Africans admitted to the ministry of the Church upon their own soil. At Christmas, the Sierra Leone people were expecting their Bishop back from Lagos. On the 26th, the ship hove in sight, but with its flag at half-mast. The Bishop had died on board, on Christmas Eve, after a few hours' illness.

His early death.

Bishop Weeks.

When the news reached England, the question was, Who would go next? Venn's eyes turned to a Lambeth Incumbent. John William Weeks had been already a missionary at Sierra Leone. He was of humble origin, being a block-maker in Cornwall; and he had gone out in 1824 as a mechanic and evangelist. For twenty years he laboured most faithfully in both capacities at first—it was he who taught S. Crowther carpentering; and afterwards as a clergyman, being ordained by Bishop Blomfield during a visit to England. He married twice, and in each case the bride had been already twice a widow—one of the startling results of the terrible mortality of West Africa.* The first husband of the second Mrs. Weeks had been that Mr. Davey whose work had been so highly valued, and whose grievous fall had so sorely tried the Mission and the Society. When Weeks retired in broken health in 1844, he was appointed to a new parish in the slums of Lambeth, St. Thomas's; and it is specially interesting to find that when he set about building a church, his old African flock sent to England a contribution to its cost. It was with great reluctance that he accepted the Bishopric, feeling himself utterly unworthy of such an office; and he stipulated that he should never be called "my lord." But a truer Bishop in the Church of God never walked this earth; and from the day of his consecration, Ascension Day, 1855, to the day of his death, March 24th, 1857, he was a bright example of simplicity and devotion. His reception at Sierra Leone, from the people who knew him so well, was overwhelming. His confirmations, and the ordination of eight Africans on Trinity Sunday, 1856, have been already mentioned. Like Vidal, he proceeded to visit the Yoruba Mission; like Vidal, he was a means of blessing to the people at Abeokuta; like Vidal, he was taken ill on the voyage

His humility.

His death.

* The record is a very significant one. 1820, Mr. and Mrs. Davey to Africa. 1823, Mr. and Mrs. Pope (she had been a widow) to Africa. 1824, Mr. Weeks to Africa; Pope died. 1826, Weeks married Mrs. Pope. 1829, Mr. and Mrs. Graham to Africa. 1831, Mrs. Graham died; Davey died. 183—, Graham married Mrs. Davey. 183—, Graham died. 1839, Mrs. Weeks (Pope) died. 1840, Weeks married Mrs. Graham (Davey). 1857, Bishop Weeks died. 1866, Mrs. Weeks (Davey-Graham) died.

back; unlike Vidal, he lived to be carried on shore at Sierra Leone, but there, a few days after, the Lord took him.

Again the urgent question presented itself, Who will be Bishop of Sierra Leone? and again a happy choice was made, though a very different one. John Bowen was in England, after his Oriental journeys: why should not he go? His friends, perceiving the value of his Oriental experience and knowledge of Arabic, urged him to refuse; but he replied,—“If I served in the Queen’s army, and refused to go to a post of danger, I should be disgraced in the eyes of men. Were I offered a bishopric in England, I might feel at liberty to decline it; one in Sierra Leone I must accept.” He was consecrated on September 21st, 1857; and before sailing, he married Miss Catherine Butler, daughter of the Dean of Peterborough and sister of the present Master of Trinity.

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1849-61.
Chap. 39.

Bishop
Bowen.

Like Vidal and Weeks, God made him a channel of blessing to Sierra Leone. Like them he visited also the Yoruba Mission, and greatly cheered the brethren and sisters there. But unlike them he also visited the Delta of the Niger, at a time when there was no Mission there, though Crowther had just begun higher up the river. Unlike them, he returned to Sierra Leone in apparently vigorous health. Unlike them, there was no wife to welcome him, for she had already been called away from his side. Unlike them, he delivered an episcopal charge, the first in West Africa. But at length the resemblance was resumed. The captain of a ship, taking leave of him, noticed that his hand was “as hot as fire.” “My dear Bishop, come to sea with me: it is your only chance.” “Too late, thank you: if I have the fever, all is over; meanwhile, I may as well do what I can in the way of duty.” He arose, walked from Fourah Bay to Freetown, and preached in the cathedral on “Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.” It was his last sermon. On the following Saturday, May 28th, 1859, he entered into rest, in his forty-fourth year. Sierra Leone wept as it had scarcely ever wept before. All the three Bishops were loved, but Bowen most of all. He was truly a great man even from a human point of view; and his great qualities were sanctified by the Spirit of God to the service of his Lord.*

His good
work.

His last
sermon.

His death.

Very felicitously does the author of *The Finished Course*, the book that formed the basis of our fourteenth chapter, characterize the three Bishops whose brief careers have thus been briefly sketched: “The gentle, talented, spiritually-minded Bishop Vidal; the holy, humble-minded Bishop Weeks; the noble-hearted, energetic, practical Bishop Bowen.” This witness is true. “Diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit”—“the same God that worketh all in all.”

* The *Memorials of John Bowen* (London, 1862) is a deeply-interesting book, though somewhat voluminous if judged by a modern standard.

CHAPTER XL.

EAST AFRICA: THE MISSIONARIES AND THE EXPLORERS.

Krapf and Rebmann—Rabai and the Wanika—The First Convert—The Snow-capped Mountain—Krapf's Travels—His Great Plans—Krapf in Europe—H. Venn's Manifesto—Krapf's Attempt and its Failure—Further Journeys—Krapf's Counsels—Erhardt's Map—"The Great 'Slug'"—Expedition of Burton and Speke—The Victoria Nyanza—Speke and Grant in Uganda.

"Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself . . . behold, I have done according to thy words . . . and I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked."—1 Kings iii. 11-13.

"Thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither."—Deut. xxxii. 52.

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Africa
explored
from the
East Coast.



Impulse
given by
Krapf and
Rebmann.

IN January 2nd, 1851, Henry Venn uttered these words:—"If Africa is to be penetrated by European missionaries, it must be from the East Coast." At that time, although many travellers had explored large sections of the Dark Continent from the north, south, and west coasts, only two men had attempted to reach the interior from the eastern side. These were two German missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, John Ludwig Krapf and John Rebmann. The marvellous discoveries of the last forty years were then in the future. Even Livingstone's more important journeys had scarcely begun. And it is a remarkable fact that the most famous and successful travellers since that time have almost all proved the truth of Mr. Venn's dictum by starting on their journeys from the Zanzibar coast. Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Grant, Van der Decken, Thomson, as well as other more recent explorers, all travelled from east to west; and from east to west both Cameron and Stanley made their great marches "across Africa." What led to this notable new departure in the direction taken by African exploration? Confessedly, the impulse was given by the travels and researches of Krapf and Rebmann. Now Krapf and Rebmann were before all things missionaries. "We came to Africa," wrote the latter in 1855, "without a thought or a wish of making geographical discoveries. Our grand aim was but the spreading of the Kingdom of God." And yet they take high rank in the long roll of African explorers. God's words to Solomon are indeed appli-

cable to them—"Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself [fame and honour] . . . behold, I have done according to thy words . . . and I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked."

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We have already seen how Krapf, expelled from Abyssinia, made his way to the East Coast, and established himself at Mombasa; how his young wife's grave was made by him the solemn text of a fresh and memorable appeal to the Church to evangelize Equatorial Africa; and how he patiently worked on alone two years, till John Rebmann joined him. Meanwhile he continued at Mombasa as his headquarters, "prosecuting with great zeal," he says, "the study of the Swahili language, into which by degrees I translated the whole of the New Testament, and composed a short grammar and dictionary; continuing likewise my geographical and ethnographical studies, in the certain conviction that the time would come when Eastern Africa, too, would be drawn into European intercourse, and these introductory studies would be made available, even if for the present no great missionary result would be attained." That is the true missionary spirit—to be content to sow that others may reap, in the undoubting assurance that a day is coming when both he that soweth and he that reapeth shall rejoice together.

"At last," says Krapf, "on the 10th of June, 1846, my dear and long expected fellow-labourer, Rebmann, arrived at Mombaz." The time had now come, he felt, to establish the Mission on the mainland. The place fixed upon was Rabai Mpia (New or Little Rabai); and the Wanika chiefs there, upon being applied to, gave ready assent to the proposal. The sickness of both the missionaries caused some delay, but at length August 25th was fixed on as the day for their formal entry into the village. On the morning of the day, Krapf had another severe attack of fever, but he persisted in going. "Whether the result be life or death," he said to himself, "the Mission must be begun"; and riding, in great pain, on an ass, he with difficulty ascended into the hill country, by a path which, he says, even without a rider the ass could scarcely have mounted. Rebmann, too, could only clamber up by the most wearisome exertion. "Scarcely ever," writes Krapf, "was a Mission begun in such weakness; but so it was to be, that we might neither boast of our own strength, nor our successors forget that God sanctifies even our human infirmities to the fulfilment of His ends."

Rebmann
joins
Krapf.

Mission
begun in
weakness.

In much bodily weakness they set about building a house in which Europeans could safely live. This task took them two or three months, during which time they dwelt in native huts. "In every interval of rest," says Krapf, "I persevered with my translations, though often, during the renewed attacks of fever, the thought would arise that even before the commencement of my proper missionary work I might be summoned into eternity. I prayed fervently," he goes on, "for the preservation of my life in

PART VI. Africa, until at least *one soul* should be saved; for I was certain
 1849-61. that if once a single stone were laid in any country, the Lord
 Chap. 40. would bless the work and continue the structure, by the conversion of those now sitting in darkness and the shadow of death."

Character
 of the
 Wanika
 people.

The Wanika were found to be very much like most tribes low in the scale of civilization, careless and good-natured, and generally friendly, but immoral, grossly superstitious, and emphatically "of the earth, earthy." About six months after their settlement at Rabai, Krapf and Rebmann went to Zanzibar for a few days to recruit their health, and visited the Sultan. He told them the Wanika were "bad people," and they ought not to have gone to live among them, but have remained at Mombasa; to which Krapf replied that the South Sea Islanders had been worse, but had been completely changed by the Word of God. "If that be so," rejoined Said-Said, "it is all right: stay among the Wanika as long as you choose, and do whatever you please." The "bad people," however, had little consciousness of the evil of their doings; and one day, when Krapf had been speaking of the wickedness of human nature to two old women, "as self-righteous as any persons in Europe could be," one of them exclaimed, "Who has been slandering me to you? I have a good heart, and know of no sin." After a time it was laid upon Krapf—"inwardly made manifest to him" in his own expression—that he had "attacked too fiercely the heathen customs and superstitions of the Wanika, the sight of whose abominations moved him to indignation," and that he "ought to preach more the love of the Redeemer for His sheep lost and gone astray, or taken captive by Satan, showing more compassion, and letting his words be full of commiseration and pity." Perhaps it was owing, under God, to the more tender character of his teaching from that time, that, within a few weeks after, one of his hearers gave evidence of a change of heart. This was the cripple Mringe, the one convert given to him as the immediate visible reward of his East African labours. Interesting notices of this poor creature occur in the journals. Let us quote one, for the glimpse it gives of the true missionary spirit that breathed in Krapf:—

The first
 inquirer.

"29th November, 1848.—Mringe was with me during the night. We discoursed towards midnight about the world to come and the City of God; about the occupations of the blessed, and the incorruptible body of our future state, and many other things. My poor cripple devoured the words as they fell from my lips; and I saw that they made an impression on him, and felt happy indeed, for it is at moments like these that one feels the importance of a missionary's calling. A missionary who feels the working of the Spirit within him, and is upheld in its manifestation to others, is the happiest being upon earth. In his sight what are royal and imperial honours compared with the office of a preacher in the bush or lonely hut? And sure it is, that unless a missionary feels ennobled by his calling, he will forsake his post, or become an unprofitable labourer in the vineyard."

KIKUYU

Nowadays are the Wäbelskunn
(people of low stature, who are
probably the Doko pygmies of
whom a native of Enarea gave
me some information in Shoa.
Their bodies are probably crippled
by climatical influences. Iy guide
now them in Usten in Djagga,
which country they note on trading
business.

L. Krapf

U K A M B \bar{A} N J

the country of the

W A K A M B A

$$U \quad G \quad A \quad L \quad L \quad \bar{A} \quad N \quad I$$

the country of the

C A L L A S

Shur-gay-

1/2 Palle
Lemon

How The Banks of the
are the property of
Lancaster Falls
P. G.

Fernosa Ba.
(Ungaru)

Das Engöme

✓ R Sabaki
✓ Malsendu / the ruins of a
royal settlement
being left here.

himself are covered with normal
armor

All plain country.

formerly, & partly up to the present.

occupied by the

Nomadic Dakuafi

Horabout is a mountain
on which the ruins of a castle
and a broken piece of cannon
are said to be seen

*Rough Sketch of a Map,
from 6° to 2° South Latitude &
from 35° to 41° East Longitude, for the
illustration of our Journeys in
the Year 1848.*

J. Rebmann

Mombas, Sep^r 22nd 1848

13	8	9	11	12	15	16	20
----	---	---	----	----	----	----	----

Six important journeys were made during the period under notice, besides occasional visits to the Taita country and Mount Kadiaro, &c. These were, three expeditions by Rebmann to Jagga or Chagga; and three by Krapf, viz., (1) to Usambara, in July and August, 1848; (2) to Ukambani, in November and December, 1849; (3) down the coast, as far as Cape Delgado, in February and March, 1850. In a geographical point of view, the first of the six was the most important. It was on May 11th, 1848, that Rebmann saw afar off the snow-clad dome of Kilimanjaro. The fact was communicated in the simplest possible way, in the middle of a journal published, without any flourish of trumpets, in the very first number of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, which appeared in May, 1849.* But the news soon got abroad, and the discovery excited the greatest interest in Europe, though received in many quarters with incredulity. The scientific journals of both Germany and England discredited the idea that mountains covered with perpetual snow could be found just under the equator, and the suggestion was offered that the summit seen—if seen at all—must be “a cone of porphyry.” Rebmann, on hearing of these doubts, simply replied that, having passed some years of his youth in Switzerland, he was not likely to make a mistake about a snow-peak! And Krapf, who afterwards saw it on several occasions during his journey to Ukambani, treated the sneers of the geographers very quietly. On this journey he saw another huge mountain mass, Kenia, also snow-clad. Both his journals and Rebmann’s were then subjected to treatment of the kind known as “higher criticism,” in a book entitled *Inner Africa Laid Open*, by W. D. Cooley. All sorts of supposed discrepancies were pointed out, and Krapf was roundly accused of what in plain English would be called lying. Mr. Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer* (October, 1852) replied to the criticisms point by point, exposed their absurdity, and suggested that the title of the book ought rather to have been *Inner Africa Shut Up*. The travels of Baron Van der Decken in 1863 subsequently satisfied the world of the reality of the discovery; and it need scarcely be added that both mountains are now well known. Rebmann was informed that a previous king of Chagga had once sent a large expedition to ascertain what the white substance on the former mountain was, hoping it might prove to be silver; but that only one of the party returned, with his hands and feet bent inward and stiffened (frost-bitten), and announced that his companions had died of cold and of terror—which fate was attributed to evil spirits. But others said they had filled a calabash with “that white thing,” placed it on the fire, and in a few minutes drunk water from it; and others, that they had put a large load of it on their shoulders to carry it off, and it all crumbled away!

Krapf’s travels took him also into regions never before visited

* Together with the first rough map of East Africa ever made; a facsimile of which is here inserted.

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Krapf
and Reb-
mann's
journeys.

Discovery
of Mount
Kilima-
njaro.

Scepticism
in Europe.

African
ideas of
snow.

PART VI. by the white man. Usambara, the territory between the Umba
 1849-61. and Pangani rivers, which occupies the greater part of the coast
 Chap. 40. between Mombasa and Zanzibar, proved to be a most inviting
 Usambara. country, both physically and on account of the intelligence of the
 people. The king, Kimeri, received the missionary with much
 kindness, despite an opposition from Arab traders which reminds
 us of more recent experiences in Uganda; and as the royal
 friendship was found sufficient to ensure protection and provision
 anywhere in the kingdom, Krapf came to the conclusion that
 despotism might in some respects be more favourable to missionary
 effort than the republicanism of the Wanika, among whom each
 petty chief was wont to do that which was right in his own eyes,
 and was apt to be suspicious of a white man living with his next-
 door neighbour. In Ukambani, some two hundred miles to the
 north-west of Mombasa, which Krapf next visited, he found the
 other extreme. There was practically no government at all. But
 the Wakamba were great traders in ivory and other produce, with
 which they made long journeys, and therefore it seemed of great
 importance to gain an entrance among them for the Gospel.

For it was not geographical discovery that Krapf and Rebmann
 set before them as the object of their travels. Again and again do
 their journals and letters reiterate their determination to make
 everything subordinate to the great end of their mission, the
 salvation of souls. We can now look back over the years that
 have passed away since those intrepid exploratory journeys were
 made, and see that God's design for them was that they should do
 little more than a preparatory work in addition to their bright
 example of faith and courage; but that design they themselves
 could not see, and their ardent longings and constant prayers were
 for the conversion of Africa to Christ. To give but one instance:
 —“My spirit often urged me,” says Krapf, with reference to his
 first visit to Usambara, “to go behind a large tree at a little
 distance from the village, where I could see into the valleys, as
 well as the distant Wakuafi wilderness, and look upon the high
 mountains around me, to weep and pray that the Redeemer's
 kingdom might soon be established in these heights, and that His
 songs might be heard on these lofty hills; and in full reliance on
 the promises of God, I took possession of the pagan land for the
 militant Church of Christ.”

Their appeals to the Society to strengthen the Mission to this
 end were responded to in 1849 by the despatch of the Rev. J. J.
 Erhardt and Mr. Johannes Wagner. Their arrival at Rabai,
 however, turned the mission-house into a hospital, as Krapf
 expresses it. Both were stricken down with severe attacks of
 fever, and Wagner succumbed to the disease. Even in this
 dispensation Krapf could trace a merciful purpose:—

“Incomprehensible at first appeared to us this guidance which so
 quickly took from us our newly-arrived fellow-labourer; but his very
 death has brought a blessing to the Wanika, and although dead, he still

The mis-
 sionary's
 real aim.

Erhardt
 and
 Wagner.

Death of
 Wagner.

speaks to them; for they have now, for the first time, seen the death and burial of a Christian, whose joyful hope is in Christ, the life, and the resurrection. After I had read the funeral service of the English liturgy, translating it into the Kinika language, I spoke to those present and those who had dug the grave, on 1 Thessalonians iv. 13, and finally we sang some verses of a hymn. From all this the Natives were enabled to recognize the marked distinction between Christianity and the horrible wailing and other dark practices of Heathenism; and so in this way, our departed friend did not come in vain into this benighted land."

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1849-61.
Chap. 40.

Soon afterwards, Krapf and Erhardt made the journey already indicated down the east coast to the Portuguese boundary, everywhere gathering important information; particularly with regard to Lake Nyassa, the existence of which they made known some years before Livingstone visited it; after which Krapf left for Europe, with the twofold design of recruiting his health and laying before the C.M.S. Committee his plans for the extension of the Mission. He reached his home in Germany in June, 1850.

The reports brought home by Dr. Krapf excited the keenest interest in missionary circles in England, and the impression was deepened by personal intercourse with the man, whom the Committee and their friends now saw face to face for the first time,* and whose ardent enthusiasm and single-eyed devotion to the Lord's service kindled all hearts with hope that the time to favour Africa, yea the set time, had come. It was just at this period, too, that the Yoruba Mission was expanding, and presenting so hopeful a field that it stood quite first in the sympathy and interest of the Society's friends. Krapf's magnificent conception of an equatorial line of Missions stretching right across the continent did not seem so far from realization as hard experience has since shown it to be. "Our brethren tell us," said the *Intelligencer*, "that the Lord has opened Africa; and we should feel that in such a declaration we are summoned to immediate work—a work honourable, but perilous." It was determined accordingly to send out with Krapf three additional missionaries, making six altogether, and also three Christian mechanics, "that in temporal as well as spiritual things, the improvement of the Natives might be prosecuted."

Krapf in
England.

His great
projects.

Krapf was not idle during his brief stay in Europe. He passed through the Tübingen press his well-known *Vocabulary of Six African Languages*, viz., Kiswahili, Kinika, Kikamba, Kipokomo, Kihiau, Kigalla; and also his translation of St. Mark's Gospel into Kikamba, and an outline grammar of Kiswahili. His linguistic labours and his great missionary scheme attracted attention in the highest quarters. Prince Albert sent for him, and entered with great interest into his plans; and with a view to

His
linguistic
work.

Prince
Albert
interested.

* Krapf originally, in 1837, went direct from Basle to Egypt and Abyssinia, although a C.M.S. missionary. He was one of the few Basle men not brought to England for further training at Islington.

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And the
King of
Prussia,
and
Humboldt.

supporting the influence of the Mission at Zanzibar, his Royal Highness entrusted the doctor with some royal presents for the Imâm, "as an acknowledgment of the kindness shown by him to the missionaries." * Here, too, may be introduced a graphic account of his interview with the King of Prussia and Baron Humboldt at Berlin, which is preserved in the journals of Henry Venn. The account was given to Mr. Venn by Chevalier Bunsen:—

"Immediately upon Dr. Krapf's arrival at Berlin, Ritter met him, and took him to Baron Humboldt. After the first words of salutation, Humboldt asked him about the snow mountains, and five minutes' animated conversation took place; when Humboldt expressed himself quite satisfied that it was snow, and as pleased at the establishment of the fact as a little child with a new toy. The Baron is eighty-four. The King was apprized of Dr. Krapf's arrival, and invited him to dinner next day. The place of honour is that opposite the King and Queen, who sit together; Dr. Krapf was placed there; Ritter being on one side and Humboldt on the other. The conversation was almost entirely between Krapf and the King, upon geographical and linguistic subjects. After dinner the King took Dr. Krapf aside, and then, Ritter said, the conversation was upon more religious subjects; he was not a party to it himself, but it was evident that both the King and Dr. Krapf were delighted with each other. The King, at parting, said that he must give Dr. Krapf a souvenir, and asked him what would be useful to him. Dr. Krapf said that every want had been abundantly supplied by the Society, and the King therefore presented him with a gold medal of the highest order of merit."

The Papal
Aggression.

Between the resolve to strengthen the East Africa Mission and the departure of the missionaries, an event occurred in England which the editor of the *Intelligencer* turned to excellent account in further enlarging upon the Society's plans. That event was the Papal Aggression, noticed in our Thirty-third Chapter. It was a Mission—a Mission on a grand scale—a Mission for the conversion of benighted England—a Mission of a semi-political character in respect of its assumption of English territorial titles for Romish episcopal sees. Now it so happened that the year 1850 saw a larger number of missionaries, European and Native, ordained in connexion with the C.M.S., than any previous year in the Society's history; and 1851 opened with the departure of the new East African expedition. *That*, wrote Mr. Ridgeway, is our answer to Rome. "We will show her that, although rotten branches may fall off, the English nation, like our own country oak, is sound at heart; that there is life in the English Church, for there is *growth in the extremities*." The remark was no mere word of momentary defiance: it embodied a principle which is of true and deep importance. The most effective weapon in Church Defence is Church Extension; and it is this principle that has made the Church Missionary Society such a tower of

Church
Missions
the best
Church
Defence.

* Krapf's *Travels and Researches*, published ten years afterwards, were dedicated to the Prince Consort by special permission.

strength to evangelical truth in the Church of England. Its work is abroad; but no less real is its reflex influence at home.

The Valedictory Dismissal of Krapf and his brethren, held in the old Parochial Schools at Islington on January 2nd, 1851, was an occasion of remarkable interest. The Instructions of the Committee were one of Henry Venn's most powerful productions. They struck the key-note of the Society's purpose in the very first sentence. "The East Africa Mission"—these were the opening words—"is invested with a special interest in the eyes of many of our supporters. But there must be no mistake as to the grounds on which that interest rests. These are not the adventitious attractions of the geographical and linguistic discoveries which have resulted from this particular Mission. The true friends of the Society exercise a holy jealousy of much that is attractive in the eyes of the world, lest it compromise the Christian simplicity and divine character of the work. Long before the fame of this Mission had gone abroad, the lively sympathy and earnest prayers of Christians had been engaged on its behalf. And this interest sprung from the principles upon which it was founded, and the spirit in which it has been conducted." Then followed a masterly review of Krapf's previous labours in Abyssinia and on the East Coast, and of the chain of providential circumstances which had led to his settlement at Mombasa; after which his large proposals were discussed. "It was not merely a lodgment upon the coast, or the evangelization of one tribe, at which the Mission aimed; but the missionaries were enabled, by the grace of God—to which be all the praise!—to open in faith the Continent of Africa. Like Abram of old, they lifted up their eyes, and looked from the place where they were, northward, and southward, and westward, and claimed it all as included in the covenant . . . and the very command which was the token of Abram's faith—'Arise, walk through the land in the length and in the breadth of it, for I will give it thee'—they have fulfilled." Then Mr. Venn went on to explain that the Committee had regarded it as their duty "rigidly and faithfully to try the question whether these extensive aims were the dreams of enthusiasts or the sober calculations of wise men." They would not have discharged their trust had they "been led away, by grand schemes, foolishly to risk the lives of missionaries and the expenditure of sacred funds." But the more closely they considered the matter, the more they "assuredly gathered" that the Lord had called them to go forward. The grounds of this confidence were then stated, viz., the comparative healthiness of the climate, the peculiar openings reported in both Usambara and Ukambani, the close connexion together of the various languages, the friendship of the Imâm, &c. The actual Instructions followed, which entered into details to which it is needless now to refer; but one section deserves notice. The missionaries were directed distinctly *not* to follow the ordinary

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Krapf takes leave.

Venn's Instructions to him.

Spiritual aim first.

God's call to Africa.

Mission not to settle down.

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methods of conducting a Mission, not to settle down at one place, establish schools, and collect a nucleus of adherents round them, but to "branch out far and wide, witnessing to the Truth in successive tribes and countries, assured that if the Spirit of God blessed their word by an awakening at any particular point, the Providence of God would provide for the sustaining such fruits." The Gospels, they were reminded, recorded many sermons preached by Christ "from the little ship, in the temporary abode, by the wayside—only one in a synagogue."

These Instructions* are far from having a merely archaic interest. They have an unmistakable bearing on the great undertaking in Central Africa in which the Society has been engaged in the past twenty years. For it is not enough to say that the enterprises are similar. They are actually identical. We are but now carrying out the scheme which Krapf suggested and Venn planned.

Krapf's reply to the Instructions was remarkable for the combination in it of humility and faith. He said that he had "always been disappointed when he trusted in himself," but had "never been ashamed, nor confounded, nor dismayed, when trusting in the might and help and power of God." Bishop Carr of Bombay gave the address to the missionaries, and the Rev. Lord Wriothlesley Russell said a few words with reference to Prince Albert's interest in the undertaking; after which the Rev. John Hambleton, of Islington, offered the intercessory prayer.†

Krapf
sails:
disappoint-
ments
begin.

Two days after the Dismissal, Krapf left England, accompanied by the Revs. Conrad Diehlmann and Christian Pfefferle, both of them *alumni* of Basle and Islington successively, and both ordained by Bishop Blomfield. The three mechanics, also Germans, joined them at Trieste. The number, it will be seen, was one short. One of the three missionaries at first selected had been withdrawn. A further reduction of the party took place at Aden, where Mr. Diehlmann refused to go further. The *Intelligencer* of that day significantly quotes Acts xiii. 13: "When Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem." Whether Diehlmann "returned" there is no record. "So early," continues Ridgeway, "did the work, in its resumption, experience the hindrances of Satan." And these proved only the first of a long series of hindrances. Months passed away before any further tidings of the Mission reached England; and then the summary of news in the *Intelligencer* ran as follows: "Death and danger and disappointment have marked the course of our East Africa Mission; our promising young missionary, Mr. Pfefferle, is no more; of the three mechanics, two have returned to Europe; our dear brother Krapf himself

* They are printed *in extenso* in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1851.

† This Valedictory Meeting is another of my early recollections.—E. S.

has been subjected to dangers and privations severe beyond anything he had previously experienced, so that his escape with life is a marvel; and our projected new stations are as yet uncommenced."

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The party reached Mombasa in April. Krapf found that Rebmann and Erhardt had purchased a considerable piece of land at Rabai, for a larger station, and were building on it a new house for two families. This was the station whose name is now so familiar to us. He also found that the first fruit of the Mission had been already garnered. The poor cripple, Mringe, had died in peace, trusting in Christ, after being baptized by Mr. Rebmann. Another of the Wanika had since given evidence of a renewed heart, Abe Gunga, who from that time became a steadfast adherent of the Mission. Within a fortnight of their arrival, all the four new labourers were attacked by fever. On May 10th, it pleased God to call Pfefferle to Himself. He was buried in the newly-purchased ground; "and thus," wrote Krapf, with his wonderful capacity for seeing a right purpose in every trial—which is a much harder and rarer thing than mere submission—"the first resident of the new Mission ground is a dead person of the missionary circle; our God bids us first build a cemetery before we build a church or dwelling-house; showing us by this lesson that *the resurrection of East Africa must be effected by our own destruction.*" Of the three mechanics he wrote on June 20th, "They have lain since Good Friday [two months] upon a bench, ill of fever, where they linger on, neither dead nor alive." "That is a fine business, you will say," he goes on; "the heavy part of the army is beaten, and the light division completely unnerved, and yet you will conquer Africa, will draw a chain of Missions between the east and the west!"

Baptism
and death
at Rabai.

God's plan,
cemetery
first.

Krapf's letters at this time are truly wonderful. It is clear that he was beginning to see that his great scheme was not to be worked out fully yet—perhaps not in his own lifetime; but his faith and ardour remained exactly the same. "Though I also should have to fall," he wrote, "it does not matter; for the Lord is still King, and will carry on and complete His cause in His own good time. The idea of a chain of Missions will yet be taken up *by succeeding generations*, and carried out; for the idea is always conceived tens of years before the deed comes to pass. *This idea I bequeath to every missionary coming to East Africa.* Every one who is a real patriot, and is indifferent to life and death for his Master's honour, *will open this bequest, and take his portion out of it, as a fellow-partaker of the tribulation, of the patience, and of the kingdom of our Lord.*" And again: "Our sanguine expectations and hopes of immediate success may be laid in the grave, like Lazarus, yet they shall have a resurrection, and our eyes shall see the glory of God at last."

Krapf's far-
reaching
faith.

The very fact of his now realizing that the work would be a work of years, and perhaps of generations, enhances the faith and

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Krapf
starts
alone.

Lost in
African
forests.

Failure of
the project.

Krapf
returns
home.

courage with which, deprived of all his companions, he resolved to go forward alone and endeavour to establish a Mission among the Wakamba. Nor was this a resolution only. Without a day's unnecessary delay he put it into execution. He had arrived from England in April. He had buried Pfefferle in May. He had nursed the mechanics two months. And on July 11th he started for Ukambani, with only Wanika attendants. This expedition proved most calamitous, and, as already mentioned, Krapf's "escape with life was a marvel." When near the River Dana, the party was suddenly attacked by robbers. The greater part of the caravan was instantly dispersed; a friendly chief who was guiding them was killed with his immediate followers; Krapf fired his gun twice, but into the air, "for," said he, "I could not bring myself to shed the blood of man"; and then he found himself in the bush, separated from both friend and foe, and flying in what he supposed to be the best direction. For some days he was literally lost in Africa, during which time his adventures were of an extraordinary character. Being near the Dana, he filled his gun-barrels with water, but afterwards lost the greater part of it, and suffered sorely from thirst until the chattering of monkeys guided him to a pit dug by them in the sand for water—as he knew to be their habit. Then, in the extremity of his hunger, he ate his gunpowder mixed with the young shoots of a tree—which, however, proved bitter and unwholesome; and at another time he "broke his fast on ants." At length he reached a Wakamba village; but there he was accused of having caused the chief's death, and condemned to die also. At midnight he managed to escape, but his perils were now greater than before, as he was in an inhabited country, and feared to travel by day lest he should be detected and murdered, while at night he frequently missed his way, and in the dense darkness of the forests his compass was of little use. At last, in despair, he surrendered himself to some Wakamba, who, though they treated him badly, conducted him to a place whence he could find his way. Another fortnight's painful march, with many privations, brought him, weary, wounded, and in rags, home to Rabai.

"You will now ask," wrote Krapf, after describing these adventures and trials, "what I intend to do in the future. My answer is, that we must put off the Mission to Ukambani for three or four years more, and first possess a nearer station. This station must first be established, and bear some fruit, before we can plant a missionary tree in Ukambani. The chain of Missions will yet be completed when the Lord's own hour is come. His mills grind slowly, indeed, but beautifully fine." But what led him to this conviction? Was it any desire to avoid hardship for himself? Not at all; it was of others he was thinking: "I clearly see," he said, "that not every missionary could undergo such fatigue."

Further travels and trials completely shattered Krapf's health, and he left for Europe in the autumn of 1853. He reached home

by Christmas, and early in the next year came over to England to discuss his future plans with the Committee. It was natural that some discouragement should be felt at the result so far of the large designs formed for the evangelization of Africa; but after the most anxious and careful review of all the circumstances of the Mission, the Committee felt that the disappointments hitherto met with must be regarded rather as a trial of their faith than as an indication of God's will that the enterprise should be abandoned. They accordingly appointed a Basle student just ordained by the Bishop of London, the Rev. J. G. Deimler, to accompany Krapf on his return to East Africa, and resolved that another vigorous attempt should be made to plant stations in the Taita country and Usambara. Deimler, however, did not get beyond Bombay, and ultimately that city, and not East Africa, claimed the service of his life.

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Deimler.

Meanwhile, Mr. Erhardt had proceeded to Usambara in 1853, and remained there some months; and it was hoped that one of the new Missions was at last established. But his health failed, and other difficulties arose; and he returned in 1855 to England. He was afterwards transferred to India, where he laboured for five-and-thirty years. In after years Usambara was occupied by the Universities' Mission, and an important work is now carried on there under the direction of the Bishop of Zanzibar.

Erhardt in
Usambara.

Krapf never rejoined the Mission. He started from England with Deimler, but, with the Society's sanction, went first to Abyssinia, his old field, to conduct thither six students from the St. Chrischona Institution, who were going to found an Industrial Mission under the auspices of Bishop Gobat. It was his design then to make his way overland southward, through the Galla and Somali countries, to Mombasa; but this proved impracticable, and after a further series of "journeyings oft" and perils of all kinds, he reluctantly bade farewell to Africa, and finally retired to his own fatherland of Wurtemberg in September, 1855. In after years, however, he twice revisited the Dark Continent. First, in 1861, he conducted to the Wanika country a party sent out by the United Methodist Free Churches, and settled them at Ribé, inland from Mombasa; and he found Rebmann still quietly at work at Rabai. Again, in 1867, he accompanied the British army under Sir R. Napier to Abyssinia as interpreter. But the great occupation of his later years was linguistic, and a vast amount of work of this kind he successfully accomplished. The Paris Geographical Society conferred silver medals upon both him and Rebmann; but this was a small compensation to a true missionary for the postponement of his ardent hopes.

Krapf's
later years.

Meanwhile Rebmann continued in East Africa, and fulfilled an uninterrupted service of twenty-nine years, generally alone, without once coming away, until, in 1875, he was brought home blind and a wreck. It is perhaps the most remarkable instance on record of just "holding the fort."

Rebmann
holds the
fort.

PART VI. At this point let us read some striking counsels given by Krapf
1849-61. in those old days to young missionaries in Africa:—
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Krapf's
counsels
to mission-
aries in
Africa.

"1. Resist with all the power of faith, of prayer, and of truth, that mood of despondency and faint-heartedness, which is disposed to say with the men sent to spy out the land of Canaan, 'We be not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we.' . . . Let your first care be to *convert the heathen within your own heart*, your self-confidence, your self-love. Be modest, but not faint-hearted, and the Lord will show you His mercy!

"2. Seek in East Africa to root out all longing for a life of ease and comfort, and accommodate yourself to the lowliest. . . . The wish to settle down as comfortably as possible, and to marry, entangles a missionary in many external engagements which may lead him away from his Master and his duty. This wish naturally prompts him to trouble himself about irrelevant or subordinate matters, such, for instance, as house-building, all sorts of colonizing schemes, and scientific labours; till by degrees he puts the chief matter of all, the promulgation of the Gospel, on the shelf. . . .

"3. Be not either wearied by or angry at the annoying mendicancy of the Natives. . . . Do not expect to receive as a matter of course from the bounty of the people and its chiefs such things as water, wood, shelter, &c.; but be grateful for everything, and show that gratitude by plentiful acts of love. . . .

"4. Respect an old and experienced missionary, even although he should take little heed of your thoughts and suggestions as those of a novice. . . . If, at the commencement of his course, a young missionary can humble himself among others, good will come of him; but if, at starting, he insists on criticizing everything, and on having everything done according to his own fancy, he will bring ruin upon himself and the Mission together. No wonder that God arrests many a one in his course by an early death. Better death than a fall, or backsliding, and a slackening of his pace in his spiritual career. . . . Many a one need not have died, and many a one could have died more blessed, if he could have separated himself from himself, and have committed himself to the mercy and power of God; in one word, if he could have made his *Ego* to disappear so that Christ might have dwelt within him. . . ."

Such counsels are by no means out of date. Many a missionary in Africa, or for that matter in other countries too, would be the happier, and the more successful, if with all his heart he could adopt them.

Explorer
follows
Mission-
ary.

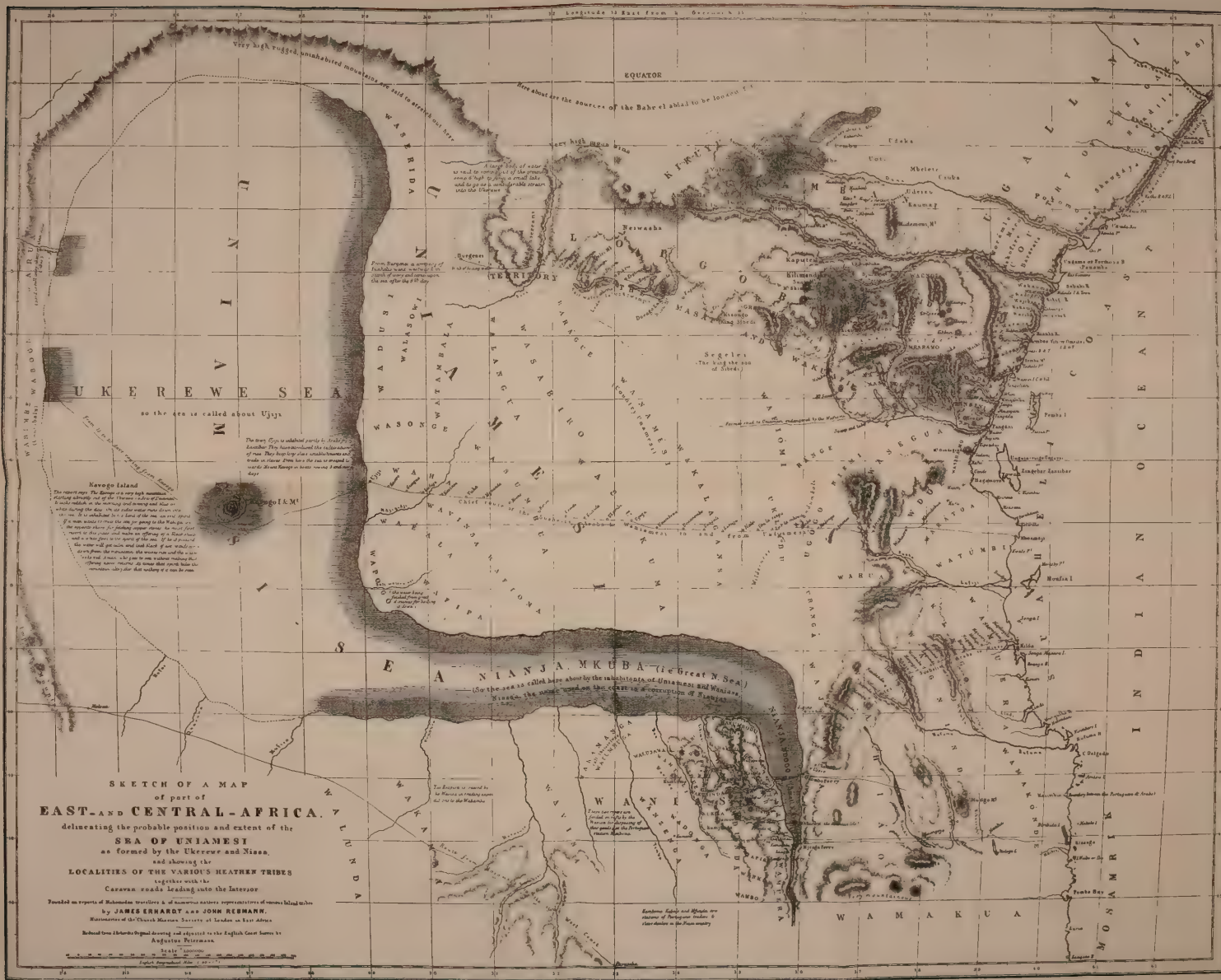
It was now the turn of the Explorer. The Missionary had pointed the way; the Missionary had opened the door; the Explorer then entered in.

Erhardt's
map.

In 1855, Erhardt constructed a provisional map of Equatorial Africa, based on information gathered from Native traders. This map was sent by Rebmann to a German missionary paper, the *Calwer Missionsblatt*; and it appeared, with a letter from him, on October 1st in that year. This map was reproduced in the *C.M. Intelligencer* (August, 1856);* and an enlargement of it was prepared by the Royal Geographical Society, and exhibited at one

* A facsimile of this map is inserted in the present volume.





of that Society's meetings. The result was the expedition of Captain Burton and Captain Speke in 1857; and it was that expedition that opened Central Africa to the astonished gaze of the civilized world. Speke afterwards wrote :—

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"The missionaries are the prime and first promoters of this discovery. They have for years been doing their utmost, with simple sincerity, to Christianize this Negro land. They heard from Arabs and others of . . . a large lake or inland sea. . . . Not being able to gain information of any land separations to the said water, they very naturally, and I may add fortunately, put upon the map that monster slug of an inland sea which so much attracted the attention of the geographical world in 1855-6, and caused our being sent to Africa."*

What was this "monster slug of an inland sea"? We have already seen that Krapf, on his first voyage down the East African coast in 1843, heard of "a great lake" in the far-off country of "Uniamenzi." In 1849 he wrote a wonderfully prophetic letter on the probability of the sources of the Nile, the Congo, and other rivers, being found near each other in the heart of the continent.† Again, on that disastrous journey in 1851 mentioned above, he heard of two lakes beyond Mount Kenia, one of which, the Natives said, "had no end," or "it would take one hundred days to see the end." Upon this information Mr. Ridgeway based a remarkable article on "The Nilotic Regions of Africa."‡ He recalled the fact that although *caput Nili querere* was an ancient proverb to denote an impossible undertaking, yet the geographer Ptolemy described the Nile as issuing from two great lakes at the foot of the Mountains of the Moon; that the Arab geographer Abulfeda, in the twelfth century, had asserted, on the authority of a traveller named Ibn Said, that the Nile flowed from a lake with the enormous dimensions of nine and a half degrees; and that Pigafetta the Italian, in the sixteenth century, in a work on the Kingdom of Congo, had again affirmed, on the authority of Duarte Lopez, a Portuguese, the existence of Ptolemy's two lakes. Only the year before, in 1851, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, in his annual address, had said that "all beyond the coast of Central and Southern Africa" was "still a blank on our maps." But, wrote Ridgeway, "recent discoveries may serve to show us that old geographical traditions, confirmed by a variety of native testimony, ought not to be entirely discredited."

The great Lake and the Nile sources.

Ancient geographers right after all.

Meanwhile Krapf and Erhardt continually heard of the great inland sea. Wherever they went down the coast, Native traders told them of it as lying directly towards the setting sun. Naturally they came to the conclusion that one mighty lake lay in the heart of Africa. As the southern end of Lake Nyassa was known to the Portuguese, and that from it flowed a river which, nearer the sea, joined the Zambesi, they concluded that this was the outflow of the one mighty lake; that the Mountains of the Moon—of which

The "monster slug."

* Speke, *Nile Sources*, p. 364.

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1850, p. 450.

‡ *Ibid.*, April, 1852.

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Kilimanjaro and Kenia would be outlying spurs—must bound the lake on the north; and that from the other side of these mountains the Nile issued northwards. Hence Erhardt drew the lake in the shape of a “monster slug,” tapering towards the outflow at the south end of Lake Nyassa. Its name, in its larger and more northerly part, was stated to be Niandscha; but curiously enough, it does not seem to have struck any one at the time that Nyassa and Niandscha were different forms of the same word, meaning a large expanse of water.* Erhardt also called it the “Sea of Uniamezi,” but added it that the people of that country, the “Waniamezi,” called it “Ukerewe.” No wonder the geographical world was on the *qui vive* when the “monster slug” appeared on the walls of the Royal Geographical Society’s lecture-room; and in September, 1856, the *C.M. Intelligencer* announced that an expedition was to be sent out by that Society to explore the wonderful regions thus indicated.

Where was
Living-
stone?

But it may be asked, Where was Livingstone all this time? Livingstone was still in South Africa, and still a missionary of the London Missionary Society. His discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849 had excited great interest; but that discovery now scarcely counts. At the time that Erhardt was constructing his map, Livingstone was crossing Africa for the first time, and determining the course of the Zambesi; but not for some years after did he visit Lake Nyassa, then only known to the Portuguese. It was, however, that great journey through the Zambesi region that established his fame. The news of it was announced in the same number of the *Intelligencer* that inserted Erhardt’s map; and Livingstone came to England just when Burton and Speke were going out. His main object was to stir up Christian Englishmen to evangelize Africa; for, said he, in a letter written before he started homeward, “The end of the geographical feat is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise.” When, in 1859, he discovered the comparatively small lake Shirwa, in the Shiré highlands, he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Intelligencer*, in which he said, “This is what the Church Missionary Society has been thinking of for many years—a field in Eastern Africa for planting the Gospel beyond the unfriendly coast tribes.” But that country was taken up in after years by the Universities’ Mission and the Scotch Presbyterian Churches. The Church Missionary Society’s sphere proved to be the “Sea of Uniamezi,” far to the north,—the great Victoria Nyanza, discovered just a year before, though Livingstone had not yet heard of it when he wrote that letter.

Journey of
Burton
and Speke.

Burton and Speke started from the coast opposite Zanzibar in 1857, and travelled due west. At the end of the year they reached Lake Tanganyika, striking it at Ujiji, the now well-known centre of Arab trade. But being informed by the Arabs that this was not

* Even now we speak of Lake Nyassa, and of the Nyanza Lake, though in reality it is tautology, and we might as well speak of the *Mare Sea* or the *Sea of Mer*.

the Sea of Ukerewe, which lay further north and west, Speke, on the return journey, turned northward at Kazeh (Unyanyembe), another trading centre; and on July 30th he struck a sheet of water, which proved to be the southern inlet of the great lake, afterwards known as Jordan's Nullah. But on August 3rd "the vast expanse of the pale-blue waters of the Nyanza" burst suddenly on his view. Looking northward, he could only see a sea horizon, and on inquiring about the breadth of the lake, his guide "kept throwing forward his right hand, and, making repeated snaps of his fingers, endeavoured to indicate something immeasurable; and added that nobody knew, but it probably extended to the end of the world." From the Arabs, however, he learned that beyond the lake lived "*the Wagandas*," in a country called "*Uganda*." "Of this kingdom of Uganda," wrote Speke, "we hear from everybody a rapturous account. It swarms with people who cultivate coffee and all the common grains, and have large flocks and herds." Moreover, a great river was stated to flow forth northward, "generally called the Usoga river because it watered that district." "This," wrote Speke, "I now believe to be the Nile itself." "What a field," he added, "is open to the world, if England does not neglect this discovery!" He named the great lake the Victoria Nyanza. Tanganyika retained its native name. The "monster slug" had been resolved into *two* splendid inland seas, and within a few years Lake Nyassa proved to be a third, worthy to take rank with the other two.

In 1861, Speke started again, with Colonel Grant, made straight for the Victoria Nyanza, travelled round its western side, and, in 1862, *stayed some months with Mtesa, King of Uganda*. Then having seen with their own eyes the Nile flowing out of the great lake, they followed its course till they reached Khartoum, and safely came down into Egypt. The telegram sent from there laconically announced that "the Nile was settled."

The news came in May, 1863. When fuller particulars were received, the liveliest interest was excited. Speke's narrative of his life in Uganda was most graphic, and all the world wondered at the organized nation of comparatively intelligent and civilized people thus found in the heart of the Dark Continent. Krapf wrote from his retreat at Kornthal in Wurtemberg to remind the Society of the once-contemplated "chain of Missions across Africa." "The discoveries," said the *Intelligencer*, "summon the Church Missionary Society to prepare itself for an advance into the interior." But Venn was now an old man. The men that were by-and-by to inaugurate a forward policy had not yet come into office. For twelve years no other European stood on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza. Livingstone had to die, and Stanley to visit King Mtesa, before the day came for the Mission to Uganda.

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Discovery
of the
Victoria
Nyanza.

Speke
hears of
Uganda.

Speke
visits
Uganda.

Shall
C.M.S. go
forward?

Not yet.

CHAPTER XLI.

JERUSALEM AND CONSTANTINOPLE : THE JEW, THE TURK, AND THE CHRISTIAN.

Bishop Gobat—Tractarian Attack—Gobat and the Jews' Society—Bowen's Journeys—C.M.S. Palestine Mission—Gobat, C.M.S., and the Four Archbishops—C.M.S. Policy in Palestine—The Crimean War—The Hatti Humayun—Jetter's Tour of Inquiry—Constantinople Mission: Pfander and Koelle—The "Mizan-al-Haqq"—Turkish Converts—Persecution and Intolerance—The False Prophet still in Possession.

"We forbade him . . . But Jesus said, Forbid him not."—St. Mark ix. 38, 39.

"Thou shalt speak My words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear."—Ezek. ii. 7.

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The old
Levant
Mission
not to be
revived.



WHEN the Society celebrated its Jubilee, there was no thought of reviving and developing the old "Mediterranean Mission." It was fully recognized, as the Jubilee Statement expressed it, that "the first hopes and expectations" had "not been fulfilled." The Eastern Churches, which had seemed to be ready for enlightenment and revival, had "set themselves against the introduction of Scriptural light." The Roman Propaganda, which had been supposed to be "well-nigh extinguished," had risen from what were thought to be its ashes, and was more vigorous than ever. The Mohammedan populations were as fast bound in fanatical bigotry as they ever had been, and were practically unapproachable. The Society still had three stations, the Island of Syra, the important commercial port of Smyrna, and Cairo, the capital of Egypt: and at these were four German clergymen in English orders, Hildner, Wolters, Krusé, and Lieder, and also a learned Polish layman, Dr. Charles Sandrecski, who had been a judge under King Otho of Greece, and a Roman Catholic, but had been converted to Scriptural Christianity—indeed to Christ—through reading the Bible. Very little aggressive missionary work, however, could be done. There were schools; there was distribution of Scriptures and tracts; there were conversations with thoughtful Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Turks, and Arabs; but there was nothing to encourage the Society to send new men to the East.

Two events, however, led to fresh work being undertaken. These were (1) the appointment of Samuel Gobat to the Anglican

Yet two
events led
to its
revival.



BISHOP EOWEN.



REV. DR. C. G. PFANDER.



BISHOP GOBAT.



REV. J. REBMANN.



REV. DR. J. L. KRAPP.

John Bowen, Missionary in Turkey, 1849-1856; Bishop of Sierra Leone, 1857-1859.
 C. G. Pfander, Missionary to Mohammedans in India and Turkey, 1840-1865.
 Samuel Gobat, Missionary to Abyssinia, 1825-1843; Bishop in Jerusalem, 1846-1879.
 John Rebmann, Missionary in East Africa, 1846-1875.
 J. Ludwig Krapp, Missionary in Abyssinia and East Africa, 1837-1855.

bishopric in Jerusalem; (2) the Crimean War. The former led to the Palestine Mission; the latter to the Constantinople Mission.

The history of the foundation of the Jerusalem Bishopric has been given in our Twenty-seventh Chapter. The first bishop, Dr. Alexander, only survived his consecration four years. He had been appointed by the British Crown; the turn, therefore, for nomination now fell to the King of Prussia. Under the advice of the Chevalier Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador in London,—who no doubt consulted Lord Ashley and others likely to know something of the C.M.S. missionaries who had worked in the East,—the choice fell upon Gobat. After the breakdown of his health in Abyssinia, Gobat had been employed by the Society in various ways, at Malta, and on visits of inquiry to Syria; but he was now head of a new institution, the Malta Protestant College, established under the auspices of Lord Ashley and Dr. Adair Crauford, after the C.M.S. withdrew from Malta, as a centre and rallying-point for evangelical work of all kinds in the Mediterranean. For this purpose he had been ordained deacon by Bishop Blomfield, but had not yet received priest's orders. On his applying for these, with a view to his consecration to the episcopate, Blomfield put into his hands an elaborate indictment against him, presented by some of the Tractarian party, based upon his own language in his published Journals of the Abyssinian Mission. Gobat had no difficulty in satisfying the Bishop of his soundness in the faith. The only doubtful point was concerning "baptismal regeneration," and as on that question Gobat was prepared to use even stronger language than Blomfield himself, the matter was soon settled.* But the Bishop chanced to hear that the critics had instructed a lawyer to attend the ordination at St. Paul's, and publicly protest against Gobat receiving priest's orders. He therefore ordained him, with some others, separately, at Fulham; and a few days afterwards, on July 5th, 1846, Archbishop Howley consecrated him Bishop in Lambeth Palace Chapel, the sermon being preached by Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, who was then on his one visit to England.

The position in Palestine was not now so hopeful as it had seemed to be when the bishopric was first established. At that time it was hoped that the European Powers, having saved Syria from the attacks of the rebel Pasha of Egypt and restored it to the Sultan, would be able to supervise the government of the Province and put an end to Turkish oppression. But, as ever on the Eastern Question, the Powers were not agreed among themselves, and the result was that Turkish misrule was fastened on the unhappy land more firmly than before. Then again the Jewish Mission had not continued to prosper as it seemed to do at first, notwithstanding the excellence and devotion of the missionaries, among whom special mention may be made of Miss

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Second
bishop of
Jerusalem.

S. Gobat.

Blomfield
gives him
priest's
orders.

Howley
consecrates him
Bishop.

Doubtful
prospects
in Pales-
tine.

* *Memoir of Bishop Gobat*, p. 209.

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Gobat and
the Jews.

Cooper, a lady of private means, who had gone out independently, but worked in co-operation with the London Jews' Society. The converts were few, and not all satisfactory; while the building of the church on Mount Zion had been impeded by Turkish obstacles, and it was in fact not consecrated till 1849. The prospects of a "Church of the Circumcision" under the "successor of St. James"—which, as we saw in our Twenty-seventh Chapter, was the original design—were not encouraging. Gobat did not entirely please the friends of the Jewish cause in England. They, on prophetic grounds, expected the return of the Jews to Palestine while still unconverted, and in their ardent love for the Chosen People were willing to assist with liberal gifts any plans to promote this movement. Among other things, they wished institutions to be founded, agricultural settlements, hospitals, &c., from which the New Testament should be excluded, for fear of offending the Jews thus to be attracted to the Holy Land. But Gobat could think of nothing else but the true conversion of individual Jews to Christ; and in aiming at this, he, from sad experience, exercised a caution in receiving professing inquirers which seemed to fervent souls who did not believe that a Jew could be a deceiver rather unsympathetic. At the same time, Gobat found that the distribution through so many years of the Scriptures and Christian tracts (chiefly from the old C.M.S. Press at Malta) had produced its effect, and a good many members of the Eastern Churches were seeking more light. Naturally, therefore, his heart and his energies turned also in their direction; and he appealed to his old Society to come to his help.

Appeals to
C.M.S.
from
Eastern
Christians.

It was just at the time when the Jubilee was being observed that the C.M.S. Committee received Gobat's appeal. By a coincidence that compelled grave attention, the Foreign Office, at that very time, communicated to the Society two despatches, one from the British Consul-General in Syria, representing openings for English Church Missions in the Lebanon, and the other from the British Consul at Mosul, describing similar openings among the Assyrian and Nestorian Christians; and this was followed by a direct appeal from the Chaldæan Christian Church itself, asking for the Scriptural instruction of their people. And yet another coincidence. As before mentioned, a young clergyman at Knaresborough, the Rev. John Bowen, stirred by Edward Bickersteth's speech at the Jubilee meeting at York, offered at this time to go at his own charges on a visiting mission to any part of the world. The Committee could not doubt that the Lord's hand was in all this; and although, as the Annual Report presented in the following May expressed it, "the Society's past experience rendered them very cautious of trusting to apparent openings among the Eastern Churches," they felt constrained to take advantage of Bowen's offer. They accordingly sent him on an extensive mission of inquiry to the East; and they appointed Dr. Sandreeski, the lay missionary before men-

Bowen's
offer.

tioned, who was familiar with several Oriental languages, to accompany him.

Bowen's tour, with his lengthened sojourns at various important centres, extended over two years and a half. His journals, which are given at great length in his Memoir,* are extremely interesting. They show that there really was a widespread desire for better instruction than the Greek, Armenian, or Syrian priests—most of them ignorant and superstitious—could give. At the same time it was evident that discontent with the tyranny and the exactions of many of the priests was not always accompanied with more spiritual aspirations; and a recent firman issued by the Sultan enabled any Greek or other Christians who wished to secede from their Churches to organize themselves into Protestant communities which the Government would recognize. This, be it observed, was no proof that Mohammedan bigotry was giving way. It rather suited the Turks to foster further divisions among the Christians. There were already extensive Missions carried on by the American Congregationalists and Presbyterians in many parts of the Turkish Empire; Constantinople, Smyrna, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Aleppo, Beyrout, and many other places being occupied; and splendid educational and literary work was being done. But thoughtful observers felt that the Eastern Churches were more likely to be permanently influenced by an Episcopal Church with liturgical services; and as a matter of fact, the Arabic Prayer-books liberally supplied to Bishop Gobat by the S.P.C.K. were doing a remarkable work in opening the eyes of their more intelligent members. The American Episcopal Church had a bishop at Constantinople for several years; but he had lately gone home, and the only Mission of that Church was a small one at Athens.

One result of Bowen's inquiries, confirming as they did Bishop Gobat's representations, was the resolution of the C.M.S. Committee to open a Mission in Palestine; and in 1851 the Rev. F. A. Klein, a Basle and Islington man ordained by Bishop Blomfield, was sent to Jerusalem, and Dr. Sandrecki was instructed to join him. As soon as this became known, the same parties who had already assailed Bishop Gobat came forward to attack the Society for its intended aggression on the ancient Churches of the East. They approached Bishop Blomfield, and the Bishop referred their letters to the Society. Henry Venn responded in an able letter, in which the question is fully discussed. He said :†—

"It has appeared to the Society to be a legitimate and Christian object to endeavour to raise these lapsed Churches, by circulating amongst them the Word of God and Scriptural truth, and promoting the education of their children; but when, in addition to this object, regard is had to the vast heathen population of Asia and Africa, in contact with these

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Bowen's
Eastern
tour.

Openings
for an
Episcopal
Church.

C.M.S.
com-
mences
Palestine
Mission.

Attack on
C.M.S.

Venn's
Reply.

* *Memorials of Bowen*, chap. v.

† The whole letter is printed as an Appendix to the Annual Report for 1851-2.

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Oriental Christians, with many of whom they have a common language, and amongst whom they are scattered by commercial transactions to the utmost limits of Asia, it will be seen that the Mediterranean Mission has an important bearing upon the conversion of the Heathen. But more especially Turkey must be regarded as the centre of Mohammedanism. The Mohammedan population, comprising throughout the world a hundred millions of people, present everywhere the greatest obstacles to the advance of Christianity amongst the Heathen, and are themselves the most manifest objects of missionary labours. It is clear that if any impression can be made upon Mohammedanism in Turkey—and such an impression, it clearly appears from information before us, is being made—towards a more favourable view of Christianity, the effects would be felt throughout the world. There is no country so favourable for presenting Christian truth to the Turks as those provinces of their empire in which the Arabic language is spoken, and no locality so advantageous as Syria and Jerusalem.

Objects of
C.M.S. in
the East.

“Such is the vast field and scope for missionary exertion in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to which the efforts of the Mediterranean Mission are directed. The nature of such a work prescribes special modes of operation, somewhat different from those adopted in the case of a heathen country. It has never been the object of the Society to form among these Oriental Christians congregations according to the model of the Church of England, as in heathen countries: our object has been, by journeys, by the press, and by education, to disseminate the knowledge of Scriptural truth throughout the country, in order, by God’s grace, to raise the tone of Christian doctrine and practice. For this purpose our missionaries have visited persons of all ranks, including many of the highest ecclesiastics; they have distributed the Holy Scriptures and religious books in all languages.

“We leave to other agencies, under the providence of God, the work of settled pastoral ministrations and parochial education. We rejoice especially whenever a priest of their own communion can be found among them to supply his people with Scriptural instruction and pastoral care.”

And in the next Annual Report, the Committee officially stated their case as follows:—

Prosely-
tism: how
far con-
templated?

“The Committee cannot conclude their Report of the Mediterranean Mission without noticing the charges which have been brought against the Society in some quarters, of seeking to proselyte the members of other Christian communities. The Society aims at a far higher object, from the pursuit of which it cannot desist, even though proselytism should be a consequence. Its aim is to give the Bible to Oriental Christians—to help them to ‘read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest’ its pure doctrines, and to lead each humble inquirer to the Saviour of sinners. Compared with this object, proselytism to any particular ecclesiastical communion sinks into secondary importance.

“The Church Missionary Society may well appeal to the history of half a century, as a proof that it has always paid due respect to constituted ecclesiastical authorities. No turn of affairs would afford them greater satisfaction than for the rulers and priests of the Oriental Churches to become themselves the leaders of an enlightened movement, and to take in hand such modifications of their system as a thorough reformation may require. The Committee have solid grounds for believing that the course they are at present pursuing is the one most likely to lead to this blessed result: and they will not spare any efforts which it is possible for them to employ towards its accomplishment.”

It will be observed that while the spirit of these utterances is identical with that expressed thirty years before in the earlier days of the Mediterranean Mission, the position taken is not quite the same. *Then*, the sole purpose of the Mission was to influence the bishops and clergy of the Eastern Churches in favour of spontaneous and internal reform, and with this view to circulate the Scriptures and the Anglican Prayer-book. *Now*, it was further proposed to preach the Gospel to individual souls, even at the risk of their being in consequence constrained to leave their own Churches. This was Bishop Gobat's course. He had already, again and again, been charged with "proselytizing"—not indeed by the Oriental bishops themselves, but by the Tractarians in this country. But at his consecration Gobat had expressly asked Archbishop Howley for instructions on this point. Venn, in the letter to Bishop Blomfield, says:—

"When Bishop Gobat, upon his consecration, applied to the late Archbishop of Canterbury for his Grace's judgment upon this very point—whether he was at liberty to receive into communion with the English Church those members of the Greek and other Churches who might be led conscientiously to separate from their own Church—the late Archbishop unequivocally declared that such individuals ought to be so received.

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Howley's
instruc-
tions to
Gobat
about
prosely-
tizing.

"His Grace, however, pointed out an important distinction to be observed in such cases; namely, that it would not be advisable to receive whole villages, or masses of people, if they should apply, because no reliance could be placed upon the purity of their motives. The Bishop has acted upon this principle; and the result has been, that in several instances large parties, and lately a whole village, Beit Jala, near Bethlehem, have gone over to the Church of Rome from the Greek Church, after in vain applying to the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem to receive them."

And Howley's successor, Archbishop Sumner, took the same line. In a statement signed by him and Chevalier Bunsen jointly, dated October 16th, 1850, he said:—

Archbp.
Sumner
takes the
same line.

"The difference is great between an aggressive system of polemical efforts to detach the members of a communion from it, and a calm exposition of Scriptural truth and quiet exhibition of Scriptural discipline.

"Duty requires the latter, and where it has pleased God to give His blessing to it and the mind has become emancipated from the fetters of a corrupt faith, there we have no right to turn our backs upon the liberated captive, and bid him return to his slavery, or seek aid elsewhere.

"It is desirable, nevertheless, wherever a sufficient number of individuals may have left the Greek Church, to form a separate congregation of the Church of England, and to assist them in the compilation and use of such a Liturgy as may best suit their circumstances, and to let it be understood that if ministers in English Orders minister among them, it is to prevent their entire destitution; but that if any of their own priests should become of like mind with themselves their ministrations would be made available."

* This "Déclaration" is printed in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1887, p. 208.

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Tractarian
Memorial
to Eastern
Churches.

Declara-
tion of the
four Arch-
bishops.

The attacks on Bishop Gobat were not put an end to by these statements; and in 1853 a memorial was prepared, signed by one thousand English Churchmen, and sent direct to the Eastern Patriarchs and Synods. Upon this being published, a very remarkable thing was done. The four Archbishops of the (then) United Church of England and Ireland issued a joint Declaration in defence of Gobat, as follows:—

“Declaration of the Four Metropolitans of the United Church of England and Ireland.”

“Whereas certain clergymen have addressed a memorial to the Oriental Patriarchs and Synods, in which the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem is accused of having exceeded the proper objects of his mission, and of introducing schism into the Eastern Churches:

“And whereas some of the names affixed to the said document are the names of persons who hold official stations in the United Church of England and Ireland, and it might be supposed, at least in foreign parts, that a censure of the Bishop, as having acted without due authority from his Church, would not be made by persons who were themselves acting without such authority:

“Therefore we, the Metropolitans of the United Church of England and Ireland, deem it expedient to make this public declaration, that the said memorial does not in any manner emanate from the said Church, or from persons authorized by that Church to pronounce decisions.

“We are induced to take this step, first, in order to guard against the danger which might arise to our own Church from the example of the irregular and unauthorized proceedings of the memorialists; and, further, because we sympathize with our brother, the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, in his arduous position, and feel assured that his conduct, under the circumstances in which he is placed, will be guided by sound judgment and discretion.

“J. B. CANTUAR.

T. EBOR.

JOHN G. ARMAGH.

RICHARD DUBLIN.”

But the
objections
not un-
natural.

It must be confessed, however, that the High Church protests were not unnatural. Bishop Gobat's position was a very peculiar one. He was not merely an Anglican bishop. Under the agreement with the King of Prussia, he was at the same time Chief Pastor over the Prussian ministers in the East, “who had subscribed to the Confession of Augsburg, who had been ordained in Germany, and who used in their German services the Book of Prayers and Hymns drawn up by Bunsen for the Prussian Embassy at Rome, and containing, for use at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Lutheran and Reformed Prayers, to be selected at the discretion of the officiating pastor.”* In fact he was between two fires. “Did he desire to ordain priest of the Church of England some candidate from Switzerland who had already received a *quasi* ordination at home, the step was disapproved at Berlin. Did he permit a non-episcopally ordained functionary to

Gobat's
awkward
position.

* *Memoir of Bishop Gobat*, p. 287.

preach in Christ Church, this was turned to his reproof in England. For the Germans he was too Anglican; for the Anglicans he was too German." * With all this, however, the Church Missionary Society had nothing to do. The Society had not had any hand in the original establishment of the bishopric, nor any voice in the appointment of Gobat. But with the question of proselytism it was directly concerned; and this question has always been a troublesome one to the Committee. The course has been consistently followed of preaching, not Protestantism, but Christ. "The best hope of reviving the ancient Churches," says the Report of 1853-4, "is to preach and teach the Word of God to the people generally, and to provide the means of grace for those who cannot with a safe conscience continue in their own communions. If this be called proselytism, the Society will not refuse the name." The Society's principle of action was admirably expressed by Bishop Gobat in these words, written in 1848, before the Mission began :—

"It ought never to be the preacher's aim to convert people to this or that Church, but to lead them to the source of all truth and life, even to the Lord Jesus, and to teach them to yield themselves to His guidance. This having been effected, let them remain in their respective Churches, and there confess their Saviour and His truth. If they are able to do this, then I do not wish a single one of them to come over to our Church." †

But then, were the Christians thus enlightened "able to do this"? In another letter he mentions having refused to receive many Greek and other congregations that had sent memorials and deputations to him, exhorting them "to persevere in reading the Word of God and to remain in their Churches, seeking at the same time to purify them." But then these people were enjoined by their priests to give up reading the Scriptures, and, if they hesitated to obey, were excommunicated. "Some conscientious people have on that account for a year or two been unable to receive the Communion, and now they implore my help, begging for clergy who will administer to them the Lord's Supper":—

"And now what am I to do? I have never wished to make converts from the old Churches, but only to lead to the Lord and to the knowledge

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Real aim
of C. M. S.,
conversion
to Christ.

Dilemma
of the en-
lightened
Christians.

* *Memoir of Bishop Gobat*, p. 287. In another part of the *Memoir* (pp. 305, 313-15) there is curious evidence that Bishop Wilberforce and Mr. Gladstone had some ground for their hope, mentioned in Chapter XXVII., that the Jerusalem Bishopric might lead to the adoption of the Historic Episcopate by the Lutheran Church. In 1856, the King of Prussia wrote to Bishop Gobat through the Court Chaplain, Dr. Hoffmann, proposing that he, "as the only Prussian Bishop living" (though Gobat was neither a Prussian nor a Lutheran!), should combine with himself two Moravian Bishops, and thus canonically consecrate Lutheran Bishops. Gobat forwarded this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but at the same time expressed his own view that a wiser plan would be for some well-chosen Lutheran clergymen to go over to England and receive consecration from the Anglican Bishops. It does not appear that any further step was ever taken.

† *Ibid.*, p. 248.

PART VI. of His truth as many as possible. From henceforth I shall be obliged to
 1849-61. receive into our communion such as are excluded for Bible-truth's sake
 Chap. 41. from other Churches; and I trust that in doing so, even though men
 — should blame me for it, the Lord will grant His blessing.*

Ultimate
 purpose of
 C.M.S.,
 to reach
 Moslems.

This also was the Church Missionary Society's policy. Nevertheless the Committee frequently in the Reports reminded their friends that the ultimate purpose of all the C.M.S. Missions in the Levant was the evangelization of the Mohammedans. For instance, "The pastoral care of nominal Oriental Christians who may wish to declare themselves Protestants would of itself form no proper branch of the labours of this Society." In other words, if there had been no Mohammedans in the Turkish Empire, the Society would never have been there at all.

Mission
 enlarged,

Several stations were successively occupied, and other missionaries were added to the staff. Among others, John Bowen went out a second time, and took charge of Nazareth for a while. Krusé, from Egypt, was posted at Jaffa. Dr. Koelle, whose health had failed in West Africa, went to Haifa. John Zeller, a new Basle and Islington man, began his long service (forty-three years already, and still unfinished) at Nablûs, but moved to Nazareth when Bowen left; and J. J. Huber, a German layman, assisted him there. In 1861, however, only Jerusalem and Nazareth remained in occupation, and for many years the Palestine Mission was carried on upon a reduced scale.

—and
 reduced.

Turkey and
 Russia.

Meanwhile, the time and the opportunity had come for a direct missionary attack upon Mohammedan Turkey. The immediate cause of the Crimean War was a quarrel between Russia and France about the "Holy Places" at Jerusalem. The Greeks and the Latins—to say nothing of the other Christian Churches—were continually in conflict there, the Turkish troops keeping the peace between them; and as Russia was protector of the Greeks and France of the Latins, local disputes were apt to become international. If the Porte gave a firman for some special purpose to the Greeks, France was insulted; if it conceded something to the Latins, Russia took offence. But apart from this, there was in England an increasing fear of the growing power of Russia. Turkey was no longer regarded in Europe as a dangerous foe of Christendom. The Ottoman power was manifestly decaying; and the Emperor Nicholas had made confidential proposals to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg for the partition, when the time came, of the "sick man's" possessions. But England thought Russia a more serious enemy than Turkey had ever been. Her conquests in Central Asia were bringing her nearer India; and if she obtained Constantinople and the Dardanelles, she could threaten the "Overland Route" to our great dependency. The Suez Canal was still in the future; but the regular route to India

* *Memoir of Bishop Gobat*, p. 265.

was now not round the Cape, but "overland" across Egypt. Hence it came to pass that England viewed all Russian advances with suspicion; and the belief grew up that the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire was essential to British interests. So strangely had public opinion changed since the days of Lord Byron, the Greek War of Independence, and the Battle of Navarino; and, it may be added, since the Emperor Alexander (as we saw in our Seventeenth Chapter) had been the friend of British philanthropists and the patron of Bible societies. So when war once more broke out on the Danube, England with enthusiasm joined France to protect Turkey against Muscovite aggression; and London, after forty years' peace, saw, in March, 1854, the strange sight of the proclamation of war in the Queen's name from the steps of the Royal Exchange.

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Crimean
War.

The Crimean War had an important influence indirectly upon Church affairs at home. The victory of the Alma, the magnificent but disastrous charge at Balaclava, the heroism of Inkerman, the patient courage of the besiegers of Sebastopol, were all marred by the terrible mismanagement that nearly destroyed the army; the public indignation swept away Lord Aberdeen's Ministry and brought in Palmerston; and then began the period of the Shaftesbury Bishops, of which a previous chapter has treated. And when we remember that the Crimean War added to biography the widely-blessed *Memoir of Hedley Vicars*, and was the occasion of awakening from a godless life Stevenson Arthur Blackwood, and, above all, that through the labours of Florence Nightingale it inaugurated the whole system of Christian lady nurses at home and abroad, we see another instance of "our God turning the curse into a blessing." But we must now observe its effect upon Missions in the East.

Its in-
direct in-
fluence
for good
at home.

When the War was drawing to a close, and peace negotiations were pending, the relations of the Porte to its Christian subjects came under discussion. Russia was a beaten foe, and could do nothing; but England was not going to allow Turkey to take advantage of this. There was indeed cause for interposition. In 1843, an Armenian and a Greek, who had been lured—in one case by drink—into professing Mohammedanism, but who had recanted and again embraced Christianity, had been beheaded. This led, even at that time, to joint remonstrances from Great Britain and Russia; and after a sharp diplomatic struggle, Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), obtained, in response to his peremptory demands, the following pledge:—"The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the execution and putting to death of a Christian who is a renegade." But it will be observed that these words were ambiguous. They might be held to apply only to cases like the above-named, where the converts had been born Christians; and as a matter of fact, in 1852-3, two men, Moslems from birth, who became Christians, were executed at

Turkey
and its
Christian
subjects.

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Lord
Clarendon's
demand.

Aleppo and Adrianople. Therefore, when England and France had delivered Turkey from the Russian invader, advantage was taken of the situation to press the matter still more strongly on the Porte. Lord Clarendon, on September 17th, 1855, referred to the "gigantic efforts and enormous sacrifices" then being made in the cause of Turkey, and wrote:—

"The Christian Powers are entitled to demand, and Her Majesty's Government do distinctly demand, that no punishment whatever shall attach to the Mohammedan who becomes a Christian, whether originally a Mohammedan or originally a Christian, any more than any punishment attaches to a Christian who embraces Mohammedanism. In all such cases the movements of the human conscience must be free, and the temporal arm must not interfere to coerce the spiritual decision."

Religious
liberty,
on paper.

After long negotiations, in which the skill and firmness of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe were tested to the utmost, the famous proclamation by the Sultan, called the Hatti-humayûn, was put forth on February 18th, 1856. This decree established, on paper, religious liberty throughout the Turkish Empire. Christians were to have equal rights with Moslems, and to be eligible for all offices of State; and mixed tribunals—i.e. Moslem and Christian judges sitting together—were to try all causes between the professors of the two religions. The clause originally inserted about converts was not considered satisfactory by Lord Stratford. It ran thus:—

"As all forms of religion are and shall be freely exercised in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion he professes, nor shall be in any way disquieted on that account; and no one shall be compelled to change his religion."

Obviously this clause left an opening for the persecution of a man who changed his religion voluntarily; and the Porte pleaded that the Sultan had no power to alter the law of the Koran, which punishes a "renegade" with death. Lord Stratford, however, declined to approve of the decree until he had an official letter from the Grand Vizier, solemnly assuring him that in practice it should apply to "*all renegades*." That is to say, not only should a Christian turning Mohammedan have protection—of which there was of course no need,—but a Mohammedan turning Christian should be protected likewise. The "divine" law was not altered, but the Porte undertook not to act on it. With this the Ambassador, and the British Government, had to be content.*

England
pleased:
Palestine
mission-
aries know
better.

The news of the proclamation was received with enthusiasm in England. The Turk had fully justified the expenditure of British blood and treasure in saving him from the Russian Bear. Very different were the feelings of Bishop Gobat and the Palestine

* The whole story of the negotiations, gathered from the blue-books, and of the subsequent events, was told in the *C.M. Intelligencer* in September, October, November, and December, 1864.

missionaries. They knew well that the Hatti-humayûn proclaimed in state at Constantinople under the eye of the British Ambassador was one thing, and that the same decree as interpreted by pashas and cadis in a distant part of the Empire was quite another thing. The average Moslem at Nablûs or Hebron knew nothing of the real facts of the War. His version of the matter was this:—"The Muscovite Giaour had the temerity to menace the Padishah. Whereupon the Caliph ordered his vassals, the English Giaour and the French Giaour, to come and conquer him. They obeyed the Padishah's command, and drove the Muscovite Giaour back." In many places the carefully-drawn provisions of the decree were a dead letter; and sometimes when it was actually promulgated, riots broke out, as at Nablûs, where the Mission-school and agent's house were destroyed with perfect immunity. Nevertheless, the good hopes of Christians in England were to some extent confirmed by Mr. Jetter, the former Smyrna missionary, who left his Shropshire parish for a few months, at the Committee's request, to go out and report on the prospects of a new Mission to the Turks. He visited large centres like Constantinople and Smyrna, and there he certainly found a more favourable tone of feeling towards the English, being greeted in the streets, not as "Infidel" or "Giaour," but as "Bono Inglese." He found the Turks quite ready for conversation; and incidentally he mentions the curious circumstance that the people were surprised when he happened to mention an English house: they thought the English had no dwellings on land, but lived on board ship, and only came ashore in bad weather! There was also a keen interest to see the Bible, the sacred book of Christians who did not worship images like the Latins or pictures like the Greeks.

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Yet im-
proved
prospects.

Thus encouraged, the Society determined to begin a Mission at Constantinople. The first missionary chosen for this most important and difficult work was Dr. Pfander, who had returned home from India. We shall come across his earlier missionary career there in the next chapters; but this seems the most convenient place to introduce the man. Karl Gottlieb Pfander was one of those many Wurtembergers who had dedicated themselves to Christ's service in early years, and had gone to the Basle Missionary Seminary. He was not, however, like Weitbrecht, Leupolt, Krapf, and many others, allotted by the Basle Director to the English Society, but was sent out to Georgia, then a part of the kingdom of Persia, as a member of the Basle Mission there. He had an extraordinary gift for languages, and quickly mastered Tartar-Turkish, Persian, and Armenian. For twelve years, 1825-37, he was travelling and labouring in Persia and the adjoining countries, often cursed, stoned, and spat upon, but always witnessing faithfully to the one Divine Saviour. It was at this time that he wrote his famous book, *The Balance of Truth*, best known by its Hindustani name, *Mizan-al-Haqq*. It is a

C. M. S.
Mission to
Constanti-
nople.

Pfander.

His great
book.

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Origin
of the
"Mizan-
al-Haqq."

defence of Christianity against Mohammedan objections. He wrote it originally in German. Then it was translated into Persian; subsequently into English, Hindustani, Marathi, Turkish, and Arabic. He also wrote the *Miftah-al-Asrar* (Key of Secrets) and the *Tariq-al-Hayat* (Way of Life), the former on the Doctrine of the Trinity, the latter on Sin and Redemption. The account of the writing and first translation of the *Mizan-al-Haqq* is worth quoting. The book has for more than half a century been the classic work on the subject, and the circumstances of its origin have an interest for all who are engaged in, or who sympathize with, Missions to Mohammedans:—

"A few years' labour amongst the Mussulmans of those countries, and travels in Persia, made him keenly feel the want of a work adapted to the Mohammedan mind, which would treat in a proper way the various important points at issue. Verbal discussion was altogether inadequate, for the Mohammedan would not listen to any full and lengthened statement of Christian doctrine, nor to any explicit argument in favour of the Gospel, and in refutation of the Koran; neither could such important subjects be brought forward without constant interruptions from the opponent. A book therefore, that would do this, appeared to be an essential requisite for the effective prosecution of missionary work. The library in possession of the missionaries was an extensive one, but such a work was vainly sought for among the German and English books of which it was composed. None of those which treated on the evidences of Christianity were found adapted to this speciality, and no alternative remained but that a book should be written expressly to meet it.

Dr. Pfander, being the youngest of the missionaries, had not for an instant entertained the idea of attempting it himself. He pressed the subject on those of his brethren whom he considered to be more able to undertake it, and many an evening at home in the mission-house, and many an hour when riding along the mountain-paths of those countries, when out on missionary tours with one of his brethren, were spent in discussing the necessity and nature of such a book. Finding them not prepared to undertake it, he then proposed to write down his ideas, in the hope that one of them would improve upon and organize them; but, as might be expected, they very justly considered that the individual with whom the idea had originated was the best fitted to mature it, and he was induced to make the attempt. To his surprise, and contrary to his expectation, his pen ran freely; page after page was filled, his heart warmed, and the evenings and nights spent in writing were hours of blessing and enjoyment to his own spirit. As chapter after chapter was laid before them, the brethren fully approved of them, and the *Mizan-ul-Haqq* was completed before the close of 1829. It was written in German, and afterwards translated into Persian, with the assistance of the munshi of the missionaries, a converted Armenian, who, in his youth, was carried away as a slave into Persia and made a Mohammedan.

The final revision was accomplished during one of Mr. Pfander's sojourns in Persia, when he employed a liberal Persian munshi, and a learned orthodox mullah, to whom he had to send the sheets, as he would not come to him. The former was delighted with it, and as he advanced to the end, repeatedly said that it would cause consternation among the bigoted, and joy among the liberal Persians, expressing his hope that the assistance which he had given might never be known. The mullah, as he

came to the last part of the work, sent word to Dr. Pfander that he was very sorry to find it so much against the Koran, and that if he had found this out sooner, he would not have assisted in the revision."*

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When the Russians conquered Georgia, they expelled the Basle missionaries; and, as before mentioned, four of them found their way to India, and there joined the Church Missionary Society. One of these was Pfander; and in 1840 he was appointed to Agra. There he laboured thirteen years, and then at Peshawar three years; and the *Mizan-al-Haqq*, and its author's verbal teaching, were the instruments of important conversions from Islam, as we shall see hereafter. After the Mutiny he visited England; and then the Committee eagerly chose so eminent a Christian champion against the Mohanmedans to commence the Constantinople Mission. "Who that ever met him," said Sir Herbert Edwardes,—

Pfander
joins
C.M.S.

Edwardes
on Pfander.

"can forget that burly Saxon figure and genial, open face, beaming with intellect, simplicity, and benevolence? He had great natural gifts for a missionary, a large heart, a powerful mind, high courage, and indomitable good-humour. And to these, in a life of labour, he had added great learning, practical wisdom in the conduct of Missions, and knowledge of Asiatics, especially Mohammedans. Indeed, his mastery of the Mohammedan controversy was, in India at least, unequalled. He had thoroughly explored it, and acquired the happy power of treating it from Asiatic points of view, in Oriental forms of thought and expression. His refutations of Mohammedanism, and expositions of Christianity, were all cast in Native moulds, and had nothing of the European about them. They might have been written by a mullah; and yet mullahs found that they set up the Cross, and threw the Crescent into eclipse. . . . Pfander was the very man for a controversy. He not only was the essence of good-nature, but *looked* it, and it was difficult for any one to be angry with him for more than a passing moment."

Pfander took up his abode at Constantinople at the close of 1858. A year or two later he was joined by R. H. Weakley, an Islington man who had already studied Turkish, and who afterwards became a recognized Turkish scholar, and by Dr. S. W. Koelle, the distinguished linguist whose work in West Africa we have before seen. A more efficient trio for such a Mission could not be imagined; and they engaged as lay assistant a clever Irishman named Philip O'Flaherty, who had been a sergeant in the British army in the Crimea, and, knowing some Turkish, had been employed as interpreter. It was he who was afterwards in Uganda. The work was begun with all possible caution. There was of course no street-preaching nor obtrusive book-hawking: these would not have been allowed. But quietly and perseveringly, by the distribution of the Turkish Scriptures, and by personal conversations, the knowledge of the Gospel was disseminated; and the *Mizan-al-Haqq* itself was actually sold in the precincts of the Mosque of St. Sophia, the once-famous

Weakley,
Koelle,
O'Flaherty

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1859, p. 47.

PART VI. church whose walls had heard the eloquence of Chrysostom.
1849-61. Very soon the Spirit of God was manifestly at work; many
Chap. 41. inquirers came forward, and received private instruction; and
First Turk the first Turkish convert of the C.M.S. Mission was baptized on
baptized. Easter Day, 1862. He had been an inquirer at Smyrna, and had
 been twice arrested by the authorities—treaties notwithstanding,
 —but had been liberated through the intervention of the British
 Consul. His baptism passed off quietly, and it was followed
 during the next two years by several others.

S.P.G. The S.P.G. was likewise doing excellent work. Its valuable
also at missionary, the Rev. C. G. Curtis, was assisted by two Turkish
work. converts who had been trained at St. Augustine's College,
 Canterbury, and ordained deacons, the Rev. Mahmoud Effendi,
 an ex-major in the Turkish army, and the Rev. E. Williams
 (Effendi Selim).* The American Missions, Congregationalist and
 Methodist, were also going on.

Mission In the summer of 1864—if, to complete the narrative, we may
promising. go beyond our present period—the brightest hopes were enter-
 tained. One of the missionaries wrote, "Our work here now is
 most interesting. We have had a visit from the Bishop of
 Gibraltar, who confirmed many Turks [some of them S.P.G.
 converts]. Our rooms are crowded with those who are willing to
 hear the Gospel."

Sudden In one day all these hopes were shattered. On July 18th of
Turkish that very summer, "without the slightest warning or indication
outrage. that a change had taken place in the views of the authorities,"
 the Turkish police suddenly attacked the premises of the C.M.S.,
 the S.P.G., and the Bible Society, and forcibly closed them,
 seized the Christian books, and threw some converts they found
 there into prison. The immediate cause seems to have been the
 confirmation of Turkish Christians alluded to above; but it is
 evident that the Porte was becoming alarmed by the manifest
 effect produced by the Missions. One of the men seized was the
 S.P.G. Turkish clergyman, Effendi Selim; but he was released
 after suffering abuse and insult for two hours. The authorities
 even went the length of arresting Mr. Curtis, the S.P.G. mis-
 sionary, himself, which, under the treaties, was utterly illegal;
 but he too was of course quickly set free. The British Am-
 bassador protested, and some compensation was exacted from
 the Turkish Government, but the books were not restored. The
 few Christian Turks who had been openly arrested were ulti-
 mately released; but a much larger number, converts and
 inquirers, disappeared, until news began to come from Beyrout,
 Kharpoot, and other places, of at least forty-seven of them being
 condemned to the galleys.

S.P.G.
clergy
arrested.

Converts
dispersed.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was not now Ambassador, and the

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 737. Mr. Williams was the Turk mentioned on page 74 of the present Volume as having been for a time in Islington College.

Turks took advantage of the absence of his acuteness and tenacity. They presented the following memorandum, and Sir Henry Bulwer agreed to it :—

“The Turkish Government will not allow any attempts, public, or private, to assail the Mussulman religion.

“They will not allow the missionaries or their agents to speak publicly against Mohammedanism.

“All attempts to convince Mussulmans that their religion is not of God must be regarded by the Turkish authorities as an insult to the national faith.

“They will not allow the sale or distribution, in public or private, of any controversial works.”

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The new
British
Ambassa-
dor yields
to Turkey.

Mr. Ridgeway instantly added to the other interesting articles on Turkey which appeared at this time in the *Intelligencer* (Oct., 1864), an able paper on this theme,—“Missionary Work as regards Mohammedans impossible if controversy be interdicted.” “By controversy,” he wrote, “we understand, not acrimonious and irritating recriminations, which, well aware how unbecoming and injurious they are, the missionaries have always eschewed, but that calm investigation of conflicting religious systems that is indispensable to the decision of the important question—Which is true and which is false?” And he went on to show from history that Islam itself was originally an aggression upon Christianity, and to argue therefore that Christianity had a right to vindicate itself in the sight and hearing of the Mohammedans. But the British Government were not prepared to risk international complications on this account; and the blow of July 18th, 1864, proved to be permanently successful. The movement was suppressed; and from that day to this there has never been a revival of it. A few months later, the position was thus reported :—“Missionary efforts at Constantinople are now met by a systematized obstruction. The rooms, offices, and chapels of the missionaries are beset with spies, so that no Turk can approach them without being reported to the police.” And the position has never changed since.

C. M. S.
protests.

Mission
virtually at
an end.

In the following year, Dr. Pfander came to England in ill-health, and died. Mr. Weakley, two or three years later, joined the two Wolters', father and son, at Smyrna. Dr. Koelle continued to hold the fort at Constantinople, and from time to time had secret inquirers. We shall meet him again.

The False Prophet still holds sway over the sacred Lands of the East. Again and again Turkey has seemed to be breaking up. Again and again she has been propped up by the mutual jealousies of the European Powers. Perhaps the reign of Islam over the cities and provinces dear to us for Christ's sake and the Gospel's is to continue till the Lord Himself come. Meanwhile the Church's business is still to bear witness to the truth, and to gather out “the remnant,” however small it be, from Jews, from Turks, and from professing Christians.

CHAPTER XLII.

INDIA UNDER DALHOUSIE ; AND THE MISSIONS IN THE NORTH.

The Marquis of Dalhousie—His Reforms and Developments—James Thomason—Bishop Wilson—Conversions at Calcutta—Progress of Protestant Missions—S.P.G. at Delhi—C.M.S. in Bengal: Weitbrecht's Death; Nuddea; Bhagalpur—Smith and Leupolt at Benares—Converted Brahmans—Gorakhpur—The Agra College—French and Pfander—Converts from Islam—The Agra Discussion with Moulvies—Jabalpur—Bombay—Appeal from Officers—Bombay Converts—Anglo-Indian Contributions.

"We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers."—Eph. vi. 12.

"Take the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God."—Ver. 17.

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OUR last survey of the Indian Mission-field was taken chiefly from the standpoint of 1841. We are now approaching the great epoch of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which divides the Indian history—at least the North Indian history—of the century into two parts.

Let us therefore view the field, as it were, at the beginning of that fateful year, while peace was still undisturbed.

Brilliant
period of
Lord
Dalhousie.

The youngest, and the most brilliant, of Governors-General, the Marquis of Dalhousie, had just left India, after eight extraordinary years of "expansion of territory, unification of territory, and the drawing forth of material resources"—"conquest, consolidation, and development."* "Small of stature, but with a noble head . . . 'the little man' of Government House first inspired awe in those with whom he came in contact; then trust; and finally an ardent admiration, in which loyalty to the master mingled strongly with personal love. . . . During eight years of trials, and sorrows, and successes, he presented to our countrymen in India the loftiest type, I had almost said the apotheosis, of the great qualities which in distant lands we love to associate with the name of Englishman."† Dalhousie is worth introducing thus in this History, for to him we owe the deliverance of Christian converts from grave disabilities, the commencement of a worthy system of education, material developments which have greatly

* Sir W. W. Hunter, *Rulers of India : Dalhousie*. P. 11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 31.

facilitated missionary enterprise, and the opening of at least three important Mission-fields to the preaching of the Gospel.

1. By both Hindu and Mohammedan law, a convert forfeited all right to the inheritance of property, ancestral or acquired. An attempt had been made in 1845, in an Act known as the *Lex Loci*, to abolish this disability; but so loud were the protests of the Hindus that it had to be abandoned. In 1849, however, owing in the first instance to strong representations by the Bishop of Bombay touching some glaring cases of hardship in that Presidency, a new Act was proposed, which would effect the same result, but without particularizing any religion by name. Again the Hindus protested, affirming that the inheritance of property was necessarily conditional on the performance of certain ceremonial duties which Christians could not and would not perform, and that therefore the Government was interfering, contrary to its loud profession of neutrality, with the religion of the country. But now no less than twelve thousand Native Christians in Bengal alone, "all loyal and respectable subjects of Her Majesty," memorialized the Government; and not in vain. Dalhousie, in an able Minute, said, "The Government will not do its duty if it leaves unchanged any portion of that law which inflicts personal injury on any one by reason of his religious belief." The Act passed on April 10th, 1850, a great day for religious liberty in India.

2. Just as the abolition of *Suttee* by Lord William Bentinck preceded by three years the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1833, so did Lord Dalhousie's abolition of the forfeiture of a convert's inheritance precede by just three years the further renewal of the Charter in 1853. This was the fourth renewal with which this History has been concerned, and it proved to be the last. We have seen the vain attempt of Wilberforce to open India to the Gospel in 1793, his successful attempt in 1813, the good work of Charles Grant the Younger in 1833. There was less cause for exciting debate in 1853; but there were reforms and developments desired by the missionary societies, and the S.P.G. and C.M.S. formed a joint Committee to agitate for them. In particular, the great question of Government Education was in the front, and the discussions on the subject led to the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, drafted for Sir Charles Wood, then Minister for India, by his Under-Secretary, Mr. Baring, afterwards Lord Northbrook. The Education Question, however, will come before us in future chapters; we may therefore leave until then the consideration of this memorable manifesto, only noting as we pass that it was Dalhousie whose energy started the new system.

3. The expansion of the British dominions which opened doors for missionary effort was on this wise. The system had prevailed in India of forming protectorates over Native States, enabling the Government to exercise political control over them in their foreign

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Christian
converts'
rights
secured.

New Edu-
cational
policy.

Annexa-
tions of
Native
States.

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affairs without being burdened with the internal administration. This is a good system where the Native Government honestly seeks the good of the people; and it still prevails over large territories in India. But as a matter of fact, many of the Hindu and Mohammedan Courts have been vicious, corrupt, oppressive, and cruel, to a degree which filled the upright Englishmen who were the Residents at them with sorrow and shame for the wickedness they were helpless to deal with; and the practical result was that in some cases the British protectorate was protecting the rulers from the punishment they would otherwise have justly received from their subjects, while in no way protecting the subjects from intolerable tyranny. Dalhousie put an end to this system in a great many minor principalities, and incorporated them into British India; and he further annexed, one after another, four great territories, viz., the Punjab, Nagpur (now the Central Provinces), Oudh, and Lower Burmah,—leaving at the end of his eight years the area under direct English administration nearly half as large again as he found it. His methods of doing so were, and still are, severely criticized; and no opinion need here be offered regarding them. An able defence of them is now accessible to every reader in Sir William Hunter's masterly little book already quoted from. How these measures opened up fields for missionary effort will appear by-and-by.

Railways
and tele-
graphs.

4. Moreover, Dalhousie was the real creator of Modern India: of the magnificent system of railway and telegraph, of the cheap post, of many great public works, of improved methods of administration. In 1853 he penned his great Railway Minute, embodying, observes Hunter, "one of the most comprehensive and far-seeing schemes which ever issued from the human brain"—which scheme has been the basis of the whole railway system of India ever since.* On April 16th, 1853, the first train in India ran twenty miles from Bombay to Tanna. On February 5th, 1855, the first sixty-seven miles of the great line that was to connect Calcutta with the North-West were opened, to Burdwan; Bishop Daniel Wilson, at Dalhousie's request, offering prayer on the platform before the train started.† Further, Dalhousie invented and inaugurated the system of attracting private enterprise and English capital for these public works by a State guarantee of reasonable interest on the outlay, which has given an enormous impetus to industry and commerce. The establishment of telegraphic communication was a difficult task, involving new inventions to neutralize the electrical disturbances caused by the tremendous storms of India; but it was accomplished—and saved

* Dalhousie had had no little share in arranging the railway schemes in England. At the age of thirty-three, first as Vice-President of the Board of Trade under Mr. Gladstone, in Peel's Ministry, and then as President when Gladstone resigned, he was overwhelmed with work in connexion with the great Railway Mania of 1845-6.

† *Life of Bp. D. Wilson*, vol. ii. p. 354.

India when the Mutiny burst forth. "It is that accursed string that strangles us," said a mutineer being led to execution, pointing to the telegraph-wire. And, to effect these and other great developments, Dalhousie organized the splendidly efficient Public Works Department. But his mind and spirit were too energetic for his bodily frame; and the greatest of our Indian Proconsuls left office a broken and tottering old man at the age of forty-four.

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It was during Dalhousie's reign, in 1853, that James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, died at his post. "In civil administration," says Sir R. Temple, "on a vast stage during a period of peace, he has never been surpassed in the annals of the East, and was one of the most successful Englishmen that have ever borne sway in India." * "His life was a pattern of how a Christian Governor ought to live. His character, founded upon the Rock of Ages, naturally displayed calmness as a dominant quality; and in subordination to this were patience, moderation of thought, and intellectual deliberation. . . . Though outwardly he was never enthusiastic, yet an enthusiasm glowed within him, and it was the enthusiasm of humanity. His character was composed, so to speak, of two strata; the first consisted of enlightenment and sweetness, the second of resolution and persistency. The two elements were joined together by the bond of Christian faith." † Mr. J. W. Sherer, formerly Assistant-Secretary to the Government at Agra, was calling in later years on Sir R. Montgomery in London. Seeing over the fireplace a portrait of Thomason, he pointed to it and said, "I have never found his equal." "Nor I—ever," was Montgomery's reply. ‡ Now James Thomason's father was Thomas Thomason, Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and curate to Charles Simeon, who encouraged him to follow Henry Martyn's example and go to India as a chaplain under the Company, which he did, taking his four-year-old boy, James, Simeon's godson, with him. Thomas Thomason became Minister of the Old Church, and the organizer at Calcutta of the C.M.S. Missions which Corrie was starting at Agra, Benares, &c. James followed in his father's steps, and all his life was a warm friend and supporter of Missions, and of the C.M.S. in particular. He not only subscribed liberally; he worshipped with the Native Christians when at stations where there were Mission churches, and he translated the Psalms into Hindustani for their use. This was the man who trained the young civilians afterwards so great in the Punjab. John Lawrence, R. Montgomery, D. McLeod, E. Thornton, R. N. Cust, C. Raikes, and many others, went from him to the new Province; while there remained in his own Province such men as H. Carré Tucker and W. Muir. And all this from Charles Simeon's wondrous policy of faith in sending out men like Thomas Thomason

James
Thomason

His
character
and ser-
vices.

A fruit of
Simeon's
faith.

* *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

PART VI. to India when Evangelical clergymen at home were so few and
1849-61. far between!
Chap. 42.

Bishop
Daniel
Wilson.

In 1857, Bishop Daniel Wilson was still at his post at Calcutta, after an episcopate of a quarter of a century, and in his eightieth year. At Bombay, Bishop Harding had succeeded Bishop Carr in 1851; and at Madras, Bishop Dealtry, who had been Arch-deacon at Calcutta, had succeeded Bishop Spencer in 1849. Wilson's pet project of an Agra Bishopric had never come to anything; nor could he even obtain permission from the East India Company to have a Coadjutor. But it is curious, as we observed in Chapter XXXIII., that he should have been able to consecrate at Calcutta a bishop for Borneo, the first Anglican bishop consecrated outside the British Isles since the Reformation. That important ceremony was performed in the new cathedral, which was another of Wilson's pet projects, a project which he did carry to a successful issue. The first stone had been laid on October 8th, 1839; the consecration of the cathedral was on October 8th, 1847, just after Wilson's return from that one visit to England which has been before mentioned. It cost nearly £50,000, of which the Bishop gave a fifth. He also gave a second £10,000 towards an Endowment Fund for a Dean and Canons; but he failed to get the necessary charter from the Company, and the Fund became a Cathedral Mission Fund, to support missionaries in the city. Ultimately, as we shall see by-and-by, the greater part of the interest of this Fund was committed by the Bishop to the administration of the Church Missionary Society.

His new
cathedral,

and
Mission
Fund.

High-
caste con-
verts at
Calcutta.

Some remarkable conversions of influential high-caste Hindus had been taking place in Calcutta. There had been a succession of baptisms of Kulin Brahmans, and of the sons of wealthy merchants of less exclusive caste, in connexion with Dr. Duff's new College—the Free Church Institution, started when the disruption of the Scotch Kirk separated Duff from the scene of his earlier labours. One lad of eighteen, married to a girl of twelve, taught his child-wife from the Bengali Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress* in the dead of night, until she one night exclaimed, "Are not we lingering in the City of Destruction? Is it not our duty to act like 'Christian'—to arise, forsake all, and flee for our lives?" On the next idol-festival, when a Hindu lady could go out in a closed palankin, they quietly went off to Duff's house. A tremendous uproar arose; but the husband and wife were baptized together while the crowd raged outside.* Other baptisms of importance took place in connexion with the London Missionary Society and also with the C.M.S. In 1852 a Hindu gentleman of high family proclaimed his conversion, and his thorough knowledge of Christianity, by giving a course of lectures

* *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. ii. p. 55.

on the Evidences in the Old Church parish-room; and in 1853 a relative of his, a Brahmini lady of unusual intellectual gifts and cultivation, was baptized in the Old Church itself. In 1854 occurred the commencement—for it was a long process—of the unique conversion of the Dutt family, several brothers, with their wives and children. Their father, a Native judge, was actually baptized on his death-bed, at his own earnest request, by a son—who was not yet a Christian himself!—the Church service being read, and the water poured over the dying man “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost”; after which the sons and their families put themselves under the instruction of the Scotch missionaries.* Ultimately, though not till 1862, they were baptized into the Church of England by the Rev. C. Bomwetsch, one of the Germans from Basle and Islington, who laboured as a C.M.S. missionary for more than thirty years. While godless Englishmen were mocking, as usual, at the “miserable failure” of Missions, the leading Hindus were taking genuine alarm. In 1848, a great meeting of the most learned and powerful Brahmans was held to establish a Hindu Society, whose members should bind themselves to oppose Christianity in every possible way, and in particular to send no son of theirs to a Mission-school; and two years later, another meeting was held to consider a proposal for counteracting the influence of Christianity by providing a way, easier than the almost impossible penances that had been imposed for two thousand years, for “renegades” to return to their old superstitions and regain their forfeited caste status.

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The Dutt
family.

Alarm of
Hindus.

The early 'fifties are a memorable epoch in regard to work among the women of India. Female Education was, of course, still more backward than the education of men. The only women who were educated at all were the nautch-girls, so that for a Hindu lady to be able to read and write was actually disreputable. In this matter, as in others, the Parsees of Bombay and the Christians of Tinnevely were ahead of the Brahmans, Rajputs, and wealthy Hindu landowners and merchants. The work begun by Miss Cooke in 1822, described in our Fifteenth Chapter, was among the lower classes; and it was long before the higher-class women and girls could be reached. But, as Dr. G. Smith well observes, “the boys of 1830 were the men of 1850”;† that is to say, the boys who had come under Duff's influence at Calcutta, though not Christians, had learned to feel the need of companionship in their wives; and a few of the more advanced began to see that women ought to be educated. A man like Krishna Mohan Banerjea, who, though himself a Christian clergyman, had influence with his non-Christian fellow-countrymen, did much to open their eyes on this point. And while the more enlightened public opinion was thus gradually changing, Christian people were

Female
Education.

Its need
felt.

* *Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. ii. p. 249.

† *Ibid.*, p. 360.

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Calcutta
Normal
School.

Duff's
School.

Indian
Female
Normal
School and
Instruc-
tion
Society.

taking steps to provide the teaching required. A school for high-caste ladies, strictly excluding religion, had been established by Mr. Bethune, President of the Government Council of Education, and a few girls had attended it, carefully conveyed to and fro in closed carriages, and with every "purdah" precaution while there; but it was a premature attempt, and met with but partial success. In 1851, however, the Calcutta Normal School was founded, with the object of training female teachers, English and Eurasian, who might then get inside the zenanas and teach the ladies in their own homes. In 1854, a Scotch missionary, the Rev. John Fordyce, organized a regular Zenana Mission, in conjunction with Mrs. Mullens, wife of the eminent L.M.S. missionary, and daughter of the same Society's devoted Swiss preaching missionary, Alphonse Lacroix. The first Hindu gentleman to open his house for the home teaching of the female inmates was Babu P. Cumar Tagore, and the first lady teacher sent there was a governess in the Normal School, Miss Toogood, who knew Bengali perfectly. In 1857, Dr. Duff took a further step by opening a high-class ladies' school like Mr. Bethune's, but with Christianity avowedly taught; and it is remarkable that many non-Christian Hindus who had distrusted the "neutrality" of the Bethune School, patronized Duff's, because of the high moral teaching they knew would be given. Miss Toogood became headmistress, and the School flourished; inasmuch that when it had been carried on for a year, an examination was held in a Hindu millionaire's house, before the *élite* of Native society, and no less than sixty-two young daughters of the Hindu gentry were examined before a large gathering, English and Native, men included. Meanwhile, in the same year, 1857—the dark year of the Mutiny, too—the Normal School was amalgamated with the old Calcutta Female Education Society which had carried on the former work of Mrs. Wilson (Miss Cooke). In 1860, Miss Cockle, the head of the School, was invalided, and Miss Jetter (daughter of J. A. Jetter, C.M.S. missionary, and afterwards Mrs. Greaves) was sent out as her successor. In 1861, the London Auxiliary Committee of the School, of which Mr. and Mrs. (afterwards Lord and Lady) Kinnaird were the moving spirits, and the Rev. A. M. W. Christopher (now of Oxford) the Hon. Secretary, developed itself into the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, with a view to combining with the Normal School an organization for regular zenana visitation. By the end of that year, "twenty-two houses [in Calcutta], containing 160 Native ladies and 150 little daughters, were open, principally of the Brahman, writer, and doctor castes. Native female teachers were employed in sufficient numbers to enable each house to be visited daily, and instruction given for three or four hours; while once a week the English lady visitor examined and supervised the results of the whole. The pupils consisted of grandmothers, mothers, and little children. Christian books were introduced,

and religious conversation encouraged." * So began the wonderful work of the Zenana Missions.

Taking Protestant Missions generally, there was not, except in one province, any very marked progress and extension during the earlier 'fifties. The various Societies whose work was briefly summarized at the close of our Twenty-second Chapter were continuing their work, with signs, more or less, of blessing. It is not necessary to enumerate these Societies again; and the only addition to their number before the Mutiny was the American "Dutch Reformed Church," one of the numerous subdivisions of the great Presbyterian body, which began a Mission in Arcot, south of Madras, in 1854. This Mission is noteworthy for being carried on for the most part by a single family, the Scudders. At one time no less than seven men bearing the name of Scudder were associated with it, besides wives and sisters. In 1853, Dr. Mullens, of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta, published the first of the regular Decennial Statistical Tables which we now look for every ten years. It showed that in 1851 there were in India 91,000 Native Christians registered by the different Protestant Missionary Societies, of whom 15,000 were communicants. In the decade we are now reviewing, these numbers rose respectively to 138,000 and 25,000. Another sign of the growing strength of the missionary body was the holding, for the first time in India, of a General Missionary Conference, at Calcutta, in 1855, when fifty missionaries of various Societies met together for four days' conference.

The one great exception to the general absence of extension at this period is that of the Missions in the newly-annexed province of the Punjab. First the American Presbyterians, and then the Church Missionary Society, invaded that inviting field in the name of Christ; but to their enterprise a separate chapter will be devoted. Here, however, may be mentioned one important step, taken in 1854, which, after the Mutiny, added a famous S.P.G. Mission to the Church's work in the Punjab, but which does not in this period belong to Punjab history because the city occupied was no new conquest, but had long been in British possession, and was then included in the North-West Provinces. This city was Delhi. The small work carried on there by the C.M.S. in earlier years was mentioned in our Fifteenth Chapter; but after that, the Baptist Mission, under a very able man, Mr. Thompson, was alone for some years, though Dr. Pfander, the great C.M.S. missionary to Mohammedans, visited the city from Agra, and disputed with the moulvies in the Imperial Mosque. The C.M.S. Report of 1854, which mentions this, adds, "The Committee rejoice to announce that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has commenced a Mission at Delhi, by which they trust

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Progress of
Protestant
Missions.

First
Missionary
Conference.

Occupation
of the
Punjab.

S.P.G.
Delhi
Mission.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1863, p. 139. See also *C.M.I.* for April, 1863, December, 1865, September, 1869; and *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 360.

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that this promising movement may be guided and fostered." The chaplain, Mr. Jennings, and other English residents, raised a fund for a Church Mission, and invited the S.P.G. to undertake it; and two missionaries were sent in that year, 1854. There was already a little band of Christians, and among them were two distinguished men, Ram Chander, mathematical teacher (afterwards Professor) in the Government College, and Chaman Lal, an assistant-surgeon, also under Government. Both of these had been Hindus of good caste, and had found Christ through reading the New Testament. Chaman Lal had been in Duff's College.* The principal Native agent of the Baptist Mission also, Wilayat Ali, a convert from Islam, was an exceptionally able and zealous man. How several of these Christian workers, English and Indian, fearlessly met death during the Mutiny, we shall see hereafter.

C.M.S.
Missions.

Calcutta.

Death of
J. J. Weit-
brecht.

We will now take a more detailed, and yet a rapid, survey of the C.M.S. Missions in India at this period. Beginning at Calcutta, we find the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert Secretary of the North India Missions. Mr. Cuthbert was an excellent Irish clergyman, a graduate of Dublin, who had refused preferment in order to go out as a missionary. He was sent forth in 1845, being taken leave of along with Ragland and Rebmann, and sailing with the former. For thirteen years he held office as Secretary at Calcutta with general acceptance. In the city and district, among the labourers at this time were the veteran T. Sandys; that unique missionary, James Long, of whom more by-and-by; two young recruits, J. Vaughan and R. P. Greaves; and several trusted Eurasian agents. Nothing of special interest was reported of the work, which consisted of evangelistic preaching in various ways, schools, and the care of a few hundred Native Christians. Burdwan had lost its revered missionary, Weitbrecht, after listening to his earnest preaching for twenty years; and A. P. Neele had begun there a service that was to last a quarter of a century. In February, 1852, Weitbrecht had been requested to preach the sermon at the half-yearly conference of missionaries at Calcutta. He arranged to go down thither, although ill at the time; and the Native Christians at Burdwan feared for him, because, they said, "he had become quite perfect." He preached the sermon in Trinity Church, from the words, "Be thou faithful unto death." This was on Wednesday evening; and on the Sunday evening he preached in another church, St. James's, on "Surely I come quickly. Even so, come, Lord Jesus." That night cholera struck him; and next morning he entered into rest, at the age of fifty. "Thus," said Leupolt, "did one night's storm fell the goodly cedar which had stood many a blast."

* A full account of their conversion, written by a British officer, is given in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1852.

In the Krishnagar district were labouring Blumhardt, Lincké, and other of the old German veterans ; and four or five younger men, German and English, among the latter being Samuel Hasell and Samuel Dyson. The promise of the Krishnagar Mission had not been fulfilled. The sanguine hopes to which Bishop Daniel Wilson had given utterance nearly twenty years before seemed to mock the weary and almost heart-broken brethren who remembered them only too well. The Annual Report of the very year in which we are supposed to be taking this survey, 1857, says, "The missionaries have written more and more discouragingly each year of the state of their congregations. Several of the out-stations have been reported as having relapsed into former superstitions, and baptized converts have apostatized in large numbers. Though there are individual cases of true conversion, and some bright examples of the grace of God, yet, as a Christian Church, the Krishnagar converts exhibit a near resemblance to the Churches of Laodiceæ or Sardis." The simple fact that out of a community numbering 4500 souls, under 400 were communicants, speaks volumes of itself. The remarkable thing is that disappointing as the condition of the Christians undoubtedly was, independent onlookers did not take so desponding a view of it as the missionaries. For instance, an English gentleman in the district, an indigo-planter, told a visitor in 1856 that he had heard and believed the unfavourable reports until he went to live on his own indigo-estate, close to Mr. Schurr's station at Kapasdanga ; but that then, "by personal eyesight, and with the observation which his own knowledge of Bengali had enabled him to make, he had enjoyed opportunities of beholding the actual fruits of the Mission, as seen in the general improvement of the Natives around the station, and was now conscious of the false estimate too generally entertained." "He himself had seen sufficient to repay all the labour and expenditure which the Society had ever incurred in Bengal." And Leupolt, after visiting the district, said that he only wished the Benares district were a second Krishnagar. Such a remark, from a man of Leupolt's acuteness and large experience, witnesses significantly to the immeasurable difference between even bad nominal Christians and the real Heathen ; and the truth of it received a striking illustration when the testing time of the Mutiny came, as we shall see hereafter.

The Krishnagar work was now not merely in the villages of the poor ryots. Besides the town of Krishnagar itself, two important but decayed towns had been occupied by Mr. Hasell, viz., Nuddea (or Nadiya), once the Oxford of Bengal, and a great seat of Brahmanical learning, and Santipur, an emporium of trade. Hasell opened schools, which were at once attended by large numbers of boys from the most exclusive Brahman families ; and one conspicuous fruit from the Santipur school was gathered, when the son of the most distinguished Brahman pundit in the

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Krish-
nagar.
Sanguine
hopes dis-
pelled.

Yet better
than Hea-
thenism.

Hasell at
Nadiya.

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town, who first learned of Christ in that school, was baptized ten years afterwards, with his wife, by Mr. Dyson. But the work suffered severe loss in 1856, when a very able and zealous Native evangelist, Koylas Chander Mukerji, died at the early age of thirty-four. He had been a Kulin Brahman, and was converted in one of the Society's schools, confessing Christ boldly despite the violent opposition of his father and family.

Bhagalpur.

At Bhagalpur, on the Ganges, in the province of Behar, we find the Rev. Ernest Droese, an excellent Prussian minister who had come to India under a Berlin society, but had subsequently joined the C.M.S., and had received English orders from Bishop Wilson; and also Erhardt, the map-constructor of East Africa,* transferred now to India. As far back as 1824, Bishop Heber sent a young S.P.G. man at Calcutta, the Rev. T. Christian, to Bhagalpur, with a view to his evangelizing the Paharis, or hill-men, of the highlands south of that town; but after a year or two's zealous labours, both he and his wife were carried off by the local fever. Some years passed away, and then a godly chaplain, and a layman, who was a son of David Brown, the Calcutta chaplain of earlier days, raised a fund to establish a Mission, and invited the C.M.S. to undertake it. Droese was accordingly sent there in 1850, and in his first three or four years he baptized about a hundred of the hill-men. Subsequently, at the invitation of the Government, he established schools among the Santals also, and thus began the interesting Santal Mission.

Work
among the
Paharis.

Benares.

Passing into the North-West Provinces, we come first to Benares, the true capital of Hinduism. The veterans W. Smith and C. B. Leupolt we find still at work after twenty-five years' service, Smith preaching and preaching continually all round the surrounding country, and Leupolt in the midst of the flourishing schools, orphanages, and industrial agencies in the suburb of Sagra, by which he was seeking to foster a higher life among the Native Christians, and to educate both their children and the waifs and strays brought to him from outside. Of this Mission, and all its varied agencies, a most interesting account is given in Leupolt's *Recollections of an Indian Missionary* and *Further Recollections*.† In 1848, a young civil officer who rose to high distinction, Richard Temple, was at Benares; and thirty years later he wrote as follows:—

Sir R.
Temple on
Smith and
Leupolt.

"Staying at Benares some little time, I observed the working of the Mission belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and conducted by the Reverend Missionaries William Smith and Charles Benjamin Leupolt. The conversation of these self-denying and experienced men was most instructive to a young officer. They impressed me with their charitable consideration towards the faults of the native character, and their appreciative discernment of its virtues. They showed me what were

* See Chapter XL.

† The older work (1843) has been long out of print. The latter was published by Nisbet in 1884.

the ways of native thought, and how those ways could best be approached by moral and religious influences. . . . The sight of their work taught me, at the outset of my career, the salutary lesson that something more was to be expected from British rule than military success, political management, material prosperity, and intellectual education. Then the reflection was brought home to me that when England sent forth men to the East, some to lead her armies, others to collect her revenues or construct her public works, and again others to manage her trade or industrial enterprises, she could also provide many for higher and more blessed purposes than these.*

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At our date, J. Fuchs, a Basle man, is assisting the two honoured brethren; C. E. Cobb and H. D. Hubbard, recent Cambridge recruits, are working at Jay Narain's College; W. T. Storrs has just arrived; and C. F. Reuther, another Prussian, who had come out with Droese under the Berlin society, who with him had joined the C.M.S., and with him had been ordained, is at the neighbouring town of Juanpur. At another town not far off, Azamgarh, we find a good school under an excellent Native master, Babu Timothy Luther, a brother of the well-known Presbyterian Bengali, the Rev. Behari Lal Singh, and a convert of Mr. Bowley's at Chunar. Other fruits of that good man's work long ago are to be seen in two zealous catechists, David Solomon and David Mohan, who are intended for ordination, and who—if we may come down two years later—were ordained in 1859 by Bishop Cotton. Two other catechists who were afterwards ordained we find at Benares at this time, Samuel Nand and Nehemiah Nilkanth, both Brahmans. One would suppose that if there were a city in India where the conversion of a Brahman would be more emphatically a miracle than it is everywhere, it would surely be Benares; yet in the Annual Reports of this period, year by year almost, we find reports of these true miracles,—the results generally either of reading the Christian Scriptures or of the teaching in Jay Narain's School. Of the two just mentioned, whose stories are both most deeply interesting,† Nand became in after years pastor of one of the Benares congregations, and Nilkanth became the famous Padre Nehemiah Goreh, who—as we have seen in our Thirty-seventh Chapter—was for some time in Islington College. Both their names occur again and again in the Reports, as of zealous and faithful evangelists.‡

Zealous
Native
agents.

Nehemiah
Goreh.

* *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 31.

† The story of Nand's conversion was given in full detail in the *C.M. Record* of September, 1849. That of Nilkanth was the subject of a book called *Dwij*, by W. Smith. Both narratives appear in a condensed form in the *C.M. Gleaner* of April, 1875; and extracts from *Dwij* in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1866.

‡ In a journal of W. Smith's, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1855, occurs a most touching notice of the death of Nehemiah's wife Lakhshmi, a few weeks after giving birth to a daughter:—

"December 1st, 1853.—This morning I baptized dear Nehemiah's and Lakhshmi's fine little girl. The mother is, I fear, dying. . . .

"December 3rd.—Dear Lakhshmi died a happy and glorious death last

PART VI. Of Gorakhpur and Meerut there is nothing to add to what was
 1849-61. said when we last noticed them. The former station, with its
 Chap. 42. agricultural Christian village, came in 1853 under the charge of
 the Rev. H. Stern, a Basle and Islington man ordained by Bishop
 Stern at Blomfield, and remained under him for forty years, exhibiting all
 Gorakhpur. that time the best features of the old patriarchal system of
 Missions which our German brethren loved, and which is so
 vividly pictured in Sir W. W. Hunter's admired book, *The Old
 Missionary*. Meerut was during our period the sphere of the Rev.
 R. M. Lamb, the Cambridge man who gave up a Lancashire
 parish to become a missionary, as mentioned in the Thirty-sixth
 Chapter; but its best days belong to a later period.

Agra. We come next to Agra, the most interesting station at this
 period in North India. Here have been working all the four
 Basle men expelled by the Russians from North-Western Persia;
 but Kreiss is dead, and Pfander has gone to the Afghan Frontier,
 leaving Schneider and Hoernle still at work, the latter in charge
 of the interesting orphanage, printing press, and Christian village
 at Secundra, five miles from the city.* But we also find the new
 College, founded by French and Stuart; and though Stuart has
 left for work elsewhere, French is at his post, with J. Leighton
 assisting him. This College, and Pfander's work among the
 Mohammedans, must detain us a little.

Plans for Leading men at Agra, Government officials and others—in-
 Agra including the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces,
 College. Mr. James Thomason, and his successive secretaries, Mr. John
 Thornton and Mr. (now Sir) W. Muir,—had for some time been
 urging on the Society the importance of establishing a high-class
 educational institution there on Dr. Duff's plan. The Society
 already had Jay Narain's School at Benares; but they wanted a
 college superior to that. The Committee, however, had neither
 the men nor the means at their disposal, until, in April, 1850, the
 offer of T. V. French, and that of E. C. Stuart just at the same
 time, seemed to supply the one need, and the Agra friends raised
 among themselves £1500 to supply the other—to which the
 Committee felt justified in adding a similar sum from the Jubilee
 Fund. In September of the same year French and Stuart sailed
 together; and while on their voyage out they named the projected
 college St. John's, after Henry Martyn's college at Cambridge,
 "with additional reference to St. John as the Apostle of Oriental
 Churches."† They began work by teaching in an existing

night, manifesting every mark of a real child of God. Spiritual in mind,
 and with great love to her Saviour, she was a striking proof of what Divine
 grace can effect on the mind of a Heathen in the space of fourteen months.
 Much might be said of this lovely Christian."

*The infant girl thus born and baptized, is now known all over the world as
 Ellen Lakhshmi Goreh, author of "In the secret of His presence how my soul
 delights to hide."*

* The Secundra Press at this time was making £400 a year nett profit,
 which was used in the Mission.

† *Life of Bp. French*, vol. i. p. 23.

Mission high-school while studying the languages; and the new college buildings were not completed till nearly three years later, being opened on December 16th, 1853.

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From the first, the College was successful in attracting boys, although there was a large Government College in the city. In that institution the Bible was not taught; and intelligent parents of a superior class, though they had no wish for their sons to become Christians—and indeed no fear of their doing so,—did wish them to learn truthfulness and honesty and the moral virtues generally; and experience has shown that it is always Christian teaching that does that, even where there is no conversion. But French, of course, aimed at conversions, and constantly prayed for them; and he soon discerned tokens of the Spirit's working among his pupils. His boys, he told the English congregation when preaching to them, knew Scripture better than the average Oxford undergraduate; and some of them, he said, though unbaptized, had “endured more for Jesus” than any of the English in Agra.* But he longed to be training “the Native apostles, or at least the Tituses and Timothys of India,” and hoped that they might come out of his first English class of ten boys. One of the ten, baptized a few years later by Shackell, became the Rev. Madho Ram, pastor at Jabalpur. Other conversions took place from time to time, if not from the College, yet through French's work: in one year three Mohammedan munshis were baptized, of whom he wrote, “They have forsaken all for Christ, and have suffered bitter reproaches for his Name's sake.” For French did not confine his labours to the College. His biographer well pictures his varied efforts to spread the Gospel:†—

St. John's
College
opened.

French's
hopes.

His varied
efforts.

“At one time he converses with a single aged blind man of eighty, explaining about the vessel marred in the hands of the potter, and awakening a desire for Christian truth: at another, he gathers round him a group of children in the street, and when a Mohammedan seeks to drive them off, causes amusement by patting them upon the head and calling them his own. At one time a party of young men beg him to act as President of their Deistic Literary Club; at another he tries what can be done by sitting down before the doors of the houses, and talking with those of the inmates who are willing to converse on religious subjects.”

Agra was at this time the scene of much dialectical conflict between Christian missionaries and Mohammedan moulvies. That prince among the assailants of Islam, Dr. Pfander, was there from 1841 to 1854 (including a year on furlough). His books, described in our Forty-first Chapter, had a great effect upon the Moslem mind; but you may convince the mind without touching the heart. Pfander's converts, nevertheless, brought to Christ

Pfander.

His
converts.

* *Life of Bp. French*, vol. i. p. 59.

† *Ibid.*, p. 73. But the most vivid account of French at Agra was given by his colleague, the Rev. J. Leighton, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1892.

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A war of
books.

either by his personal teaching or by his books, are continually turning up in the old Reports. A Persian merchant from Teheran was baptized at Peshawar; a traveller from Central Asia at Agra itself; a Syud (supposed descendant of Mohammed) by the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Gopinath Nandi, at Farakabad; a Government official in Sindh, whom we shall meet again, at Karachi; a distinguished moulvie from Delhi, at Amritsar. These, and several others, were all converts from Islam, and all these were led to Christ through reading Pfander's books. No wonder the Mohammedans were stirred up to defend their faith. As early as 1845, a Government official at Agra published the *Kitab-i-Istifsar* (Book of Questions), a large work designed as a reply to Pfander's *Mizan-al-Haqq* (Balance of Truth). Then a Lucknow moulvie brought out a reply to Pfander's *Miftah-al-Asrar* (Key of Secrets), called *Kashf-al-Astar* (Revealing of Things Hidden). Pfander rejoined by issuing the *Hall-al-Ishkal* (Solution of Difficulties); and this was followed by a public discussion held at Lucknow in 1848. Then the moulvies of Agra and Delhi united in a thorough study of Christian books, including commentaries and other critical works and the writings of German neologians; and at length an elaborate quarto volume appeared, entitled *Azalat-al-Anham* (Destroyer of Imaginations), and also a smaller book, *Ibtal-i-Tathlith* (Refutation of the Trinity), both written by a young but eminent moulvie at Delhi, Rahmat Allah. He received help in preparing these works from a sub-assistant surgeon, Wazir Khan; and these two, encouraged by the consciousness of familiarity with various critical difficulties connected with the text of the Bible, challenged Pfander and French to a public discussion at Agra, chiefly on the subject of "the Abrogation and Corruption of the Christian Scriptures."

The great
discussion
at Agra.

This discussion is one of the famous incidents in the history of Missions in India. The scene was a striking one. The meeting took place in the C.M.S. school in the Kuttra, the mission compound in the city. In that enclosure was to be seen the house once occupied by the first C.M.S. agent in India, Abdul Masih, Henry Martyn's convert from Islam and Bishop Heber's first Indian clergyman, and the balcony from which he used to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ; and close by was the church built by Daniel Corrie when chaplain at Agra. The schoolroom was crowded with Mohammedans, sitting cross-legged on the floor. On one side sat Rahmat Allah and Wazir Khan, and behind them a band of assistant students in the controversy; opposite were Pfander and French and their brethren. Piles of English and German works, Horne, Michaelis, Strauss, and others, lay in front of the Moslem champions; and the burthen of their attacks proved to be the various readings in the MSS. of the Scriptures. The points adduced are familiar enough to even elementary Bible students in Europe; but the moulvies had got hints of very damaging criticisms of the Bible, and

had spared no pains to search them out. And from whom did they get these hints? It is a humiliating fact that they received them from the Roman Catholic bishop and priests; and the suggestions offered from that quarter were illustrated by the denunciations of Luther and other Reformers that enlivened the speeches of the Mohammedan disputants. The discussion lasted two days, and, as might be expected, both sides claimed the victory.* But not many years afterwards, two of the assistant moulvies, who at that discussion heard for the first time the Christian argument put verbally by faithful servants of Christ, came out and embraced the Gospel. One is Moulvie Safdar Ali, Extra Assistant Inspector in the Education Department; the other is the Rev. Imad-ud-din, D.D., of Amritsar. Both have now for thirty years steadfastly witnessed to the truth that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Saviour of men. Rahmat Allah never surrendered to Christ. Thirty-seven years after, just when Bishop French landed in Arabia, on one side, at Muscat, he arrived on the other side of Arabia, at Mecca; and within a fortnight of one another, both passed into eternity.

We shall meet Pfander again at Peshawar. His later work at Constantinople we have already seen. Some years after his death, French, preaching at Cheltenham, said:—

“Dr. Pfander was a master of practical, straightforward Christian controversy, and far out-topped all the missionaries of his day as the Christian champion against Islam. He has passed away, but the stir and movement he excited has not passed. He has left an imperishable monument of his life's labours, and bequeaths a rich legacy to other ages of the Church, in his clear, strong, unembellished statements of Christian truth and refutation of Mohammedan error. It was no small privilege I had in being the disciple of Pfander, a worthy successor of the heroic Henry Martyn.”†

A long way south of the Gangetic Valley which we have been traversing in thought, and almost in the very centre of India, we find a new station, only opened in 1854, Jabalpur or Jubbulpore. It is now in the administrative division called the Central Provinces, but this division had not been formed at our period; and it is also now an important station on the great railway from Calcutta to Bombay. Like so many other Indian Mission stations, its establishment is due to Government officials on the spot. In 1851, the district judge, Mr. Mosley Smith, began to invite Hindus to his own house, and there read and taught the Bible to them. In conjunction with an earnest chaplain, Mr. Dawson, he raised a fund to start a regular Mission, and then applied to the C.M.S. for a man. In 1853, a Prussian catechist who had come to India under Gossner's Mission, J. W. Rebsch, was engaged

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Roman
priests
help the
Moslems.

Results in
after years.

French on
Pfander.

Central
Provinces:
Jabalpur.

* Pfander's account of the Discussion is printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1854.

† *Life of Bp. French*, vol. i. p. 70. One important result of Pfander's influence was Sir W. Muir writing his great *Life of Mohammed*.

PART VI. and sent to Jabalpur. Two years later E. C. Stuart, French's
1849-61. Agra comrade, proceeded thither; and him we find in charge at
Chap. 42. the date of our survey. Through Rebsch's instrumentality the
first-fruits of the Mission had already been gathered, in the
persons of a learned Brahman pundit and his wife, who first
learned the Gospel some years before from a book given him at
the Hurdwar *mela* by an unknown missionary. "One soweth, and
another reapeth." *

Western
India.

Leaving the Punjab for a separate chapter, we may now come to the Bombay Presidency. And in doing so, we may defer Sindh also, although it is part of that Presidency, because, being in the Diocese of Lahore, it is now coupled with the Punjab as a mission-field, and because its annexation and missionary occupation nearly synchronize with the annexation and missionary occupation of the Punjab. It is true that if Sindh is excluded, the Bombay Presidency hardly comes under the head of North India; but still less does it belong to the South, and therefore it has to be included in this chapter.

Bombay :
Dr. John
Wilson.

The Bombay Mission-field was, during the period now under review, dominated in no small degree by one great personality, that of Dr. John Wilson, of the Free Church of Scotland. Though Wilson was not, like Duff, the apostle of a particular method of missionary work with which his name is for ever associated, he was as great a man as Duff, and in some respects a greater. While not disapproving of Duff's English education as a Mission agency, he rather threw himself into vernacular work, using Marathi, Gujerati, Hindustani, and Portuguese; with Persian, Arabic, and Sanscrit for classical study,—all which languages he himself mastered. He had accomplished colleagues in R. Nesbit and J. Murray Mitchell. His *Life*, the first published of those brilliant biographies which Dr. George Smith has given to the Church of Christ, affords the best view of Bombay as a sphere of Christian enterprise in the 'forties and 'fifties.† The C.M.S. Mission, to which our present survey has to be confined, was, and is, but a small agency in Western India and its capital. But there were some good men at work. The Secretary of the Mission was the Rev. George Candy, formerly an officer in the Bombay army, then an S.P.G. missionary whom we have before met as the "beloved brother" of the C.M.S. missionaries, and then, with the consent of the S.P.G., taken into C.M.S. service. The important Robert Money School had lost two Principals in succession by death, G. M. Valentine, a choice Cambridge man long and deeply lamented, and T. Jerrom, a scarcely less choice Islington man, whose widow worked zealously for eleven years in

C.M.S.
Mission.

Money
School.

* An interesting sketch of the origin and history of the Jabalpur Mission, written by another Christian pundit, appeared in the *C.M. Glaner* of November, 1881.

† *Life of John Wilson of Bombay*, by George Smith, LL.D. London, 1878.

Bombay after his death, and whose daughters also did good service, one as Mrs. E. Rogers in the same Mission, and one in the Punjab. Another lady must be mentioned, Miss C. White, whose name is not on the Society's roll, because she was born in India and was locally engaged, but whose girls' schools were for many years one of the brightest agencies in the city. The other missionaries, as so often in small Missions, were frequently compelled by the exigencies of sickness or furloughs to exchange spheres of labour. There were C. C. Mengé, J. S. S. Robertson, E. Rogers, W. Salter Price, A. Davidson, and A. H. Frost; all Islington men except Frost, who had been a Cambridge Wrangler and Yorkshire Incumbent, and who afterwards became an Islington man in another sense, being Principal of the College from 1870 to 1874. He was a great itinerating missionary, and worked with much zeal and perseverance the system of systematic village itineration usually identified with Ragland's name. But senior to all these was C. W. Isenberg, the companion of Krapf in Abyssinia,* who, when they were expelled from that country, had been transferred to Bombay, where he laboured for many years with true German thoroughness and simplicity.† The Bombay Mission also owed another German brother to the East Africa Mission in the person of J. G. Deimler, who had been appointed to work with Krapf and Rebmann, but was transferred to India before he could enter on that service, and for many years carried on a special Mission among the Mohammedans. How Western India in after years more than repaid the debt to East Africa by sending there W. S. Price and his "Nasik boys," we shall see hereafter.

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Frost.

Isenberg.

Deimler.

Price at
Nasik.

Memorial
of high
officials to
C.M.S.

The stations occupied besides Bombay were Nasik, Junir, and Malegam in Khandesh, all on the table-land of the Deccan. Near Nasik, Price founded the well-known agricultural and industrial settlement of Sharanpur, which became a village colony of Native Christians, and in after years the refuge of liberated African slaves. But the Western India Mission was, and always has been, a small one as compared with those in North and South India. Not for lack of influential appeals from the field. In 1855, for instance, a remarkable memorial was sent to the Society, signed by the Bishop (John Harding), the Archdeacon, Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy; Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, Commissioner of Sindh; six other high Government officials, ten less prominent officials, twenty-three military officers, eleven merchants, and seven chaplains. This memorial said:—

"We plead on behalf of fifteen millions of the unevangelized Natives of this land. . . . We grant that conversions are yet few; but the preparatory work is steadily advancing; inquiry spreads: missionaries are

* See Chapter XXIV.

† See *Biography of Rev. Charles Isenberg*, by Dr. Gundert of Basle; English Translation published by C.M.S., 1885.

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welcomed. Everything invites to fresh effort. The Lord is assuredly calling us to preach the Gospel unto this people, and we venture therefore to add, in the language of urgent solicitation with the Society, 'Arise; for this matter belongeth unto thee; we also will be with thee; be of good courage, and do it.'*

What might not the Mission have done if Christian England had enabled the Society to respond to this appeal! Moreover, although it was true that "conversions were yet few," there had been some very notable ones. Deeply-interesting accounts of high-class converts of the Scotch Mission, from Parseeism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism, are given in the Biography of Dr. John Wilson. The C.M.S. gleanings included, prior to 1850, Daji Pandurang, Ram Krishna Antaji, Sorabji Kharsedji, and Appaji Bapuji; and in that year was reported the baptism of Shankar Balawant; and in 1856, that of Ruttonji Nowroji. Sorabji and Ruttonji were Parsees; the other four were Brahmans. All except Ruttonji were the fruit of educational work. All became zealous evangelists, and all, except Ram Krishna, who died before his proposed ordination rejoicing in Christ, became clergymen of the Church of England and faithful ministers of the Gospel. The narratives of their conversions, and of the terrible ordeal of domestic persecution through which they passed, are very moving. No human agency could have produced such results; the grace of God alone achieved them. The only survivor now is Ruttonji, whose remarkable work at Aurangabad is well known, and whose visit to England a few years ago will be remembered by many; but Sorabji lives on still in his revered widow and brilliant daughters. George Valentine's career in India was a short one; but if he did nothing else than bring Sorabji to Christ, he did a great and blessed work for his Divine Master.†

The connexion of converts with one another is always interesting, and continually illustrates our dependence for success, under God, upon their mutual influence. Shankar was brought to Christ by Ram Krishna. Ruttonji was a member of a deistical society at Ahmednagar, consisting of young men dissatisfied with their ancestral creeds; which society was visited in 1856 by Pundit Nehemiah, W. Smith's famous convert at Benares before mentioned, who brought them the true Gospel. Several were baptized in their own town by the American missionaries there; but Ruttonji was sent away by his friends to Nasik. There, however, he came across Sorabji, who brought him to W. S. Price, and the three prayed together daily for three months, until at length Ruttonji took up his cross, and left all to follow Christ.

* *C.M.S. Report*, 1855, *Appendix*, p. 184.

† An interesting sketch of the late Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji, by his friend the Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1894. A beautiful booklet by his daughter, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, B.A., *How an Indian Clergyman Died*, is published by the C.M.S.

Notable
converts:

Two
Parsees
and four
Brahmans.

One con-
vert brings
or helps
another.

After reading this chapter, will any one wonder that those among the English officers and civilians in India who were truly Christian men were forward to advance such a work by their influence and their contributions, and thus to take their part in winning to Christ such converts as have now passed before us? And be it borne in mind that we have been reviewing the less flourishing of the India Missions. Far more visibly successful were those in the South, to be noticed in the next chapter. But we have seen enough now to justify those godly men whose energy had started most of the Mission stations, and whose subscriptions to the work going on under their eyes were on a scale almost unknown in England. In 1854, for example, taking that year at random, the amount contributed by English friends in the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies alone exceeded £14,000. And in the army, it was not the officers only that subscribed. In 1851, the Queen's 18th Regiment sent to the Calcutta C.M.S. office a contribution to the Krishnagar Mission, and the 70th Regiment made a collection towards starting the Punjab Mission. In 1859, Robert Clark wrote from Peshawar that *five hundred privates* at that station alone were giving from 3s. to 24s. each to Missions; and that many of them were meeting every night for prayer, and never forgot to pray for the Heathen around them. When an Anglo-Indian scoffs at Missions, as many do, the real question is, Has he sufficient interest in Christ himself to know or care anything about the extension of Christ's Kingdom?

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Sympathy
and help
from
English
officers,

and from
English
soldiers.

CHAPTER XLIII.

INDIA: THE MISSIONS IN THE SOUTH.

The Madras Secretaries—Bilderbeck—Harris School—Telugu Mission: Noble's First Converts—Tinnevely: John Thomas at Mengnana-puram; Educational Institutions; Bishop Dealtry's Visits; The Rev. Paul Daniel; Bishop Smith on John Devasagayam—North Tinnevely: Ragland's Plans; the Itinerant Mission; Ragland's Death; the Revival—Travancore: Native Clergy and the Syrian Church; Peet and Hawksworth; the Slaves, and the Hill Arrians.

"Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water."—Josh. xv. 19.

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Progress
in South
India.



WE now pass from Bengal and Bombay to the Madras Presidency; and as the Mutiny did not touch South India, we need not here limit our researches to the years before 1857. We find the work in the South much more forward. In this year, 1857, the returns show that in the four South Indian fields, Madras, the Telugu country, Tinnevely, and Travancore, there are 35,000 Christian adherents, including 10,000 catechumens; that there are 5540 communicants; and that there are 11,000 children in the schools. It is the Tinnevely Mission that is especially growing; but in Travancore also there is steady progress. The Committee in their Reports again and again warn their friends, however, not to boast of numbers, nor to picture to themselves large communities composed only of exemplary Christians. The too common notion that missionary reports dwell unduly on the brighter side, and thus mislead the reader as to the realities of the case, finds no warrant in those prepared year by year by Henry Venn.

Secretaries
at Madras.

The Secretaryship of these Missions, at Madras, was held during our period, by Ragland, for six years; by the Rev. N. J. Moody, an Oxford man, for a year and a half; when his health failed, by Colonel C. A. Browne, a devoted Christian officer and member of the Madras Committee, who threw himself into the breach in the emergency; then, temporarily also, by the Rev. W. Knight, one of the Secretaries at home, who had been sent out to Ceylon and India on special business; and then for several years by the Rev. P. S. Royston, who had been Tutor at the C.M. College, and in after years became Bishop of Mauritius. Royston's sister kept house for him, and this sister eventually married a future

Royston
and Gray.



REV. J. THOMAS.



REV. H. W. FOX.



REV. T. G. RAGLAND



REV. C. B. LEUPOLT.



REV. T. SANDYS.

J. Thomas, Tinnevely, 1836-1870.
 H. W. Fox, South India, 1841-1848.
 T. G. Ragland, South India, 1845-1858.
 C. B. Leupolt, North India, 1832-1872.
 T. Sandys, North India, 1830-1871.

Secretary, a Dublin graduate of distinction, who had come out to Madras as Vice-Principal of an institution for Eurasian boys, called the Doveton College—the Rev. William Gray. He joined the C.M.S. on New Year's Day, 1858. There was also a Lay Secretary at Madras for three or four years, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Theodore T. Ford, subsequently Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements.

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The missionary work in the city of Madras suffered by frequent changes and losses of missionaries. But there was one there at this time who laboured twenty years without break, a very remarkable man, the Rev. John Bilderbeck. He was originally a Portuguese Eurasian, a Roman Catholic, and was educated for the priesthood; but he came under the influence of the London Missionary Society's Mission, and was converted to a more scriptural Christianity. He was ordained by Bishop Spencer in 1843, and two years later he joined the C.M.S. He was a rather eccentric, but most devoted missionary to the Tamils, whose language was his own vernacular. The Madras Committee found it the wisest course to leave him alone, and let him work in his own way; but thus left, he did the work of two men. When he came to England in 1858, Venn wrote of him, "He was apostolic in his sentiments and manner, and electrified the whole Committee." Another who should be noted was J. G. Seymer, an Oxford graduate, totally blind, who went out under the C.M.S., then became professor in the S.P.G. College, and afterwards rejoined the C.M.S., and did valuable literary work in Tamil. Excellent woman's service was fulfilled by Miss C. C. Giberne, who was mentioned in a former chapter in connexion with Tinnevely.

Bilderbeck.

In 1855, an important agency was initiated for reaching the Mohammedans of Madras, who had been much neglected. Twelve years before, the Society had received a legacy of £1200 from the Hon. Sybella Harris, to be devoted to such work; and at length the Harris School for young Mohammedans was started, in a temporary house. On January 10th, 1856, the first stone of a permanent building was laid by Lord Harris, nephew of the testatrix, then Governor of Madras. A Yorkshire clergyman who had been a schoolmaster, the Rev. Luke Cradock, went out as Principal. The work proved for many years very disheartening. Education has never attracted the Moslems as it has the Hindus; and the number of boys attending was very small, while those who did attend seemed hardened against all Christian influence. With this School, in after years, was associated the Rev. E. Sell, now so well known as one of the first living authorities on Islam.

Harris
School.

The new Mission in the Telugu country, which had been begun by Fox and Noble, was still reported on in 1854, when twelve years old, as "in an incipient state." Even in 1857, Robert Noble was the only English missionary there (i.e. sent out from

Telugu
Mission.

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Workers
and fruits.

Village
converts.

Noble's
School.

The first
two con-
verts.

England). Two had come home after short periods of service, and two others, C. Tanner and F. W. N. Alexander, only went out in that year. But there were two excellent clergymen born in India and locally engaged, J. E. Sharkey and T. Y. Darling, upon whom rested the chief burden of the work. About one hundred and fifty people were the result of fifteen years' labours; but the very first convert, baptized in 1844, "a young man remarkable for industry, honesty, and the diligent study of the Bible," had fallen into sin and gone back to Heathenism, and there was little to indicate the great ingathering which God was to give the Mission in after years. There were, however, good schools. Besides Noble's School at Masulipatam, Mrs. Sharkey was carrying on an excellent girls' school in the same town; and an English School on Noble's plan had been started at Ellore. A third station, Bezwada, was the centre of an itinerating district; and from it a particularly interesting work began in 1860. Mr. Darling was preaching at a *mela*, when six men of the Mala caste, or rather out-caste, who had heard of Christ though they had never before seen a missionary, came to him for instruction. They came from the village of Raghavapuram, near the borders of the territories of the Nizam of Hyderabad; and their leader's name was Venkayya. A widespread movement was the result, which has since brought many hundreds of people into the Christian Church.

Meanwhile, Noble himself was patiently working on among his boys. Clear and faithful were his Bible lessons; loving and attractive was his personal influence. Almost from the first, many of the scholars evinced manifest interest; the conduct of not a few showed the moral power of the Word of God upon their consciences; and Noble never doubted that in due time some would receive grace to make an open confession of Christ. In 1847 one boy of high caste asked for baptism; but the mere fact of his doing so caused the immediate withdrawal of most of the scholars, while the boy himself was carried off by his friends to a distant town, and there died. Noble, however, always regarded him as the first-fruit of the School. As he had not been baptized, the scholars soon came back, and the work went on. At last, five years later, and nearly nine years after the first opening of the School, it pleased God to give His servant the joy of admitting two of his oldest and finest pupils into the Church of Christ. These two were Manchala Ratnam and Ainala Bhushanam.

Ratnam was a Brahman; Bhushanam was a Vellama, a high division of the Sudras, almost as exclusive (in South India) as the Brahmans. Both had for four or five years manifested their faith in Christ and desired baptism; but their youth was an obstacle, and Noble was determined on acting with even excessive caution. They were now both nineteen years of age, and of course married men. On July 29th, 1852, they fled from their homes spon-

taneously, came to Noble's house, and asked for protection and for baptism. That night they were taken before the magistrate, Mr. J. D. Lushington, who decided "that he could not interfere further than to secure the peace, as evidently the youths were of full age, in their right minds, and voluntary agents." On August 1st, Saturday night, they were admitted into the Church by baptism. Next week the School was almost empty, only four attending out of ninety-two scholars. On August 12th, another young Brahman asked to be baptized. The public excitement was now beyond control. An infuriated crowd pulled down the railings of Noble's compound, and attacked his house; but the police arrived, and dispersed the people. The third convert, when brought before the magistrate, gave in, and "went away sorrowful"; but Ratnam and Bhushanam stood steadfast, despite heart-rending trials. Bhushanam's father came again and again after him, crying bitterly, "My son, my son, would that thou hadst died! Oh, my son, my son!" Five months after, Noble wrote, "The two dear young men have been going on in every way satisfactorily. They are delightful characters, full of humility, patience, and faith." Two years passed away before the School fully recovered its position; but gradually Brahmans, Vellamas, and Mohammedans again filled its class-rooms. Then in 1855, three more converts forsook all and followed Christ, viz., S. Mulaya and G. Krishnayya, Brahmans, and Jani Alli, a Mohammedan. Again the School emptied; but this time its recovery only took two or three months.

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Their
baptism

and trials.

Three
more con-
verts.

What became of these five young men? Mulaya was drowned in the great cyclone of 1864, as we shall see by-and-by. All the other four became faithful ministers of Christ and of the Church of England. And there were yet "more to follow." So far we are only at the beginning of the Telugu Mission.

Turning back again southward from Madras, we come to the large Christian community of Tinnevely. We left it in the 'forties a persecuted but growing Church. We now find it less persecuted, and still growing. In 1855 there were 375 village congregations, comprising 27,000 adherents of the C.M.S. Mission, of whom about two-thirds were baptized, and nearly 4000 communicants. There were now nine distinct Mission districts (not including North Tinnevely, to be mentioned presently), viz., Palamecotta, Mengnanapuram, Kadachapuram, Suviseshapuram, Dohnavur, Paneivelei, Panikulam, Nallur, and Surandei. The veterans, P. P. Schaffter, John Thomas, J. T. Tucker, E. Sargent, W. Clark, were still at work, the four latter in the prime of their missionary career; while of younger men there were J. Pickford, A. B. Valpy, H. Dixon, &c. One district, Kadachapuram, was in the independent charge of a Native clergyman, the first ordained in South India, John Devasagayam; whose dark face and white surplice, as he ministered to the people sitting on the floor of his

Progress
in Tinne-
vely.

John
Devasa-
gayam.

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commodious but simple church, were presented for many years on the C.M.S. missionary-boxes, and became familiar to thousands of young and old, rich and poor, in our English parishes. Eight other Tamils had been ordained, and all were working well; one of them the son of John Devasagayam himself, and known for forty years as the Rev. Jesudasen John.

Palamcottah, being the seat of government of the province, was the headquarters of the whole Mission, and the chief educational institutions were there; but of the Christian villages and village districts the most interesting were Paneivelei and Mengnanapuram, the scenes respectively of the labours of J. T. Tucker and John Thomas. Let us look at the latter.

John
Thomas at
Mengnanapuram.

John Thomas landed in India on Christmas Day, 1836. On the next Christmas Day he preached his first Tamil sermon in a little "prayer-house," built, like others,* on the site of a devil-temple, and with its materials—the step to the church being *the old stone idol turned face downwards*. That prayer-house was at one of the new little Christian settlements founded by Rhenius's *Dharma Sangam* (Philanthropic Society),† and named Mengnanapuram, or Village of True Wisdom. In that village John Thomas laboured for exactly one-third of a century, until his death in March, 1870. It had few external attractions. It was in the midst of a sandy desert, over which the wind swept, parching up the country, and enveloping everything in clouds of dust and sand. The Natives called it *saba nilam*, "soil under a curse." Thomas at once dug wells, and quickly created an oasis; and very soon, both physically and spiritually, the desert rejoiced and blossomed as a rose. Not without labour; not without prayer; not without opposition and persecution, encouraged by the subordinate Heathen magistrates. "A substantial bribe," wrote Thomas, "would always keep them silent, even though a murder were committed, as I have often known to be the case"; but as bribes were not given by Christian converts, they could scarcely hope for justice. This, however, did not stop the work; and in 1847, after ten years' labour, Thomas had the joy of seeing an outward and visible sign of the progress of the Gospel in the opening of his splendid church, with its tower and tall spire, which remains to this day the finest in South India. Like a true Welshman as he was, he named it St. David's.‡ Meanwhile the spiritual Church of living souls was rising too, and when, in 1857, Thomas reviewed his work for twenty years, he was able to tell of 5500 Christians in that district alone, and of all the organization of a large and scattered rural parish—large and scattered indeed, for it comprised more than one hundred villages. Two years later, there were over 10,000 adherents.

St. David's
Church.

"I cannot account," he wrote, "for the great change in the moral

* See Vol. I., p. 323.

† *Ibid.*, p. 318.

‡ It was of a service in this church that Bishop Cotton, long afterwards, wrote his memorable and graphic description. See Chapter LIX.

wilderness around me, compared with what it was twenty-one years ago, upon any other principle than that of a Divine and gracious influence poured upon us from on high. The full attendance at our churches and prayer-houses—the attentive and solemn interest with which our people listen to the preached word—the increase in the number of our communicants—the far higher standard of attainments and piety among the catechists—the vigorous working of our schools by a trained agency—the intelligent piety of the younger members of our congregations—all these show most clearly that the work is the Lord's; and considering all things, it is marvellous in our eyes."

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—
Whence
came the
fruits?

Much the same could be said of the other districts, in their measure. Let us just notice one evidence of life, the contributions of the Native Christians. They increased year by year till in 1860 they exceeded £1000, mostly collected in minute sums by means of small earthen collecting *pots*, which were annually broken to remove the contents. In one of the less forward districts, Dohnavur, it is mentioned that there were 300 of these pots out. And the gifts were not wholly for their own Church funds. When Bishop Smith of Victoria (Hong Kong) visited Tinnevely, he expressed a hope, at a meeting of Native agents, that one day the Tamil Christians might help the work in his Chinese diocese. Two pastors at once rose and informed him that in the Kadachapuram district, under John Devasagayam, collections had been made that very year in aid of the C.M.S. China Mission.

Contribu-
tions of the
Christians.

The Society felt that the prosperity and growth of the Native Church of Tinnevely depended mainly, under God, upon the Native clergy and catechists and schoolmasters; and every effort was made to train them well. There was now no Divinity School at Madras for South India generally; and it was thought that for a large and simple village population men trained chiefly in the vernacular Tamil would be the most suitable. A Preparandi Institution was therefore established, under Sargent's charge, at Palameotta, and also a Training Institution and Normal School for schoolmasters under T. Spratt; and Seminaries for Christian boys were maintained at several stations, not only for their own sake, but as feeders to these Institutions. Mr. Cruickshanks's English School was different, being mainly for Heathen boys, with evangelistic purpose. The Institutions were strictly for *education*, not for *instruction* only; that is to say, the students themselves engaged regularly in evangelistic preaching and other similar work under their teachers' guidance, to prepare them for future service. In 1858, a corresponding institution for training female teachers was established by means of a fund raised in memory of Miss Sarah Tucker, sister of John Tucker of Madras. Another interesting Girls' School, at Mengnanapuram, was named the "Elliott Tuxford School," in memory of the deceased wife of E. B. Elliott of Brighton, formerly Vicar of Tuxford. In the various villages, simpler vernacular schools for boys and girls were set on foot; and in 1857 the Government Inspector specially

Training
of Native
agents.

Girls'
Schools.

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Tamil
Christians
address the
Queen.

commended to the notice of the Madras authorities "the efforts of both the great missionary societies"—for the S.P.G. was doing the same work in its own districts—"as being full of promise."

In 1850, the Tinnevely Christians, connected with both the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. Missions, sent an address to the Queen, "expressing their gratitude for the benefits they had derived from the Christian teaching which Her Majesty's English subjects had afforded them." It was forwarded by John Devasagayam, and in due course he received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating that "although the formalities of a Court did not allow of a reply to such addresses," "the communication was most gratifying to the Queen."

Bishop
Dealtry's
confirma-
tions,

The Episcopal Visitations in Tinnevely have always been interesting. Those of Bishop Dealtry of Madras were especially valued. Not only was he in spiritual character a true father in God, but his long experience as chaplain and archdeacon at Calcutta made his judgment on practical missionary problems most valuable. The first was in 1851, when he confirmed at ten C.M.S. stations 2563 candidates, and at five S.P.G. stations 982 candidates. Let us hear the Bishop's opinion of them :—

"I was especially struck with the readiness with which the candidates replied to the questions proposed to them during my address. I generally arranged my address as systematically as possible, for the express purpose of assisting the memory of my hearers; and I was almost always surprised and gratified at the accuracy with which they repeated the facts, explanations, reasonings, doctrines, duties, &c., when catechized upon the subjects subsequently. It showed me, not only that they had been attentive hearers of the Word, but that they had an extensive knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. I confess that my heart was often filled with gratitude, and I thought how few congregations in the populous villages in England could have answered with equal credit to the interrogatories."

and ordi-
nations.

Five well-tried Tamil catechists (C.M.S.) received deacon's orders, and two Tamil deacons (C.M.S.) priest's orders, on this occasion, in the church at Palamcotta. The examining chaplains were Caldwell (S.P.G.) and Ragland (C.M.S.); and the former wrote of two of the men :—

"They acquitted themselves in a manner which would do credit to European candidates for the ministry, which was quite surprising in them, considering that they were unacquainted with English, and had but few educational advantages. Both seemed to speak and write with the heartiness and power of men who had experienced in themselves the truth of what they taught."

Bishop Dealtry thus summed up his general impressions :—

The
Bishop's
testimony.

"I must express to you the grateful emotions and feelings which have been called forth in visiting your Missions. It has exceeded all that I had anticipated. When I think of the throngs which flocked to the different churches, literally 'as doves to their windows'; of the earnest and devout manner in which they entered into the services of the Church, both in the responses, in the prayers, and in singing to the

praise and glory of God; when I think of the fixed look and attentive manner with which they listened to the word of exhortation; and the intelligence they manifested in the readiness of their replies when appealed to in confirmation of any doctrine, and of their knowledge of any Scripture statement; when, moreover, I call to mind the numbers of intelligent catechists and schoolmasters, the crowds of young people, male and female, in the schools; when I look at the churches, mission-houses, school-rooms, prayer-houses, &c., which have arisen throughout these districts—I say, If there is not reality, actual experience of Christian truth, in all this, then there is no such thing as reality in the world: all that we have taken for it is a name, a shadow, a delusion. But I am satisfied that it is a real and abiding work—the work of God, the power of His grace, the putting forth of His almighty arm in the sight of the nations, as in days of old.”

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Three years later, the Bishop again visited Tinnevely, and confirmed nearly 4000 candidates from the two Societies; and again he wrote of the “cheering and delightful scenes” he had witnessed. A third visit was in 1856, when he was accompanied by the Rev. W. Knight, one of the C.M.S. Secretaries at home, then on a visit to India. On this occasion the ordination was held at Mengnanapuram, in the great church built by John Thomas; and both the Bishop and Mr. Knight sent graphic accounts of the ceremony. Eighteen hundred persons were present, including Native clergymen and catechists (C.M.S. and S.P.G.) from all parts of the province, and the students from the training institutions of both Societies. The ordination office, translated into Tamil, was printed and put into the hands of all the congregation. The service lasted four hours, and included two sermons, one in English (and interpreted) by Mr. Knight, and one in Tamil by the Rev. A. F. Caemmerer, an able S.P.G. missionary. Next day, Sunday, one of the newly-ordained deacons, Paul Daniel, preached at the early morning service, on Rom. viii. 1, a sermon which seems to have created an immense impression. It is interesting to see what the veteran Tamil clergyman, John Devasagayam, thought of his younger and newly-ordained fellow cleric. He said to Knight, “He has got what you call eloquence, Sir. He expresses his ideas in rich, suitable words. I give a thousand thanks to the Lord. It was a pure Gospel sermon, Sir. His exposition of the doctrine of the Cross, and the work of the Spirit, was beautiful.” Of this remarkable man, Paul Daniel, a word must be said. He was one of Rhenius’s converts five-and-twenty years before, and without ever having any regular training (for there were no institutions then) he became one of the ablest preachers and most devoted evangelists Tinnevely ever had; for many years as catechist, and then for four years as pastor. He died in 1860 of cholera, three days after visiting a poor woman attacked by that fell disease. Mr. Thomas’s account of him is very interesting. While a catechist, he was wont to use the instruction he received “with astonishing felicity and freshness.” After his ordination

Interesting
ordination
at Meng-
nanapu-
ram.

Rev. Paul
Daniel.

PART VI. he was stationed at Saththankulam. Mr. Thomas thus describes
1849-61. his preaching:—
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His re-
markable
power as a
preacher.

Two of his
sermons.

"As that district was under my care, I had to visit it monthly, for the purpose of administering the Lord's Supper. On those occasions I always left one of the sermons to Paul, and I can truly say that I never listened with such unfeigned pleasure to any other preacher. He was a profound divine, handling the most difficult questions with astonishing ease and clearness. Some of his sermons have made a lasting impression upon my mind—one especially, from the words, 'Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth.' No master in Israel ever handled the subject of God's sovereignty and the election of grace, on the one hand, with man's accountability on the other, with more accurate nicety than he did. The impression upon my mind was, This man is at perfect ease when descanting upon the mysteries of religion, and has penetrated further within the veil than any one I ever met before. And again he preached another remarkable sermon from the words, 'Who, for the joy that was set before Him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.' Never shall I forget it, and never did I feel so entirely subdued as when he described the shame which Jesus endured in order to save sinners. Nor did I ever feel so transported to the 'heavenly places' as when he described the glory which the Saviour received as the reward of His sufferings. It was the last sermon I heard from him, and I never expect to hear such a sermon again."

These two sermons were not exceptional:—

"Mighty
in the
Scrip-
tures."

"He was mighty in the Scriptures, and quoted, memoriter, verse after verse, throughout his sermon, from every part of the sacred volume with perfect ease, without ever once referring to his Bible. He never took so much as a scrap of paper to the pulpit in the form of notes, and yet he always rigidly adhered to his text. His imagination was fertile, his resources in illustration inexhaustible; his language clear, copious, appropriate, and euphonious in the highest degree, and abounding in alliteration, which is considered a great beauty in Tamil. One of the Native Christians, when referring to his preaching after his death, remarked to me, that his words passed out of his mouth like pearls upon a string; referring, I doubt not, to the beauty and regularity with which they followed one another."

And what was his personal character?—

Personal
character.

"Paul within was a most humble man, sincere and loving, and his great gifts and abilities never proved in any degree a snare to him. This was a charming feature in his character, and secured for him universal respect and esteem, both from Europeans and Natives. It may be asked, Whence had this man these wonderful gifts and graces? My only answer is, From the fountain of all knowledge, wisdom, and grace: from the Spirit of Jehovah, through the Holy Bible. Not, however, without earnest effort upon his part, for he was a most diligent and indefatigable student, especially of God's Word. He was also a man of prayer. You felt that, as soon as he knelt down and opened his lips in supplication, he was engaged in no strange work, but in that which was familiar to him: he was in his element."

This remarkable man "knew not a word of English, and had never been in any theological institution." Yet Mr. Thomas said, "If such sermons as were preached by Paul Daniel were delivered

in any pulpit in London, the church would be crowded to overflowing." Here is a man whose name is totally unknown to the Christian public, even to the most interested and diligent of the students of Missions. Can anything more remarkable, and more encouraging, be conceived, than to come across the records of such a man when digging into the old archives of the Society?

One other ordination was held by Bishop Dealtry, in 1859. No less than eight Tamils belonging to the C.M.S. Mission then received deacons' orders, thus doubling the band of Native clergy in one day. Among these were men well known in after years, Perianayagam Arumanayagam, Devanagayam Viravagu, Vedhanayagam Viravagu, Joseph Cornelius, and W. T. Sathianadhan. This ordination was held at J. T. Tucker's station, Paneivelei, a most suitable place just then, when in that one district, in that one year, 900 persons had renounced Heathenism and come under Christian instruction.

At this point it will be interesting to introduce an extract from an account by Bishop George Smith, of Victoria (Hong Kong), of a visit paid by him to Tinnevely, during a four months' run from China to India in 1853. It describes the external appearance of the Tamil clergy and catechists, and incidentally notices old John Devasagayam :—

"There is a marked difference in appearance between the teachers and other men in the neatness of their dress. The catechists, instead of the loose, scanty garment of the common people, wear a long, flowing, white cotton dress, buttoned up on one side, and forming an approximation to a class of Native gentry. The Native clergy ordinarily dress like the catechists, with the simple addition of a black band, instead of a white one, around their waists. . . . It was a pleasant employment, later in the evening, to accompany John Devasagayam, as he sallied forth—with firm step and energy of body and mind, though sixty-seven years old—into the adjoining villages and lanes, attired in his simple white dress, with the clerical badge of thin black waistband, trudging along bare-footed over the sandy soil; and, at every turning of the road, to witness the sudden effect on the people of his appearance among them. He had a word of reproof for this man, an encouragement for that, and kind speeches for all whom he met. But if any signs of slovenliness or dirt met his eye, or any appearance of negligence recurred to his mind, there were lectures in store for the villagers and the catechist at their head.

"The old man unites in a remarkable way the simplicity of the Cross with an European firmness and determination of spirit. His father was the pupil of Schwartz at Trichinopoly, but afterwards removed to Tranquebar, where the son became the pupil of Schwartz's colleague, Dr. John, from whom our aged friend received his name, and is now generally known in the Church Missionary Society's Mission as Mr. John. He appears to infuse a spiritual-mindedness and vigour of Christian principle into all around him, and has the reputation of being a very strict disciplinarian in his superintendence of the catechists. At this time the poor old man was in great trouble, from the proselytizing conduct of the Romish padres, who admitted to their communion all the unworthy members of his flock on whom he felt himself called to exercise discipline."

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More Na-
tive clergy.

Bishop
Smith on
the Native
pastors and
catechists.

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North Tin-
nevelly.

Different
circum-
stances
and diffe-
rent needs.

So far we have been looking at the southern (and larger) half of the Province of Tinnevelly. But in the north there is a considerable district of quite a different character, just as in Yorkshire (which is about the size of Tinnevelly) the dales in the north-west are very different from the great central plain. In that northern district scarcely a single palmyra-tree is to be seen, and therefore there are found in it very few of the Shanar caste, or palmyra-climbers, from among whom the great majority of the Tinnevelly Christians were gathered. It follows that the profession of Christianity did not spread into the north by family influence, as it did in the central and southern districts; and as a matter of fact, there was no Mission station in the north at all. When visiting Tinnevelly as Madras Secretary for the whole South India Mission, Ragland observed this, and it led him to form a definite and new plan for the evangelization of North Tinnevelly.

The missionaries already at work in the regular districts had gradually, owing to the large increase in the Christian population, become virtually what might be called chief pastors. They were mainly, and necessarily, occupied with the guidance of Native evangelists, the superintendence of schools, and the instruction of the congregations. But North Tinnevelly, being nearly virgin soil, needed different treatment. There had been at one time (1845) many inquirers about Christianity there; but not having been adequately shepherded, they had for the most part, under the pressure of persecution, gone back into Heathenism. "Does not Raffaele's cartoon of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes," asked Ragland, "represent James and John as jumping into the water and seizing the fish as they escaped from the broken net, and with their hands throwing them into the boat? It was something of this kind that was wanting in 1845." He now proposed an Itinerating Mission on a new plan. Missionaries were to be on the move for three weeks in each month, living in tents, and systematically visiting the villages within a limited circuit. At headquarters they would live together; but in itinerating, the Lord's own method of "two and two" would be observed, not by two Europeans working together, but by each man having with him a Native evangelist, whom he should treat, and feel able to treat, entirely as a brother. "The white face of the one would gain attention, and the Tamil tongue of the other would make good use of it." The missionaries must be unmarried. "Pastors ought to be married; but in North Tinnevelly pastors are not yet required. We want peregrinating missionaries." To get the right Native evangelists, he would not get money from England and then "go into the market and buy them"; but he would go to the southern districts and get the settled congregations to give their best men for this work, *and support them*. He even thought that the English congregation at the C.M.S. church at Madras might adopt one of the Englishmen as *their own missionary*, their contributions being entirely special and *additional* to what they

Ragland's
new plan.

were already giving. Thus Ragland, like Dale in his St. Bride's Sermon in 1837, anticipated the "own missionary" plan which has lately been so remarkably developed at home.

Such was the scheme sent home for the Society's approval; and that approval it at once secured. But who should undertake the actual work? Ragland proposed to give up the Madras Secretaryship and go himself; but at the same time he wrote a long letter to a young recruit from Cambridge, Robert Clark, of whose offer he had just heard, and who he understood was to be appointed to new work; why should not this new work be the North Tinnevely Itinerancy? To new work, indeed, Robert Clark was appointed; but, as we all know, not to the northern district of the southernmost province in South India, but to the northernmost province in North India, then just annexed to the British dominions. Meanwhile, Ragland sought for Divine guidance by a close study of the Epistle to the Philippians; and the notes of his study are so striking that they must not be omitted here:—

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Who
should
work it?

Ragland
seeks
guidance
from the
Epistle to
the Philip-
pians.

"I wrote out all the striking texts in the Epistle to the Philippians, on two sheets of paper. I have frequently meditated on and prayed over them, and the result has been most decidedly to strengthen all my former views. i. 29 speaks of suffering on Christ's behalf as an especial boon from God. ii. 5, 6, 7, certainly tells much more in favour of my giving up my fellowship and becoming a poor missionary, than contrariwise. ii. 17, if I am to learn anything from it at all, teaches me to desire, not only to preach the Gospel to the poor Heathen in the north of Tinnevely, but to have my life poured out over the sacrifice of their faith. ii. 21 was the text I heard Mr. Venn preach upon at St. Michael's, when commencing his attempts to arouse a missionary spirit in Cambridge, and certainly this is clearly in my favour. Then what can be said to iii. 7, 8, 9, and especially 10? and then verses 13 and 14 seem to say, 'Do not be content with the measure you have attained to, but press on, and see if Christ has not something more honourable for you to engage in.' iii. 20 also is in my favour; and iv. 6, 11, 12, seem to settle the question about my being in want at some future day; while iv. 13 assures me that, though weak and frail and falling and foolish, I need fear no failure of supplies of all I want. But I was particularly thankful for the verses i. 12, 13, 14; for I had been for some days pondering whether, if I did go down to Tinnevely, it would not be necessary to be peculiarly careful of my health, inasmuch as if it failed, it would instantly be said by the lukewarm, 'Ah, it is just what I said it would be; it is a thorough chimera attempting to itinerate three weeks out of four in such a climate as this.' These verses seem to tell me rather to err on the side of what men call imprudence, than the reverse. Paul, though anxious to conciliate when at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 20-26), erred on the side of what men call imprudence, in speaking on one or two occasions rather too boldly to his irritable Jewish enemies (xxii. 22); the consequence was that he was imprisoned; but this, instead of staying the Gospel and frightening the brethren into silence, did the very reverse. So I feel confident that it will be, if by the grace of God, without rashness, but in faith, I serve Christ in Tinnevely. If my health be ruined in the course of a few months, my life be lost, I trust it will be to the furtherance of the Gospel generally. Let me just

PART VI. add that I have pondered, I hope with equal attention, the texts, i. 27; 1849-61. ii. 2, 3, 4, 12, 15; iii. 1; and iv. 8. I forgot to say, when speaking about the danger to health from itinerating, that what St. Paul says about Epaphroditus, ii. 29, 30, ought to keep every Christian from censuring a brother for imprudently risking health and life for Christ. Take i. 19, 20, 21, and pray much for me, that whatever I do, 'my earnest expectation and my hope' may be realized, viz., that 'Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or death.'

D. Fenn
and Meadows.

But a sudden and serious affection of the lungs—which told his Madras friends, to their sorrow, that “he carried in him the seeds of early dissolution”—sent him to England; and meanwhile the Society had appointed, not R. Clark, but two other Cambridge recruits, David Fenn and R. R. Meadows, to commence the Itinerancy. His strength revived, however, and he followed them back to India; and on January 18th, 1854, the three brethren left Madras together, on the long journey by bullock-bandy to Tinnevely, accompanied by a Tamil catechist. This was Joseph Cornelius, son of a Tamil Christian, a good English and classical scholar, who had been helping Robert Noble in his High School. Subsequently they were joined by Vedhanayagam Viravagu and other leading catechists from the South, and, a few years later, by W. T. Saththianadhan.

South Tinnevely lends catechists to the North.

It does not appear that Ragland ever actually acted on his idea of asking the Madras congregation to support its “own missionary”; but his plan for obtaining Native evangelists from the South was carried out in a very interesting way. It was arranged that catechists should not leave their stations altogether, but should be *lent* for a month at a time to the Itinerancy, and then come back to their own people and report their proceedings to them. This plan excited great interest, and some of the congregations at once undertook to support their men respectively while engaged on this special work. In this Mengnanapuram led the way, and it is interesting to find that the first man so lent and supported, in July, 1854, was the remarkable preacher mentioned before, Paul Daniel. And this was not the only step just then taken by the Tinnevely Christians to become a truly Missionary Church. An appeal came from Ceylon for men to work among the Tamil coolies there, and six catechists who volunteered were commissioned to go; and a valedictory meeting for them was held, which was addressed by that same eloquent speaker, Paul Daniel, who had just returned from his first month's itinerating in the North with Ragland.

The new Mission prospers.

The new Mission prospered under the Divine blessing, and very soon the “fishing” had to be followed by “shepherding.” Inquirers came forward; converts were baptized; some of the backsliders of 1845 returned; and now pastoral and school work became necessary. For this the Society sent out a picked man, C. Every, who was stationed at Sivagasi; and thus the Itinerants were not interrupted. But after two years he was struck down by

cholera, and went thus early to his heavenly rest; and one of the missionaries in the South, Barenbrück, who took his place, died within a month. Subsequently, two or three trusted catechists were told off for this work; and then Meadows had to give himself to it.

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But very shortly after Barenbrück's death, a heavier blow fell upon the Mission. Ragland's health was evidently failing, but he would not leave the work. He was now Senior Fellow of Corpus, and might have come home and taken for himself the first college living that fell vacant; but "none of these things moved him." On October 22nd, 1858, while apparently no worse than usual, and writing his letters, a sudden rush of blood came from the lungs. He fell down on his cot, uttered the one word "Jesus," turned over, and expired. "Absent from the body; present with the Lord."

Death of
Ragland.

Prayer, in a very remarkable degree, had been the most conspicuous feature in the work of Ragland and his brethren; and before Ragland had been dead eighteen months, prayer received an answer which no one had looked for. The revivals of 1858-60 in America, Ireland, and Great Britain, have been referred to in a previous chapter; and we then saw that the great truth propounded by our Lord Himself, that as "the wind bloweth where it listeth" "so is every one that is born of the Spirit," had been strikingly illustrated by the fact that simultaneously with the blessing on our own country the blessing fell upon North Tinnevely.

An answer
to prayer.

It came, as it so often does, from an unexpected quarter. Years before, after the secession and death of Rhenius, a band of Christians who clave to him, and became a sect similar to the Plymouth Brethren, remained in a village in the north of the Province, led by a teacher named Arulappan, who was supported by English friends at Madras. At another village, Vageikulam, where the excellent C.M.S. catechist, Vedhanayagam, laboured, there was a Christian named Moses, a relative of Arulappan, a clever and influential man, who had been a catechist, but, not being satisfactory spiritually, had been made a schoolmaster instead, and whom Mr. Gray, now a member of the Itinerant Mission, thought of dismissing altogether. A solemn appeal to his conscience from Vedhanayagam was wonderfully blessed by the Spirit of God, and signs of true conversion instantly followed. Simultaneously the family of Arulappan were awakened; and from him and them spread in a few days a remarkable revival movement. Old and young, men and women and children, suddenly seemed crushed by the agony of a deep conviction of sin, and then, as suddenly, seemed to "believe in the forgiveness of sins." At Arulappan's village, and subsequently elsewhere, there were "physical manifestations" as in Ireland, falling to the ground, unearthly cries, hysterical sobbing, and so forth; which the missionaries and experienced catechists at once saw were not "of God"; and some of them wrote nothing of the movement for

The North
Tinnevely
Revival.

Its origin.

Its doubt-
ful features

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Its good
results.

months, doubting its true character. But gradually these excrescences disappeared, at least in the C.M.S. congregations, while the spirit of prayer, the mutual love, the forgiving of enemies, the zeal for souls, the devotion to the Scriptures and skill in searching them, the earnestness at the church services, the peace that reigned in cottage after cottage, assured the most dubious that here was a real work of the Lord. The effects were mostly seen in the professing but unsatisfactory Christians, exactly what was most needed; but the Heathen were soon affected, even in the more southern districts, and in some of them, notably Paneivelei under J. T. Tucker, the accessions to Christianity in that year, 1860, were far more numerous than ever before. The letters of David Fenn, W. Gray, R. R. Meadows, W. Clark, and A. B. Valpy, printed at great length in the Society's periodicals, awakened deep interest at home; and they are extremely impressive to read now. And the work lasted. More than a year after, the Rev. Septimus Hobbs from Ceylon visited Tinnevely, and wrote that he had seen several of the villages that had been touched by the Revival. "All excitement," he wrote, "has long since ceased; but the solid effects remain to this day in the renewed life of many who had been notorious evil livers, but are now consistent and exemplary Christians." "We heard," he added, "more of the extravagances than those things deserved; the work itself was of God, and does and will remain." And three years later, N. Honiss wrote: "Consistency of life has been conspicuous in the subjects of the revival ever since. Formerly there were many drunkards; now they are all sober men. Formerly they were irregular in attendance at the services; now we cannot complain of one."

Three les-
sons.

Three remarks here suggest themselves. First, when a spiritual movement begins with conviction of sin, it begins in the right way, and the Spirit of God is in it. Secondly, to adapt St. Paul's words (as the missionaries did at the time), "What advantage hath the nominal Christian? Much every way: he has the means of grace and the oracles of God." Thirdly, it was in the autumn of 1859 that the American missionaries at Ludhiana sent out their memorable invitation to Christians all round the world to unite in prayer at the opening of the ensuing New Year; it was in January, 1860, accordingly, that the Week of Prayer was first observed; it was in March, 1860, that the first signs of the Tinnevely Revival appeared. Need more be said?

Travan-
core.

A brief glance at Travancore will complete our survey of the South Indian Missions at this period. In 1857, one of the original missionaries in 1817, old Henry Baker, was still at work after forty years' service. His comrade Benjamin Bailey had retired in 1850, after thirty-three years, leaving behind him as his visible handiwork the noble church at Cottayam, now the cathedral of the Diocese of Travancore and Cochin, and also the famous Cottayam

Press, with its machinery put together and its type cast literally by himself—from which had gone forth several editions of his own Malayalam Version of the Scriptures, and many other vernacular books and tracts, printed by Native workmen trained under his own eye. Joseph Peet, H. Harley, J. Hawksworth, and Henry Baker the younger, were also men of several years' standing at this time; and among the younger men were R. Collins, who was Principal of the Cottayam College, and H. Andrews. There were also six Native clergymen, George Matthan, the translator of Butler's *Analogy* into Malayalam, and Jacob Chandy, both of whom had been in orders some years; and four who had lately been ordained by Bishop Dealtry, on that memorable occasion at Paneivelei, already referred to, when the eloquent Paul Daniel also was admitted to the sacred ministry; of whom should be specially mentioned Koshi Koshi, now D.D. of Lambeth, and Archdeacon, the translator of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; and Oomen Mamen, who was converted to Christ by reading that immortal allegory in its Malayalam dress.

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Bailey's
church and
press.

Native
clergy.

All these Native clergymen were originally Syrian Christians, and five of them were educated at the C.M.S. Cottayam College. If the Society's original design of enlightening and quickening their Church had been fulfilled, they ought by this time to have been among its leading priests; but, having come to know the true Gospel for their own souls, they had been constrained to come out from a Church which rejected all reforms, and enter a Church in which Christ could be worshipped in simplicity and proclaimed as the one all-sufficient Saviour for sinners. Some may regret their secession from their ancestral Communion; what the Church Missionary Society regrets is the necessity for it. Let one illustration of the condition of the Syrian Church suffice. In 1849, Bishop Daniel Wilson, as Metropolitan, visited South India, accompanied by his Archdeacon, J. H. Pratt, son of Josiah Pratt. Both of them viewed the Syrian Church without prejudice and with deep sympathy; but the latter wrote a sad account of the ignorance and superstition that prevailed, and mentions one fact as a specimen of the dislike for any innovation. A catanar (priest), "better inclined than his brethren to what is good," began at one of his services to give an exposition of the Gospel for the day in the Malayalam vernacular "understood of the people," instead of, as usual, merely reading it in the ecclesiastical Syriac, which was unknown to them. As soon as the congregation perceived what he was about, they rose as one man and left the church.

Their
Syrian
origin.

Condition
of the
Syrian
Church.

At this time three claimants to the office of Metran, or presiding bishop, divided the Church. In 1854, a fourth, Mar Athanasius, was accepted by a large section of the people; and as he had been educated at the former C.M.S. Divinity School at Madras under J. H. Gray, hopes were entertained that a better time was coming. He did for many years exercise a good influence.

PART VI. 1849-61. Chap. 43. **Joseph Peet at Mavelicara.** Meanwhile the Gospel was spreading among the Heathen of Travancore. This was especially the case in the Mavelicara and Tiruwella districts, under Peet and Hawksworth. Peet was in every way a remarkable missionary. For more than a quarter of a century he laboured in the midst of a most bigoted people, led by exceptionally fanatical Brahmans. Even Benares itself could scarcely be a more difficult field. But Peet was a thorough believer in the doctrines of grace, and a persistent preacher of them; and he found it true that the plain Gospel, though a stumbling-block to some and foolishness to others, really is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The first convert was a Nair, or member of the influential military caste, who was originally awakened through reading a Malayalam translation of the English Prayer-book, and whose baptism in 1839 was the signal for an outburst of fanaticism, which led among other things to attempts to poison Mr. Peet. But most of his converts were from lower castes. Congregations were gathered in many of the surrounding villages; and very quaint sometimes are the accounts of the simple and entirely native churches and prayer-houses in which they worshipped. At Mavelicara itself, an important and populous town, a substantial church was built with money bequeathed by no less a person than Hannah More.

The slaves. Equally interesting was Hawksworth's work, especially among the sorely-oppressed slave population. No Negro slaves in Cuba were more miserable than these poor people. George Matthan, the able and devoted Native clergyman, wrote in 1850, "They are regarded—even by the common coolies—as so unclean that they are thought to convey pollution to their fellow-creatures by contact, or even by approach. They are so wretchedly provided with the necessities of life that the most loathsome things are a treat to them." To such as these the Gospel was indeed good news. "They have now," wrote Hawksworth in 1851, "heard of Jesus, and it is quite delightful to hear them pronounce His name, and tell what He has done for them. Some of them speak as if at last they had found a Friend; and it is affecting to hear them repeat the Lord's Prayer, addressing God as 'Our Father,' and going on with broken accents, till they stop, overpowered by their feelings." **Slave converts.** Bitter persecution followed the baptism of these poor creatures. A school in which some were baptized was set fire to and burnt down twice within a day or two. The second time the slaves assembled for their usual Christian worship, and stood among the ashes, saying, "It was here we found Jesus, and here we will still worship Him." One convert, as yet not baptized, was bitten in the jungle by a snake. "The Lord has called me," he exclaimed; "baptize me before I die." Some Heathen friends carried him to a Brahman doctor, who told him to swallow some holy water; but the slave refused, and fell down dead—"like the penitent thief, an unbaptized Christian."

Another interesting branch of the Mission was the work among

the Hill Arrians, an aboriginal tribe living in the Ghaut mountains. The story has often been told how, in the Society's Jubilee year, the headmen from five different hills came down three or four times to the plains to beg for religious instruction and protection from the oppression of petty officials; how Henry Baker the younger, who received them, shrewdly suspected that the latter object was more in their thoughts than the former one; how searching questions revealed the fact that a consciousness of moral and spiritual need really was actuating them; how friends dissuaded him from plunging fifty miles into the jungle without a road; how, the fifth time they came, one said, "We know nothing right: will you teach us or not?" and another, "The cholera has killed my relatives, and where are they now?" and another, "We die like beasts, and are buried like dogs; ought you to neglect us?" how at length he promised to go up to them; how he succeeded in reaching their villages through dense forests full of wild beasts and up rocky steeps; how the cry was echoed over the mountains, "He is arrived: come all!" how two hundred of them assembled at night around large fires; how they all knelt down while he prayed with them; and how they quickly threw away idols and idolatrous symbols, built prayer-houses, attended school, and kept holy the Sunday. And no picture was more familiar in old C.M.S. publications than that of the hut built in a great tree, twenty-five feet from the ground, out of the reach of tigers and elephants, in which Baker lodged from time to time. This was at a place called Mundakayam, which soon became a regular station, and the centre of an expanding work; a compound being cleared in the jungle, and surrounded by a high bank and a ditch to protect it from the wild animals, within which were a little church and school and several native houses. And it is an interesting fact that the first little schoolroom was built with 150 rupees sent all the way from the Punjab by Sir Henry Lawrence. The first baptisms were in January, 1852, when Baker had the joy of admitting seventeen whole families into the visible Church of Christ. Within three or four years five hundred persons were baptized, from all parts of the mountain district; and in 1859 Bishop Dealtry visited the Mission, and confirmed at Mundakayam 111 men and 62 women, some of whom had come fifty miles to be present.

The general progress of the Travancore Mission was illustrated by the confirmation, from time to time, of hundreds of the converts in the plains—at one visitation of Bishop Dealtry's, 903; and by the demand for Malayalam Scriptures and Christian tracts and books. For example, in 1859 an order was given to the Cottayam Press for 6000 copies of a paper of family prayers; and in the next two years 3000 of the complete Old Testament (the New being already very largely circulated), 7000 Prayer-books, 5000 copies of the Psalms, 1000 of a Commentary on St. Matthew, and 1500 of a translation of Miss Tucker's book on the New Zealand Mission,

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The Hill
Arrians.
Appeal to
H. Baker.

His visit to
the moun-
tains.

Arrian
converts.

Sales of
Christian
books.

PART VI. *The Southern Cross and Southern Crown*, entitled "Gospel Triumph
1849-61. among Cannibals."

Chap. 43.

The necessity for a more systematic theological training for Native clergy and catechists than could be given in the Cottayam College, which was a place of general education, was more and more felt; and to this purpose the Society applied the money raised at Cambridge (as we saw in our Thirty-sixth Chapter) in testimony of gratitude for the work and influence of the Rev. J. Y. Nicholson, Fellow and Tutor of Emmanuel, as Secretary of the University C.M.S. Association. On August 13th, 1860, the first stone of the "Cambridge Nicholson Institution" was laid at Cottayam. Hawksworth was the first Principal; and he was succeeded by J. M. Speechly, of St. John's College, Cambridge, afterwards first Bishop of Travancore and Cochin.

Cambridge
Nicholson
Institu-
tion.

Thus with these "south lands," God had given "springs of water"; and in Madras, in the Telugu country, in Tinnevely, in Travancore, His promise was being fulfilled—"They shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water courses."

CHAPTER XLIV.

INDIA : THE PUNJAB—FOR ENGLAND, AND FOR CHRIST.

Bishop Wilson on the Sutlej—The Sikhs—Runjeet Singh—First and Second Sikh Wars—The Punjab annexed—Henry and John Lawrence—Cust and Aitchison—The Himalaya Mission—American Missionaries cross the Sutlej—C.M.S. Mission in Sindh—Abdullah Athim—C.M.S. invited to the Punjab—Clark and Fitzpatrick—Punjab C.M. Association—Converts at Amritsar—Kangra and Multan—Martin and Edwardes at Peshawar—Edwardes's Speech—Clark and Pfander—The Pushtu New Testament—Afghan Converts—Monumentum aere perennius.

"So Jotham became mighty, because he ordered his ways before the Lord his God."—2 Chron. xxvii. 6, R. V.



IN 1836, the year before Queen Victoria came to the throne, Bishop Daniel Wilson, after a summer sojourn at Simla, was floating down the River Sutlej in a large native boat. On his left stretched the vast domain of British India. On his right was the Punjab, or Land of the Five Rivers (*Punj* = five ; *ab* = river), then under independent rule. Rising to his feet, and stretching out his hands towards "the foreign shore," the Bishop solemnly exclaimed, "I take possession of this land in the name of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ."

That river was the Hyphasis, which Alexander's Macedonian army, after passing over all the other rivers, refused to cross. Alexander's "India," therefore, was the Punjab, and the limit of his victorious march eastward was now the limit of British conquest westward.

The Punjab, in 1836, was the kingdom of Runjeet Singh, one of the great potentates of Indian history. Three centuries before, a religious reformer named Nanak, who preached one God, the Creator, had gathered followers from both Hindus and Mohammedans, and called them *Sikhs* (disciples). A hundred and fifty years later (1675) the sect developed into a military order under Nanak's tenth successor, Guru Govind, who said his followers should no longer be *Sikhs*, but *Singhs* (lions), and named their brotherhood the *Khalsa* (pure). They were cruelly persecuted by the Mohammedan rulers ; but in the early part of the present century they rose into power under Runjeet Singh, and for thirty

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1849-61.
Chap. 44.

Bishop
D. Wilson
claims the
Punjab for
Christ.

The Sikhs.

Runjeet
Singh.

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1849-61.
Chap. 44.

years a million and a half of Sikhs dominated a country with a population of ten or twelve million Hindus and Mohammedans. After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, French generals whose occupation was gone entered Runjeet's service, and very soon drilled and organized the Sikh army into a formidable force. In 1838, two years after Daniel Wilson's prophetic utterance, the Governor-General of British India, Lord Auckland, met Runjeet Singh at a kind of "field of the cloth of gold" at Ferozepore, on the bank of that same river Sutlej, and with magnificent pomp and circumstance treated him as the Queen's ally; which, a few months after, enabled the British troops to march quietly across the country to the fatal Afghan War.

Runjeet's
death.

But just as the Afghan campaign was commencing, Runjeet Singh died, notwithstanding his desperate efforts to extort from the gods a prolongation of his life. From the gods—for Runjeet, though a Sikh, left no stone unturned to influence whatever unseen powers might conceivably decide his fate. Elephants, horses, golden furniture, jewels, and enormous sums of money were presented to various temples to propitiate their respective deities. Even the far-famed Koh-i-noor diamond, of which he had cruelly robbed the Afghan prince who owned it, and which now graces the regalia of Queen Victoria, he would have sacrificed for a few months of life; and when actually dying, he paid £40,000 to a Brahman who undertook to eat a splinter of one of his bones after his death, to secure him exemption from transmigration and immediate entrance into heaven. On his funeral pile four queens and five Kashmiri slave-girls were burnt alive.

Conquest
of Sindh.

Dire confusion now reigned at Lahore. Three Maharajahs and two Viziers died violent deaths; and the army, as in the days of Imperial Rome, virtually governed the country. The destruction of the British force in Afghanistan lowered the prestige of England; and although Generals Nott and Pollock, in 1842, avenged the defeat, the Sikh leaders were encouraged to hope that they might presently let loose the "lions" of the Khalsa army on the plains of British India. Meanwhile, however, Sir Charles Napier, by the brilliant victory of Meanee, and by a breach of faith that was a discredit to England, conquered the large province of Sindh, south of the Punjab; and when severely censured for his unworthy treatment of its Ameers, wrote back the punning apology, *Peccavi*, "I have *sindh*." Two years later, in 1845, the Sikh army boldly crossed the Sutlej and challenged England to fight. But in the great battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, the "lions" more than met their match in the British army under Sir Hugh Gough, and at the last of the four they were totally defeated, the remnant barely escaping across the river. By the terms of peace dictated by the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, a slice of the Punjab beyond the Sutlej, called the Jullundur Doab, was annexed to the British dominions, and a Resident at Lahore was appointed, with a

First Sikh
War.

British force at his back sufficient to overawe the country, while a young prince was recognized as the rightful sovereign.

In the midst of the short campaign, and before the final victory, Lord Hardinge, who was with the army, issued a proclamation, the closing words of which should be put on record :—

“These grateful and heartfelt acknowledgements to the army for its services cannot be closed without humbly remembering that our thanks are due to Him who is the only Giver of all victory, and without whose aid the battle is not to the strong. The Governor-General therefore invites every British subject at this station to return thanks to Almighty God this day, at eleven o'clock, for the mercies He has so recently vouchsafed us, by assembling at the Governor-General's tent, when prayers and thanksgivings will be read by the Governor-General's chaplain.”

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Chap. 44.

Lord Har-
dinge's
Christian
proclama-
tion.

So wrote the old Waterloo veteran, the same Governor-General who stopped the working of Government establishments on Sundays. “Here at last,” wrote Lord Ashley in his journal,* “is a direct, open, and pious recognition of God's goodness in giving success to our arms, for the first time since the days of Nelson.” But it was a foretaste of the Christian acts and utterances of which the Punjab was afterwards the scene—for which reason it is quoted here. The Resident appointed to the Court of Lahore was Henry Lawrence, and the Commissioner of the newly-annexed Jullundur Doab was his brother John; and so commenced the reign of high and unshrinking Christian principle in the administration of the Punjab.

The
brothers
Lawrence.

Lord Hardinge went home, and Lord Dalhousie came out. The new Governor-General arrived, said the *Friend of India*—then the leading English paper at Calcutta—“at a time when the last obstacle to the complete and apparently final pacification of India had been removed.” Exactly three months after these words appeared in print, a Sikh revolt began by two British officers being treacherously murdered at Multan. One of them, Vans Agnew, severely wounded, sent off two pencil notes, one to the Chief Commissioner at Lahore, the other to the Commissioner at Bannu on the Afghan Frontier, and died exclaiming, “We are not the last of the English.” Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, shrank from moving British soldiers across the burning plains in the hot weather; but the note to Bannu was opened by a young officer, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, who, without waiting for orders, rushed off towards Multan with four hundred men. With some Mohammedan allies (who hated the Sikhs), he drove four thousand of the insurgents into Multan and laid siege to the city. Though only, as he said, “like a terrier barking at a tiger,” he held his position four months without help. But the delay in moving the army encouraged a general rising; and when, at last, after another four

Second
Sikh War.

Herbert
Edwardes.

* *Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury*, vol. ii. p. 140.

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Two great
battles.

months, Gough (Jan. 13th, 1849) met the now organized and formidable Sikh forces at the terrible battle of Chillianwallah, he lost 2400 men with guns and colours. All India, and England too, burst into a paroxysm of alarm and grief; and Sir Charles Napier was hurried out to take the chief command—one of the last important acts of the Duke of Wellington. Before Napier could arrive, however, Gough had retrieved his position, and the decisive victory of Gujerat (February 21st) had once more laid the Punjab at the feet of England. Edwardes was invalided home, where he found himself already a famous hero, and when a speaker in the House of Lords suggested that so young a man was being needlessly honoured, the Duke of Wellington said, "My Lords, Lieutenant Edwardes's services have been unprecedented, and his rewards must be unprecedented too." Nor was this only a temporary opinion. Lord Roberts, in his recently-published *Forty-one Years in India*, calls Edwardes "one of the most remarkable men that the Indian army ever produced."

Punjab an-
nexed.

What was now to be done with the conquered kingdom? Should it be annexed, or merely "protected" as hitherto? Henry Lawrence said "protected"; John Lawrence said "annexed." Lord Dalhousie, who had hastened up from Calcutta, "looking fresh and youthful for his office," says Sir R. Temple,* "but vigilant and self-sustained," decided, though reluctantly, on annexation; and his decision was ratified by the Government at home. And thus, by proclamation dated March 29th, 1849, the Land of the Five Rivers became part of the British Empire.

The rulers
of the new
province.

Dalhousie committed the new province to a Board of three members, Henry Lawrence being chief, and the other two being John Lawrence and C. G. Mansel, Robert Montgomery succeeding the last-named soon after. The triumvirate was not a success in a personal sense: the two distinguished brothers, though united in deep affection, differing widely on methods of administration. At length the Board was dissolved: Henry Lawrence was sent to Rajputana, and subsequently to be the first Commissioner of another newly-annexed province, the kingdom of Oudh; and John Lawrence became Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. But the friction on the Board had not checked the vigour of the administration; and within eight years, 1849 to 1857, the most successful piece of work ever done by British rulers in a conquered state was accomplished. The turbulent population became as quiet and loyal as any in India; the resources of the country were rapidly developed; peace and prosperity reigned undisturbed. "Order and firm rule were established, where there had been none for centuries. . . . There were no soldiers employed in an administration which was purely civil; there was no secret police, no passports, no spies, no gagged press, no prisons for political *détenus*, no Siberia for countless exiles; but an abolition of monopolies

Successful
adminis-
tration of
the Punjab.

Cust's
summary
of the work.

* *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 39.

except that of liquor and drugs, an equitable and fixed assessment of the land tax, a reduction of pensions and of assignments of land revenue, which wasted the resources of the State; a disbandment of all feudal troops, and the substitution of a strong and disciplined police; a simple, cheap, and rapid system of justice between man and man; a stern protection of life and property from violence and fraud; a levelling of all petty fortresses, a disarmament of the warlike classes; freedom of religion, freedom of trade, freedom of speech and writing, freedom of locomotion, the foundation of a system of national education; the lining out of roads, the construction of bridges, the demarcation of village boundaries, the establishment of posts and telegraphs; the encouragement of commerce and manufactures by removal of every possible restriction. . . . As the shining Reports of the eloquent Secretary went forth year by year . . . the official world in other Provinces were incredulous or jealous." * And when, in the ninth year of the great experiment, the Sepoy Mutiny suddenly burst upon India, the Punjab and its rulers were the chief instruments in God's hand of crushing the revolt and restoring British supremacy.

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For these splendid achievements all the world honours the Lawrences; and they cannot be honoured too highly. Henry must be ranked as the greatest of all Anglo-Indian soldiers, and John the greatest of all Anglo-Indian civilians. Henry's beautiful character has been enshrined for ever in Herbert Edwardes's eloquent and sympathetic biography.† "Justly termed the greatest man England ever sent to India," says Dr. George Smith.‡ "One of the most gifted of men," says Sir R. Temple; "no Anglo-Indian statesman has had so distinguished a *clientèle* as he. . . . Throughout his nature there burned the unquenchable flame of genius." § Mr. Bosworth Smith says, "Having studied large portions of his unpublished correspondence, and having conversed with most of his surviving friends . . . it is my deliberate conviction that . . . no Englishman who has been in India has ever influenced other men so much for good; nobody has ever done so much towards bridging over the gulf that separates race from race, colour from colour, and creed from creed; nobody has ever been so beloved, nobody has ever deserved to be so beloved, as Sir Henry Lawrence."|| Of his brother John, so different yet also so great, the most splendid "In Memoriam" appeared in the pages of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*,¶ from the pen of his able and devoted follower, Robert Cust. The

Henry
Lawrence.

John Law-
rence.

* R. N. Cust, *John, First Lord Lawrence of the Punjab*, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1879. The "eloquent Secretary" who wrote "shining Reports" was Richard Temple.

† Though finished, alas! by another hand. Edwardes died when the work was only half done.

‡ *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 31.

§ *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 56.

|| *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i. p. 388.

¶ September, 1879. This is the article quoted from above.

PART VI. whole of that brilliant article might well be quoted here; but let
1849-61. a sentence or two suffice:—
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— “He might have been great in council, successful in administration, loving as a father, husband, and friend, and yet the chronicle of his services would have found no place in the records of this Society, nor would his name have been a tower of strength, a staff of support, to all who place before their eyes the spreading of the Gospel among the Heathen as one of the first duties of man. But amidst his great successes and his unparalleled good fortune, he had the grace given him to remember the Hand that gave, and while mindful of things temporal, not to forget the things eternal. He set the example of a bold, independent, and yet Christian ruler, an uncrowned king of men by grace and election.”

But it would not be right to forget that, in Sir Charles Aitchison's picturesque phrase, Dalhousie's “kingly hand” * directed and controlled the Lawrences—so long as he was in India; nor again, that they were served by the noblest band of lieutenants that English history can produce. Among the civil officers were Robert Montgomery, Donald McLeod, Edward Thornton, Philip S. Melvill, Charles Raikes, Richard Temple, and Robert Cust. Among the military chiefs who held civil administrative posts were Robert Napier, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson, Edward Lake, Reynell Taylor. Many of the civilians had passed the first few years in India under James Thomason, the incomparable ruler of the North-West Provinces. John Lawrence himself had done so; and when he wanted men, he sent for those Thomason had trained. Temple records the enthusiasm with which the young men went forward into the new province, which “to them loomed as the land of promise.”† Aitchison confesses that “fearing no responsibility and shirking no labour, there was perhaps a tendency in the young men to act too much on their own initiative”; and Lord Dalhousie complained that they “considered themselves Governors-General at least”—telling Edwardes that he “would not stand it,” even from “the latest-enlisted General-Ensign-Plenipotentiary.”‡ But they did splendid service, and all the more effectively because the Punjab was made by Dalhousie what was called a “Non-Regulation Province,” which left the Lawrences and their lieutenants a pretty free hand in the methods of administration. Sir Charles Aitchison draws a striking picture of the kind of life he led:§—

“The District Officer, or Deputy-Commissioner, as he was called, and his Assistants, were expected to be everywhere, to know everything affecting the welfare of their charge, to be accessible to the people at all times and in all places, and to be able to check the reports of Native officials by personal knowledge. I served my apprenticeship as a Civil Officer in the Punjab in those days. Looking back at them after an interval of five-and-thirty years, I seem still to have a sort of feeling of

* *Rulers of India: Lord Lawrence.* By Sir C. U. Aitchison. P. 68.

† *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 51.

‡ Aitchison's *Lord Lawrence*, p. 58.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The men
under
them.

Sir C.
Aitchi-
son's re-
collections.

ubiquity. A good stable was an essential equipment. If in the remotest corner of the district there occurred a cow-riot, or an affray, or a murder, or a big burglary, the Deputy-Commissioner or an Assistant had to be on the spot. If cholera broke out, every village had to be visited. No remission of revenue was ever granted without a personal inspection of the land and the crops. Nothing that affected the welfare of the district or the contentment of the people was too insignificant for personal attention. It was an unwritten law that the Civil Officers should see things with their own eyes, do things with their own hands, and inquire into things for themselves. Thus they came to know the people, the people learned to know them, and a grip was got on the country which the Mutiny of 1857 did not loosen."

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—

And Dr. R. N. Cust's brilliant essays contain page after page of still more vivid delineation. Here are two brief passages:—

Dr. Cust's
recollections.

"When the tide of war rolled away [the first Sikh War], I was left, as my reward, in charge of the beautiful district of Hoshiarpur, at the age of twenty-six, *quite alone*, amidst a people who had never seen a European; but I was in constant correspondence with my chief, and that chief was John Lawrence.

"I used to march for many months about my district, consorting with my people, having given up my own language and adopted theirs. It was situated at the foot of the Himālaya, and the lower ranges were included in it. I knew every one of the thousand villages, and loved the people and the country. At eventide, when work was over, we used to saunter out, and sit on one of the jutting headlands, and watch the sun setting. Who were my companions? They were young and old, Hindu, Sikh, and Mahometan; some were owners of the soil, or mere cultivators; some were the hereditary servants of the Village or the Hundred, the Accountant and Kanúngo, and the trained officials from Delhi and Agra."*

"It was my first charge. I had won it by energetic service. I had fought for it, and held it against all comers during a rebellion. Untrammelled by Regulations, unencumbered by domestic cares, I had fashioned it after my own model, had founded its institutions, had been led on by high, burning, yet unflagging zeal, and ambitious hopes not yet crushed and blighted. These were the brightest hours of my Indian career."†

But, superb as the achievements of the Punjab men were, why should this History dwell upon them? Because they present the one conspicuous instance in Indian history of a body of British rulers and officers going to work definitely as Christian men, scorning to hide their faith in the True God, confessing Christ before the world, and not shrinking from energetic action for the evangelization of the people. Not that they were false to the great principles of religious toleration which the Government rightly professed. Not that they used their official position to press even the Truth upon the Heathen and the Mohammedan. Not that they allured men to become Christians by the hope of special patronage. Not that they followed the old Dutch system of inflicting disabilities on non-Christians. But while they

A great
example of
Christian
rule.

* R. N. Cust, *Pictures of Indian Life*, p. 133.

† *Ibid.*, p. 111.

PART VI. remained absolutely just and fair in their dealings with all, while
 1849-61. the Sikh and the Hindu and the Moslem received from them all
 Chap. 44. due respect, while faithfulness in any man was rewarded with
 frankest confidence, the Lawrences and their leading followers
 were not ashamed to be known as devout Christians, and not
 afraid to declare that they wished all men to be the same. As we
 shall see directly, it was they who established the Church Mis-
 sionary Society in the Punjab. And God in His wondrous
 providence manifested to the whole world the truth of His own
 word to Eli, "Them that honour Me I will honour."

So the Punjab was won "for England." Let us now see what
 was done to win it "for Christ."

Himalaya
 Mission.

But first we must glance at a Mission which came to be
 reckoned as a branch of the Punjab Mission, but which was
 begun at an earlier date. This was what was at first known as
 the Himalaya Mission. As early as 1840, some of the English
 officers and civilians at Simla raised a fund to start evangelistic
 work among the Natives of that district, and applied to the
 Society for a missionary; but, as will be remembered, that was
 the very time of the great financial crisis, when plans were formed
 by the Committee to close existing Missions rather than open
 new ones; and nothing could be done. The Simla friends,
 however, did not think that their own responsibility was fulfilled
 by a futile application to a missionary society. They went
 themselves to work, at once. One civilian, Mr. Gorton, undertook
 to subscribe £10 *a month*, and left at his death, which occurred
 shortly afterwards, over £2000; and an officer, Captain Jackson,
 wrote: "It seems that the Lord hath opened the way for us to
 establish a Church Mission, and I pledge myself, as long as the
 Lord may spare my life, to pay £60 annually."* Archdeacon
 Pratt of Calcutta engaged for them a Prussian minister who had
 come out to India on an independent mission, the Rev. J. D.
 Prochnow, to whom Bishop Daniel Wilson gave English orders;
 and the Simla Committee, in 1843, stationed him at Kotgur, fifty
 miles beyond Simla, on the high-road to Thibet, and on the
 borders of Hinduism and Buddhism. In the meanwhile, a lady
 in England, hearing of the C.M.S. Committee's refusal, had offered
 them £500, and £25 a year for ten years; and thus encouraged
 both in India and in England, they adopted the Mission, and sent
 also to Simla the Rev. M. Wilkinson of Gorakhpur, whose health
 forbade his continuing to work in the plains; and at Simla he died,
 on November 4th, 1848, just after holding a special service in
 connexion with the Society's Jubilee. The first convert at
 Kotgur, baptized in 1853, James Kadshu, became in after years an
 ordained pastor at Lahore.

Mr. Gor-
 ton.

Kotgur.

The Himalaya Mission was regarded with great interest.

* R. Clark, *Punjab and Sindh Mission*, pp. 126, 130.

Prochnow's narratives of his journeys, sometimes with his wife, to Kunawar and other mountain regions, once nearly to the borders of Chinese Tartary, fill many pages of the *Intelligencer* with graphic details of intercourse with the Thibetan people—a Buddhist people touching whom we find in the Life of Bishop Milman a significant incident of what Buddhism really is. Scene: a Buddhist monastery in the Himalayas. Persons: a number of boys going through various prostrations with apparent devotion; and a well-educated Buddhist being asked by the Bishop what they were doing. "Praying." "To whom?" "To nobody." "What are they praying for?" "For nothing."

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Journeys
on the
Frontier.

When the first Sikh War was ended by the battle of Sohraon, many friends urged the Society to begin a Punjab Mission, occupying the slice of the country which had been annexed, the Jullundur Doab. But the Committee replied that they would rather first strengthen the stations at Agra and Meerut, and also Kotgur; and that the latter might prove an advanced post whence the messengers of the Gospel might presently go forward. But although Kotgur is on the Sutlej, it is high up in the mountain valleys, on the upper waters of the river; and the Mission there would have little influence on the plains. And while the Church Missionary Society, pressed by claims from so many lands, hesitated to advance, the American Presbyterians, who had been for some years at Ludhiana, in what was called the Cis-Sutlej territory, crossed the river, and thus were the first to raise the banner of Christ in the Punjab proper. They placed at Jullundur an excellent Christian Bengali, originally one of Duff's students, the Rev. Golak Nath.* Then, when the crowning victory of Gujerat was followed by the annexation of the whole Sikh Kingdom, they again went forward, crossed the second of the five rivers, the Beas, and established themselves in Lahore itself. A few years later, in 1856, they crossed the three other rivers, the Ravi, the Chenab, and the Jhelum, and occupied Rawal Pindi; while at the same time, another American Church, the United Presbyterians, began a Mission in the Sialkot district. But this is anticipating.

The Jul-
lundur
Doab.

American
mission-
aries enter
the Punjab.

Meanwhile, the first forward movement of the Church Missionary Society into the newly-conquered frontier territories was made in a different direction. When Sir Charles Napier subjugated Sindh, Sir James Outram, the Bayard of India (as Napier himself named him), protested against the annexation (which Napier confessed to be "an advantageous piece of

C.M.S.
Sindh Mis-
sion.

Sir James
Outram.

* "Golak Nath," wrote Duff long after, "got his first knowledge and impression of Christianity in our Calcutta Institution, and left us with his head full of knowledge, but his heart devoid of grace; fell in with my beloved son in the Gospel, Gopinath Nandi, in the North-West; and under his further teaching became a convert to the faith of Jesus and was baptized."
—*Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 489.

PART VI. rascality"), and refused to keep his share of the prize-money,
 1849-61. £3000. He wanted to give it to the dispossessed Ameers—bad
 Chap. 44. as their rule had been,—but this the Government would not
 allow; and then he divided it between various missionary and
 philanthropic objects. It was the same spirit that led other
 Captain Christian officers, particularly Captain Preedy, to plan a Mission
 Preedy. to the Sindhi people. They established a school at the com-
 M. S. Seal. mercial port of Karachi, and obtained from Calcutta a converted
 Bengali Brahman, Modhu Sudan Seal, who had been a student
 in Duff's College, and was afterwards baptized by Mr. Jennings,
 chaplain at Cawnpore; and then applied to the Church Mis-
 sionary Society for a missionary. A Basle and Islington man,
 C. C. T. Schreiber, was sent out in 1850. The Afghans say that
 "the sun of Sindh will roast an egg, and turn a white man
 black";* and within five months of Schreiber's arrival at Karachi,
 his wife died. He wrote home, "It is as if this Mission, like the
 East Africa Mission, has to be commenced on the grave of a
 missionary's wife"; referring, of course, to Mrs. Krapf's death
 at Mombasa seven years before, and to Krapf's memorable
 message.† Now Mrs. Schreiber was a sister of W. Salter Price,
 then a young missionary at Nasik; and it was Price who, five-
 and-twenty years later, revived Krapf's East Africa Mission.

Mission
 begun on
 a wife's
 grave.

Matchett,
 Sheldon,
 &c.

Abdullah
 Athim.

Schreiber did not continue at Karachi long after his wife's
 death. He was succeeded by Abraham Matchett, an Irishman
 from Islington College, who developed remarkable skill in the
 Mohammedan controversy; by James Sheldon, also from Is-
 lington, who became *the* Sindh missionary for twenty-seven
 years; by Andrew Burn, of St. John's, Cambridge; and by Dr.
 Ernest Trumpp, a learned German, who in after years became
 Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich.
 A very interesting convert was given to the Mission in its earliest
 days. A young Mohammedan, Abdullah Athim, had come from
 Umballa in North India to Karachi a few years before, to learn
 English and fit himself for Government employ. Major R.
 Marsh Hughes—who himself had been led to Christ by H. W.
 Fox, and who in after years was a much-respected member of
 the C.M.S. Committee, and founded the Strangers' Home for
 Asiatics—employed him for a time, and he came also under the
 influence of Modhu Sudan Seal, the Bengali Brahman before-
 mentioned. He diligently studied the Koran, to defend it, and
 the Bible, to refute it; but the natural result followed—his reason
 was convinced that Christ is Lord; though that which is never
 a *natural* result did not at once ensue—his heart was untouched.
 He drew up a paper of questions, and sent them to the great
 Moslem moulvies at Delhi and Agra, asking for definite replies;
 but no reply was sent to him, a leading moulvie at Agra informing

* Postans' *Personal Observations on Sindh*, quoted in *C.M. Intelligencer*,
 1850, p. 365.

† See Vol. I., p. 461.

Mr. Hoernle there that only an infidel could have written such questions, and they were not worth answering. But at last the True Light shone into Abdullah's soul; he humbled his somewhat proud spirit at the foot of the Cross; he gave up literally all for Christ, and was baptized by Mr. Matchett in March, 1853; and then he became a zealous preacher of the Gospel, and afterwards a translator of St. Matthew's Gospel into the Sindhi language.

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Chap. 44.

The work went on steadily and patiently, with the warm sympathy and support of the Commissioner of Sindh, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, who printed at Government expense Dr. Trumpp's learned Sindhi works, dictionary, grammar, native poems and tales, &c., and also his English translation of the Sikh sacred book, the *Grunth*, which was found to be shallow and incoherent in the extreme, and far inferior to the Vedas and the Koran. In 1855, Modhu Sudan Seal was ordained; but subsequently he removed to Calcutta. In 1856, Hyderabad, the former capital of Sindh, where splendid mausoleums mark the last resting-places of the Ameers, was occupied; and in 1858, Shikarpur and Sukkur were visited, and the latter place occupied for a time.

Trumpp
translates
the
"Grunth."

But the more important advance into the Punjab Proper had meanwhile been made. The inspiration, as usual, came from India itself. In 1849, some of the Christian officers in the victorious army issued a circular, and sent it round to all the military stations and the chaplains. Here are some sentences from it:—

Punjab
Mission.

"It is contemplated to raise a subscription for the establishment of a Christian Mission in the Punjab, as a thankoffering to Almighty God for His late mercies . . . in the past signal victories and the present promised blessing of peace.

Projected
by the
officers.

"The stations of Naini Tal, Almora, and Moradabad, have contributed nearly five hundred rupees towards this object, and there are many monthly subscribers. The Camp at Peshawar are favouring the Mission.

"The Church Missionary Society in England has been applied to; and it is humbly trusted that England, as well as every Indian Station, will, when called upon, take it up, and labour to confer a permanent blessing upon the Land of the Five Rivers. . . .

"It is hoped that the Chaplain, Missionary, and Military Officer of each Station will, on receipt of this Statement, circulate it in the usual manner; or in case of there being none, that some other friend of Christian Missions will undertake it. . . . Let but the Christian community of India come forward as one man with a modest offering, and it must needs be that a sum equal to the wants of the Mission will be raised, and the Thanksgiving of the 6th of May be turned into a continual memorial of their gratitude to Him who is the Giver of all victory!"*

One of the officers who put forth this appeal, Captain William Martin, then at Lahore with his Sepoy regiment, was wont, like

Captain
Martin.

* *C.M. Report*, 1850, p. 138.

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Generous
action of
American
Mission.

Clark and
Fitz-
patrick.

Punjab
C. M. Asso-
ciation.

Large con-
tributions
of officers.

Gordon at Khartoum long afterwards, to shut himself up daily for a well-understood season of prayer; and knowing that while "effort without prayer is presumption," "prayer without effort is hypocrisy," he went to the American missionaries, John Newton and C. W. Forman—honoured fellow-workers for half a century,—who had but recently arrived, and handed them Rs. 10,000 (then equal to more than £1000), not for their own new Mission, but to be forwarded anonymously to the Church Missionary Society so soon as two missionaries were appointed to begin a C.M.S. Punjab Mission. Newton and Forman were large-hearted Christian men, and in announcing the anonymous gift to the Society they added a warm and brotherly invitation to the Church of England to take its share in proclaiming Christ to the Punjab. But "before they call," saith the Lord, "I will answer." Captain Martin's prayers had already prevailed. The two first missionaries were already appointed. The appeal of 1849 had been responded to, and the Committee had designated to the Punjab the young Birmingham curate, T. H. Fitzpatrick, and the Cambridge Wrangler, Robert Clark, whose offers of service were then before them; and on June 20th, 1851, they were taken leave of at the Chapel-of-Ease Schools, Islington, along with four other new missionaries, H. Stern for North India, C. C. Fenn and E. T. Higgins for Ceylon, and F. A. Klein for Jerusalem. Henry Venn, in the Instructions of the Committee, dwelt in an interesting way upon the diverse features of the three mission-fields. For instance:—

"In the Punjab, the missionary must spread his labours to the utmost extent of his opportunities, and aim at exercising a general influence for awakening inquiry. In Ceylon, the missionary must concentrate his labours upon the sphere assigned to him, and strive to raise a standard of healthy, lively Christianity. In Syria he must, with much caution and prudence, watch the incipient movements of a spirit of inquiry, and be ready to present the Bible as the sole standard and the ultimate exponent of divine truth."

To India sailed Fitzpatrick and Clark; and on February 9th, 1852, a public meeting was held at Lahore to inaugurate the Punjab Church Missionary Association. Archdeacon Pratt of Calcutta was in the chair. Sir Henry Lawrence was away on the frontier, but he sent a letter of welcome, with a promise of Rs. 500 a year subscription. John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery spoke; also the Rev. W. J. Jay, chaplain; also Major Martin, as he now was. Martin became treasurer, and found himself with the anonymous Rs. 10,000, a second anonymous Rs. 10,000, and a further Rs. 10,000 in smaller sums; together (at that time) over £3000. Then, on May 24th, the Queen's birthday was celebrated by laying the foundation-stone of a church—primarily for the English, but to be lent freely to the missionaries for native services. Thus did the conquerors of the Punjab begin their glorious reign.

Lahore being occupied by the Americans, it was resolved to begin the Mission at Amritsar, the greatest commercial city and the headquarters of the Sikh religion, deriving its name from the sacred tank (*amrita saras*, fount of immortality) in the midst of which stands the magnificent Golden Temple. The Deputy-Commissioner, Mr. C. B. Saunders, built the first mission-house; Colonel Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) designed a school-house; Mr. Saunders and Captain Lamb built a Mission church. Two already converted Christian Sikhs were secured as Native evangelists, both named David. One had been a fakir, but had been baptized by the Rev. W. H. Perkins of the S.P.G. Mission at Cawnpore, and was in fact the first-fruits of the Sikh people unto Christ. The other had been a soldier, and fought against the English at Moodkee; but having read the New Testament in Punjabi, given him by an unknown Native, he had left the Sikh army on purpose to go down to Benares, where he believed he should find a Christian teacher. There he was baptized by W. Smith, married a girl in the C.M.S. Orphanage, and now returned to Amritsar as an evangelist to his countrymen. Three years later, the Cawnpore David was ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta; so the first Sikh admitted to the Church was also the first Sikh admitted to the Church's ministry.

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Chap. 44.
Amritsar.

First Native agents.

The Punjab missionaries had not to wait many years for converts, as in some Missions. In the very next year, 1853, five notable baptisms took place—of a teacher of the *Grunth* (the Sikh sacred book), named Shamaun; another Sikh, a scholar in the new school; two Hindus, one of them a Brahman; and a Mohammedan moulvie from Delhi. In the third year there were twenty-three baptisms; and out of an average of thirty-one boys and youths in the school, five had “renounced their former religions, and been publicly baptized into the faith of Christ in the midst of the school itself.” In 1856 the first girls’ school was opened, and called the Lady Lawrence School, Rs. 11,000 raised in memory of Honoria, wife of Sir Henry Lawrence—a noble woman who had lately died, deeply lamented,—being handed by Sir Henry to the Mission for the purpose. Liberal benefactions, indeed, were quite common. Captain Lamb purposed to put up, at his own expense, buildings for a branch Mission at Jandiala; and when he died before carrying out his project, another friend did it instead. A third friend did likewise, at another town; and a fourth built a preaching chapel in Amritsar.

First converts.

Lady Lawrence Schools.

More liberal gifts.

Extension, indeed, was now the order of the day. In 1854, J. N. Merk, one of the independent German missionaries in India, who had been engaged by the Society and ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta, was stationed at Kangra, a place, like Kotgur, in an upland Himalayan valley, with a Hindu shrine of great reputation which attracts thousands of pilgrims. This was done on the advice of one of the Lawrences’ lieutenants, Donald McLeod, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; and the mission-

Kangra.

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Edward
Lake.

house was one built by another, Edward Lake, afterwards General, then Financial Commissioner, and ultimately an Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. This was an extension northward; and Robert Clark and Major Martin made in the same year, 1854, the first missionary journey over the mountains into Kashmir, and still further, over other high passes, into Ladakh; but the Kashmir Mission was not begun till ten years later, and it was preceded by the establishment, through Martin's liberality, of the Moravian Mission at Lahoul. Meanwhile, an extension southward was effected, also at the suggestion of Donald McLeod, by the occupation, in 1856, by Fitzpatrick and W. J. Ball, of Multan, a city famed for its almost rainless climate, and of which a Persian couplet, roughly translated, says,—

“For four things famed Multan's the seat :
Dust and beggars, tombs and heat.”

Multan.

Peshawar.

But the most important, and the most interesting, of all the advances made was to the great frontier Afghan city of Peshawar. Even in a military sense Peshawar was then an outpost indeed. Beyond the Indus, then crossed only by a bridge of boats; actually in Afghanistan, although held by the British; inhabited by a bigoted and turbulent Mohammedan people; and within easy distance of hordes of fierce mountaineers,—it needed a strong force for its protection. It had in fact been occupied by the Government unwillingly, many high authorities considering that the Indus should be our boundary. But in the providence of God the circumstances of Afghanistan were such that there was no alternative but to keep Peshawar, and station 12,000 men there. Being in military occupation entirely, and no Englishman being allowed there without the commandant's sanction, how came a missionary in such a city at all?

Major
Martin
plans a
Mission.

Replies of
two Com-
missioners

From Lahore had come up to Peshawar the 9th Native Infantry, and with it the devoted Christian officer already mentioned, Major Martin. After much earnest prayer,* he went boldly to the Commissioner, Colonel Mackeson, and asked leave for the establishment of a Mission. “No missionary,” was the emphatic rejoinder, “shall cross the Indus while I am Commissioner of Peshawar: do you want us all to be killed?” A few months after, in September, 1853, the Colonel was sitting in his verandah, when an Afghan approached and presented him with a petition. As he took the paper, the Afghan's knife was plunged into his heart. “The loss of such an officer,” said Lord Dalhousie in the official Gazette, “would have dimmed a victory.” Dalhousie appointed as his successor Major Herbert Edwardes, the hero of Multan, writing to him, “Holding Peshawar, you hold the out-

* The Rev. J. MacCartie, who was at that time an officer, and Assistant Commissioner of Peshawar, wrote long afterwards (*C.M. Gleaner*, July, 1894) that there was a Sunday evening prayer-meeting, which was attended by Major Martin, Drs. Farquhar and Kemp, Colonel Wheler, Captain Ross, Brigade-Major Captain Viney, Lieut. Perkins, and himself.

post of Indian empire. . . . You have a fine career before you: God speed you in it." On the new Commissioner's arrival, Martin, with Dr. T. Farquhar, and after fervent prayer together, again repaired to headquarters, and asked leave for a Mission to be started. "Certainly," was the reply; "send for a missionary, call a meeting, and I will preside myself." Then and there, in the Commissioner's office, Martin fell upon his knees and poured forth his heart in praise to the Lord.* Robert Clark was sent for from Amritsar, and arrived early in December; and a public meeting of officers and civilians was summoned for the 19th. Then it was found that that very day had been fixed on for the races—the sport which Englishmen take with them wherever they go. Should the meeting be deferred? "What!" exclaimed Martin; "put off the work of God for a steeple-chase? Never!" The meeting was duly held; very few attended; "but," writes Mr. Clark, "God's Spirit had been invited by prayer, and He was present, and made His presence unmistakably felt; and men's hearts, and women's hearts too, burned within them, as they heard the words of Herbert Edwardes from the chair"—and this at a time when the blood of his murdered predecessor was not yet effaced from his verandah. "I saw," says Mr. Clark, "the marks of blood still on the pillar."

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Officers
meeting to
start the
Mission.

That speech of Edwardes's thrilled Christian hearts all over India and England. Let us read a sentence or two:—

Stirring
speech of
Herbert
Edwardes.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my duty to state briefly the object of this meeting. . . . As Commissioner of this frontier, it is natural, that, of all in this room, I should be the one to view the question in its public light, and wish to state what I understand to be the mutual relations of the Christian Government and Christian Missions of this country—our duties as public and private men in religious matters.

"That man must have a very narrow mind who thinks that this immense India has been given to our little England for no other purpose than for our aggrandisement—for the sake of remitting money to our homes, and providing writerships and cadetships for our poor relations.

"Such might be the case if God did not guide the world's affairs; for England, like any other land, if left to its own selfishness and its own strength, would seize all it could. But the conquests and wars of the world all happen as the world's Creator wills them; and empires come into existence for purposes of His, however blindly intent we may be upon our own."

God's pur-
pose in
giving
England
these lands

"And what," continued the speaker, "may we suppose His purpose to be?"

"Are they 'of the earth, earthy'? Have they no higher object than the spread of vernacular education, the reduction of taxes, the erection of bridges, the digging of canals, the increase of commerce, the introduction of electric telegraphs, and the laying down of grand lines of railroad? Do they look no further than these temporal triumphs of civilization, and see nothing better in the distance than the physical im-

* This fact does not appear in any of the records; but the late Dr. Farquhar told me so himself.—E. S.

PART VI. 1849-61. improvement of a decaying world? We cannot think so meanly of Him
 Chap. 44. day.' All His plans and purposes must look through time into eternity;
 — and we may rest assured that the East has been given to our country
 for a mission, neither to the minds nor bodies, but to the souls of
 men. . . .

"Our mission, then, in India, is to do for other nations what we have
 done for our own. To the Hindus we have to preach one God, and to
 the Mohammedans to preach one Mediator."

In what
 way preach
 Christ?

"But how should this be done?"—

"By state armies and state persecutions? By demolishing Hindu
 temples, as Mahmud of Ghuzni did? or by defiling mosques with Moham-
 medan blood, as Runjit Singh did?"

"It is obvious that we could not, if we would, follow such barbarous
 examples. The 30,000 Englishmen in India would never have been seen
 ruling over 200,000,000 of Hindus and Mohammedans, if they had tried to
 force Christianity upon them with the sword."

"The British Government has wisely maintained a strict neutrality in
 religious matters, and Hindus and Mohammedans, secure of our im-
 partiality, have filled our armies and built up our empire."

"It is not the duty of the Government, as a Government, to proselytize
 India. Let us rejoice that it is not: let us rejoice that pure and impure
 motives, religious zeal and worldly ambition, are not so lamentably
 mixed up!"

"The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Chris-
 tians: the appeal is to private consciences, private effort, private zeal,
 and private example. Every Englishman and Englishwoman in India—
 every one now in this room—is answerable to do what he can towards
 fulfilling it."

Then Edwardes referred to the special difficulties of Peshawar;
 and concluded as follows:—

"I say plainly that I have no fear that the establishment of a Chris-
 tian Mission at Peshawar will tend to disturb the peace. It is of course
 incumbent upon us to be prudent; to lay stress upon the selection of
 discreet men for missionaries; to begin quietly with schools, and wait the
 proper time for preaching. But having done that, I should fear nothing.
 In this crowded city we may hear the Brahmin in his temple sound his
 'shunkh' and gong, the muezzin on his lofty minaret fill the air with
 the 'azan,' and the Civil Government, which protects them both, will
 take upon itself the duty of protecting the Christian missionary, who
 goes forth to preach the Gospel. *Above all, we may be quite sure that we
 are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it; and that He who has
 brought us here, with His own right arm, will shield and bless us, if, in simple
 reliance upon Him, we try to do His will.*"

The path
 of duty the
 safe path.

Large con-
 tributions
 of officers.

The collection after the meeting amounted to Rs. 14,000, which
 was in addition to Rs. 1800 collected on the previous Sunday at
 church, when one officer, Dr. Baddeley, R.A., put Rs. 600 into the
 plate. Major Martin gave another Rs. 10,000 anonymously; and
 in a few days the officers and others contributed £3000 sterling.
 "There was great rejoicing," says Mr. Clark, "for they offered
 willingly." Moreover, they undertook to provide houses and
 support schools and catechists; in short to defray the whole cost

of the Mission, except the personal allowances of the missionaries. And it was not the officers only who contributed. Several private soldiers gave a guinea each; and one corporal made over all he had, over £15, saying he had trusted God already with his soul, and did not see why he should not trust Him also with his body.* One officer, however, entered his name on the subscription list thus: "One rupee, towards a revolver for the first missionary." He forgot that the Arm of the Lord was better than a dozen revolvers. That officer was soon afterwards moved from the perilous outpost to the safe and pleasant cantonment at Meerut; and there, three years later, he and his wife were among the first of the English cut down and brutally murdered when the Mutiny broke out on May 10th, 1857—while at Peshawar the hand of the Lord prevailed, and there was no outbreak at all.

A memorial addressed to the Church Missionary Society was signed by Colonel Edwardes, twenty-one other military officers, and eight civilians. It expressed the "great interest they took in the Society's proceedings," and "the confidence they felt in its principles and plans of operation." They "believed it to be an honoured instrument in the hand of God for the spreading abroad of the Gospel in all lands," and, "as residents in a Heathen country, with every error rampant around them," they desired to say to the Committee, "Go forward, and your work will prosper." Among those who signed, besides Edwardes and Martin, were the Deputy-Commissioner, Captain James; Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Henry) Norman; Captain (afterwards General Sir James) Brind; Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Urmston; &c., &c.

The Society joyfully responded by ordering Dr. Pfander to go up from Agra, and Robert Clark to continue also at Peshawar, having meanwhile sent two new men, Keene and Strawbridge, to Amritsar. At the same time Major Martin retired from the army after thirty years' service, and joined Pfander and Clark as an honorary missionary. Thus commenced the C.M.S. Afghan Mission.

The brethren were greatly struck with the possibilities of Peshawar. It was a meeting-place of many races. The Hindu trader was there from the plains of Bengal; the Pathan mountaineer, in his sheepskin cloak, walked the streets. From all parts of Central Asia merchants and adventurers of every kind met in the Afghan frontier city. The Pushtu language was the vernacular of Afghanistan; but Urdu was the official language, and Persian that of the learned mullahs and the upper classes generally. Pfander's wonderful linguistic powers, and his perfect familiarity with Islam, now found abundant scope, and he at once began teaching and preaching in the streets—as a Christian officer who knew the language, Colonel Wheeler, had done before the Mission was begun. He was told he would be killed. Leading Moslems in the city warned the Commissioner; and the Local

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Officers'
memorial
to C.M.S.

Pfander
and Clark
begin the
Mission.

Pfander's
powers,
and
courage.

* Mentioned by the Rev. R. Clark in a speech at Oxford, May 29th, 1857.

PART VI. Committee discussed the question, prayed over it, and enjoined
1849-61. caution. Pfander said he would do as God guided him; and he
Chap. 44. went on preaching. Scowling faces and muttered threats met
him, and the mullahs loftily held aloof, seeing no reason why they
should stop to argue with an infidel. He then sent copies of the
Mizan-al-Haqq round to them. Some thanked him; some re-
turned the book without a word; one wrote as follows, in Arabic :—

A mullah's
letter.

"To the renowned Priest, the Padre Sahib, Dr. Pfander.—The books
you sent me I return without having read them. The great God has
placed us firmly on the right way, and our knowledge is solid truth,
established by reason and revelation, and by external and internal proofs.
. . . What have we therefore to do with false books, belonging to such a
people as have turned from the right way, and in behalf of whom it is
said in the Koran, 'God has sealed up their hearts, and a veil is over their
eyes.' . . . To write more there is no need: for the wise, a hint is enough.

"HAFIZ MOHAMMED, *Azim Waiz* [public preacher]."

An old
Pushtu
Testament

In a Moslem country, the circulation of the Word of God itself
is a specially important agency. Forty years before, one of the
wonderful achievements of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore
had been the translation of the Pentateuch and the New Testament
into Pushtu, although none of them was ever within a thousand
miles of Afghanistan; but not a copy could now be found.
Suddenly it occurred to Edwardes that he had himself seen one
some years before in the hands of a Pathan chief on the frontier.
"It had been given to that chief by a missionary at Hurdwar,
and had been carefully preserved by him from fire and water,
with the secret conviction that the English power would one day
advance into the country, when it was his intention to produce it."
Edwardes wrote to the chief for it, sending a Persian Bible in
exchange, and in due course the precious Pushtu Scriptures
arrived at Peshawar. The chief was a very aged man, and died
immediately after. Thus his life had been preserved until that
book was wanted. From it, fresh copies were soon printed and
ready for circulation.

First con-
verts.

Before Pfander and Clark arrived, the chaplain at Peshawar
had baptized a young Persian who had been first awakened in
Persia by reading the *Mizan-al-Haqq*, who had travelled across
Afghanistan on purpose to learn more of Christianity, who
had heard Colonel Wheeler preaching in the Peshawar market-
place, and who had been instructed by Major Martin. He was at
once engaged as a catechist, and at first promised well; but after
a year or two he fell into sin and left the Mission. The first
Afghan convert was Yahya Bakir, of Kandahar, a Haji, having
been to Mecca and Medina. A strange dream which he had at
Medina he understood to mean that "Isa Masih" was a greater
prophet than Mohammed; and on his return home he came on to
India, having heard of Pfander being at Agra. At last he found
him at Peshawar, learned to know and love "Isa Masih," and
was baptized in January, 1856. A few days after, he was

attacked by a fanatical Moslem, and was found insensible and badly wounded close to the mission-house; but he recovered, with the loss of two fingers, and afterwards became a kind of wandering medical missionary on his own account, travelling all over Central Asia. It was said that he "prayed over his patients, and they all got well." Other notable converts of the Peshawar Mission we shall meet hereafter.

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Chap. 44.

In 1855, Herbert Edwardes presided over another missionary meeting at Peshawar, and delivered another admirable speech. His closing words are most striking, and must on no account be omitted:—

Another
speech by
Edwardes.

"The Afghans are one of those nations to whom, eighteen hundred years ago, our Lord ordered the Gospel to be preached. There is a record kept of how that order is obeyed. Men fill it up themselves, and the world has no volume of more vital interest; for the leaves of that book and the years of the world will come to an end together. As Mission after Mission is sent forth, page after page is turned.

Pages of
God's book.

"The blank pages are very few; and it is a solemn thought that on one of those few leaves we ourselves are now recording that a Mission to the Afghans has been established. Let us see that we write it down in no doubtful characters, but in bold, decided lines; and may God bless this Mission, for His sake who ordered it, and bless this station, and our country's rule, for the sake of all who help it."

Well might Ruskin class Edwardes with Gordon, Havelock, and Stonewall Jackson, and make him the hero of his romantic sketch, *A Knight's Faith*. The "knight's faith" of Herbert Edwardes he himself expressed thus: "I put full confidence in Jesus, and I couldn't do more if I lived a thousand years."

The
"knight's
faith."

It is said that Alexander the Great erected upon the left bank of the Hyphasis or Sutlej, the furthest limit of his conquests, twelve altars of hewn stone, each seventy-five feet high, to commemorate as many victories, and offered sacrifices upon them. They are described by the historian Arrian as "equal in height to towers, but far exceeding them in bulk." They have, however, been sought for in vain, and if they were really built, the conqueror's memorial has perished with him. The *U.M. Intelligencer*, in an able article on the Punjab in July, 1851, refers to Arrian's statement, and adds, "May it be the privilege of England, in the conversion of the Punjab to Christianity, to erect one of more imperishable materials!" We do not now use quite the same language: we speak rather of the *evangelization* of the Punjab, and the *conversion* of individual souls to Christ. Yet we may continue the quotation, as not less applicable:—"The language of the poet will then find an application which he never thought of—

A monu-
ment more
lasting
than brass.

"'Exegi monumentum aere perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius;
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum.'"

CHAPTER XLV.

INDIA: THE MUTINY—ITS VICTIMS AND ITS LESSONS.

Causes of the Mutiny—Meerut, Cawnpore, Lucknow—Delhi and the Punjab—Who saved India?—Murdered Missionaries—Benares: H. C. Tucker and Leupolt—Agra: French and the Secundra Fugitives—Lord Canning—Bishop Wilson's Last Sermon and Death—Calcutta repels Native Christians; R. Montgomery welcomes them—News of the Mutiny in England—What should the Missionaries do?—C.M.S. Manifesto—Meetings on the Mutiny—Tait's Speech and Miller's Sermon—John Lawrence's Farewell to the Punjab—Lawrence and Edwardes in England—Edwardes's Great Speech—The Government of India transferred to the Crown.

"Art Thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One? we shall not die. O Lord, Thou hast ordained them for judgment; and, O mighty God, Thou hast established them for correction."—Habak. i. 12.

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Chap. 45.

Lord
Canning
Governor-
General.



WISH for a peaceful term of office; but I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." So

said Lord Canning, in the unconscious language of prophecy, at the farewell banquet given him by the East India Company on the eve of his departure for India to succeed Dalhousie. Hardly had he landed at Calcutta, in February, 1856, than he found himself involved in war with Persia; but this was a small thing compared with what was coming. We now know that the storm might have been foreseen; but no one foresaw it.

The East India Company held India with a large Native army and a few thousand British troops; or rather, three Native armies, for Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were independent of each other. The Bengal Sepoys were mostly high-caste Hindus, with some Mohammedans. No Native Christian was allowed in the ranks; and this History has already recorded the case of the Sepoy convert at Meerut in 1819 who was dismissed on the sole ground of his having become a Christian.* Dalhousie, in view of the great enlargement of British India under his auspices, had repeatedly urged on the Home Government the importance of increasing the British force; but so far from this having been done, it had been reduced by the recall of three regiments for the Crimean War. And now the expedition to the Persian Gulf had

The Sepoy
Army.

* See Chapter XV.

taken more regiments out of the way, with generals like James Outram and Henry Havelock. Moreover, the centenary of the Battle of Plassey, fought June 23rd, 1757, was approaching, and there was a floating tradition that the British rule would last one hundred years and no more. If the Sepoys, therefore, wished to revolt, now was the time. But did they wish it? and if so, why? They had fought well in campaign after campaign under English officers, especially in the late Sikh Wars, and to all outward appearance they were loyal enough. The Mohammedans, indeed, might be supposed to regret the old days of their supremacy, and to be ready, if occasion arose, to restore them; but why should the Hindus, whom we had delivered from Moslem oppression, care to bring it back again?

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Why
should the
Sepoys
revolt?

Various motives, no doubt, swayed them. The rajahs dethroned by Dalhousie were discontented, and could quietly spread disaffection. Our humane legislation had interfered with many cherished Hindu customs. The railway and the telegraph—what could these portend? The Brahmans feared for their old religion. And at the very time when revolt would be easy, a panic was created by the introduction of new cartridges, which were said to be smeared with grease both from the cow and the pig. "Those fatal cartridges," says Sir Charles Aitchison,* "seem to have been compounded with a Satanic ingenuity to create a common ground for the Mohammedan and the Hindu. If the fat of the cow excited the horror of the Brahman Sepoy, the fat of swine was an abomination to the Mohammedan." In biting, or even handling, these cartridges, the Mussulman would become unclean, and the Brahman would lose his most precious possession, his caste. With lightning speed the panic spread all over North India. *Chapaties* (small cakes) were secretly sent from town to town, from village to village—always a sign of some mischief brewing. Disaffection appeared at different places, but the Government did not think it serious, and though at two stations Sepoy regiments were disarmed and disbanded, no one dreamed of a general rising. Colonel Wheler, who was too outspoken a Christian to be liked by his superiors, warned them of a plot to seize Calcutta, and was ejected from his command, and summoned before a court-martial, for his credulity; but the court-martial was never held—it was stopped by the outbreak of the Mutiny.

The
greased
cartridges.

Sunday, May 10th, 1857, was the fatal day. The Sepoys at Meerut rose, and having cut down the Europeans they met, did not wait to be cut down themselves by the English troops, in the cantonments, as they easily might have been, but fled to Delhi, where the garrison consisted of Sepoys only. There they massacred all the English, raised the standard of revolt, and set the feeble old Mogul King on the throne again. "They found in one moment a leader, a flag, and a cause, and the Mutiny was transfigured into

Meerut,
May 10th.

Delhi.

* *Rulers of India: Lord Lawrence*, p. 77.

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The
massacres.

Havelock.

Lucknow.

Henry
Lawrence
killed.

a Revolutionary War."* A young lad at the telegraph office bravely sent the last hasty message off to Lahore—"Mutiny broken out; all Europeans murdered; we are off"—and there it stopped; and nothing more was heard from Delhi. Under God, it may be said that Dalhousie's electric telegraph saved India. Although the wires were quickly cut where the mutineers could get at them, enough remained to prove of inestimable service. Meanwhile, all over the North-West Provinces the reign of terror prevailed. At station after station the Sepoys rose, murdered their officers, and massacred all the English they could lay hold of, men, women, and children, sometimes with unspeakable barbarity. Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the recently annexed but now rebellious Kingdom of Oudh, was besieged in Lucknow; John Colvin, Chief Commissioner of the North-West Provinces, in Agra; Sir Hugh Wheeler, in Cawnpore. The two former successfully defended their posts; but the treachery of Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, and the appalling tragedy that followed, when a hundred and twenty-five English ladies and children were cruelly murdered and their bodies thrown into a well, will be a memory of horror so long as the world shall stand. Havelock, returned from Persia, was fighting his way up the valley of the Ganges with a handful of British soldiers in the awful heat of an Indian June; and though he was too late to avert the Cawnpore massacre, he was able by tremendous effort to relieve Lucknow, where already lay dead the most brilliant and most beloved of all our Indian heroes, Henry Lawrence; and there died also, in the hour of victory, Havelock himself, the great Christian soldier, whose regiment of "saints," said Sir Archibald Campbell, "were always ready, and never drunk."

The story of the defence of Lucknow is perhaps the most thrilling of all the episodes of those heroic days. From June 30th to September 25th the little band of English were shut up in the Residency, enduring terrible privations, while the Sepoys, who held all the rest of the city, poured in shot and shell night and day. Henry Lawrence was struck by a shell on July 2nd, and died on the 4th.

"O greedy Death! O cruel bursting shell!

Then fell their tower of strength when Lawrence fell!"†

Then, although Havelock and Outram cut their way in on September 19th, they could not get out again, but the siege went on till November 16th, when at last Sir Colin Campbell arrived with a larger force and brought them all out safely, though obliged then to retire, leaving Lucknow in the hands of the rebels four months longer; but leaving also a force under Outram outside the

* McCarthy, *Short History of Our Own Times*, p. 172.

† From the Newdigate Prize Poem recited by A. S. Aglen at the Oxford Commemoration of 1859, in the presence of Sir John Lawrence. See *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 361.

city to keep them in check. Every detail of the story is interesting to the Church Missionary Society, for one of the young engineer officers in the Residency was George Hutchinson, afterwards Major-General, who, twenty-four years later, became Lay Secretary of the Society.*

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George
Hutchin-
son.

Meanwhile, what of the Punjab? what of the turbulent border tribes? what of Peshawar, the most dangerous post in all India? The answer to these questions embodies one of the grandest facts in British history. If in one sense it was Dalhousie's electric telegraph that saved India, in another sense it was Dalhousie's first conquest, the Punjab, that saved India; and the Punjab then meant John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, and Herbert Edwardes. And others? Yes, and others; but these three men really did the work. It was the men who were not ashamed of Christ who saved India. Henry Lawrence, Henry Havelock, and James Outram, checked the revolt down in the Valley of the Ganges; in Upper India it was the Punjab leaders who crushed it. On May 11th and 12th news reached Lahore of the disasters on the previous two days at Meerut and Delhi. Lawrence was away at Rawal Pindi; and, without waiting for orders from him, Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, within twenty-four hours, had disarmed all the Sepoys at the Lahore camp, secured the great magazine at Ferozepore, and given necessary orders and made necessary arrangements in all directions. It was no light thing to do; if the plan had failed, all had been lost; but through the blessing of the Lord it succeeded, and that day the recovery of India was begun. Edwardes was as brilliantly successful, amid certainly more permanent difficulties, at Peshawar; and very soon Lawrence was planning to despatch every man that could possibly be spared to Delhi.

The Pun-
jab saves
India.

Mont-
gomery
and
Edwardes.

For Delhi was now the centre of the revolt; and the Moham-
medanism of North-West India was jubilant. Letters were after-
wards found in the palace, of which Sir R. Temple writes, "It
would be difficult to reproduce the imagery with which the
scornful exultations over British discomfiture was expressed. The
infidel tyrant had been dethroned in an instant, like the twinkling
of an eye, the flashing of a scimitar, the striking of a knell. He
whose very shoes the faithful Mussulman had long been forced to
lick was now himself grovelling in the dust!"† If the generals at
Meerut and Umballa had been as vigorous as John Lawrence—
who was but a civilian—Delhi might have been recaptured at
once; but one was utterly incapable, and the other died, and
now the Sepoys had been reinforced by their brethren from other

Mutineers
at Delhi.

Siege of
Delhi.

* Hutchinson took a chief part in the mining and other engineering operations to defend the buildings held by the old garrison and subsequently those occupied by Outram and Havelock; and he was chief engineer with the force under Outram left outside the city, and afterwards joined the force of Sir Colin Campbell in the final capture of Lucknow.

† *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 136.

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stations, who, having mutinied and killed their officers, resorted to the headquarters of the rebellion. The result was that the little British force which had seized "the Ridge" outside Delhi was rather besieged itself than the besieger of that great city with its now formidable garrison. Lawrence and his lieutenants secured the Punjab by the extraordinary wisdom of their measures and the unfailing skill with which they were carried out, and so were able to run the risk of sending on to Delhi almost every Englishman they had, as well as the loyal Sikh and Pathan regiments they had raised. It was a risk, a risk of the utmost gravity. Delhi held out four months. The British troops were more than once on the point of retreating. Lawrence himself began to fear that all was lost. But at last came the joyful news, "Delhi is ours." John Nicholson, the most brilliant of Punjab officers, was killed leading the assault, and all the Punjab wept for him—and England too.

Victory at
last.

In the Mutiny, some fifteen hundred unarmed men, women, and children were butchered by the Sepoys at the various stations, besides the officers and soldiers killed in battle or by disease; but none were more deeply mourned than Henry Lawrence, Henry Havelock, and John Nicholson. However, the death-blow was now given to the revolt; the greatest crisis in the history of British India had been met successfully;* and although fighting went on for many months, the work of restoration had now to begin. It was an act of practical justice when the boundary of the Punjab was extended eastward, so that Delhi and its district might in future belong to Lawrence's Province.

How was
India
saved?

Let us repeat our lesson, which can never be repeated too often. The Englishmen who saved India were the Englishmen who were not only Christians themselves, but openly avowed their desire to see India evangelized; and the Province that was privileged to take the lead in the struggle was the Province in which these very men had themselves started missionary operations. "No doubt," wrote Lawrence, "humanly speaking the Punjab possessed great advantages; . . . but as a protection against the peril of the time, all such advantages were as nothing without the support of the everlasting arm of Almighty God. To Him alone be all the praise!" "It was not policy," wrote Montgomery, "or soldiers or officers, that saved the Indian Empire to England, and saved England to India. The Lord our God, He it was!"†

"The Lord
God, He it
was!"

This History, however, is less concerned with the heroic deeds

* "The world has lived to see a knot of English officers in sword and sash sitting round a table in the old Imperial capital, to try one Bahadur Shah, lineal descendant of the Great Moghuls, some time King of Delhi, and presently a British pensioner, on the charge of disturbing the public peace of India!" (Sir H. Edwardes's Lecture before the Y.M.C.A., *Our Indian Empire*, 1860.) The President of that Military Commission was Colonel Michael Dawes, afterwards Lay Secretary of the C.M.S.

† *Rulers of India: Lord Lawrence*, by Sir C. Aitchison, p. 114.

even of Christian men than with the effects of the Mutiny upon the Missions themselves. At these we must now briefly glance.

Though God's great mercy, the Church Missionary Society, though its buildings and property were destroyed to the amount of many thousand pounds, was spared the pain of losing any missionary by death. But other Societies suffered sadly. The Delhi men were the first to fall, in the massacre of May 11th. The chaplain, Rev. M. J. Jennings, and his daughter; the S.P.G. missionary, Rev. A. R. Hubbard, brother of the C.M.S. missionary at Benares; two S.P.G. catechists, Sandys and Koch, the former a son of the C.M.S. missionary at Calcutta; the Baptist missionary, Rev. J. Mackay, and the widow of another and her two daughters; also Chaman Lall, Government assistant-surgeon, and Wilayat Ali, Baptist catechist, both excellent converts from Mohammedanism before mentioned; and an S.P.G. catechist. At Cawnpore, the S.P.G. lost the Revs. W. H. Haycock and H. E. Cockey, and the mother of the former, and a Native catechist; and the chaplain, Rev. E. T. R. Monerieff, who had been for a short time a C.M.S. missionary in China, was also killed, with his wife and child; also the Futtehghur chaplain, Rev. F. Fisher, whose wife and child had been drowned with him as they crossed a river. The American Presbyterian missionaries at Futtehghur, Freeman, Campbell, Johnson, and McMullen, with the wives of the four, and two children, were all killed by Nana Sahib; also a Native Christian schoolmaster and his wife and four children, and another Christian master under the same Mission, who had come from Duff's college at Calcutta. The chaplains at Shahjehanpore and Gwalior, Revs. J. McCallum and G. W. Coopland, likewise perished; and the Scotch Presbyterian missionary at Sialkote, Rev. T. Hunter, with wife and child. Four other Native catechists are mentioned, one of them, Raphael, belonging to the C.M.S. Mission at Gorakhpur.* We can now appreciate a passage in the C.M.S. Annual Report of the next year:—

“While the Committee record their unfeigned thanksgiving to God for His preservation of every missionary of this Society, and of every member of their households, during the Mutiny, from the dreadful fate of many of their companions in danger, they must add an expression of condolence with other Missionary Societies, especially with the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, where it pleased God to suffer the ministers of peace to fall under the cruel stroke of murderers. They trust that these Societies may receive of the Lord the compensation they most value, and which He has Himself described in the words, ‘If a grain of wheat die, it bringeth forth much fruit.’”

But there were brave confessors of Christ who in the mercy of the Lord were spared death; among them Duff's much-loved

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Mission-
ary victims
of the
Mutiny.

C.M.S.
sympathy
with be-
reaved
Societies.

* This death-roll was made up by Mr. Sherring of the L.M.S. in 1859. It is reproduced in Dr. G. Smith's *Life of Duff* (vol. ii. p. 340), from which it is now taken.

PART VI. convert, Gopinath Nandi, an ordained minister of the American
1849-61. Presbyterian Church. He and his wife were captured and
Chap. 45. tortured, and threatened with a horrible death unless they abjured
Christ; but by His grace they remained steadfast, and were
Gopinath encouraged to do so by a young English officer, Ensign Cheek,
Nandi and who was brought into the same prison mortally wounded, and
Cheek. who with his dying breath cried, "Padre, padre, be firm; don't
give way." The whole thrilling story was told all over the world,
and brought from thousands of Christian eyes tears of sympathy
and admiration. But there were scores of other narratives,
scarcely less touching, in the C.M.S. periodicals at the time.

C. M. S. Let us now look more in detail at the C.M.S. Missions. First,
Missions. observe that there were no outbreaks in the Bombay and Madras
Presidencies. Secondly, observe that there were none of great
importance at the Society's Punjab stations, Amritsar, Multan,
Peshawar, Kangra, although any general revolts there would
naturally have been the most dangerous. Even at Peshawar.
Pfander went on preaching in the streets right through the most
anxious time, when plots to murder all the Europeans were
revealed by intercepted letters from influential Mohammedans.
Edwardes's splendid management kept all safe there. Thirdly,
observe that there were none in Lower Bengal. Calcutta was in
peril at one time, but prompt measures averted the danger. In
the Krishnagar and Burdwan districts there were no risings. At
the one Mission station in the Central Provinces, Jabalpur, there
was much alarm, and all Europeans and Native Christians took
refuge in an entrenched position, in which they were virtually
besieged; but no serious results ensued. All the disasters, in
fact, were in the North-West Provinces. At Meerut, where the
Disasters Mutiny began, the Rev. A. and Mrs. Medland had a narrow
in N.W.P. escape, and they lost everything but their lives, while the Native
Christians were robbed and scattered. At Juanpur the Rev.
C. F. Reuther and his family were almost miraculously delivered,
and everything was destroyed. Gorakhpur had to be abandoned,
and the Native Christians fled for their lives, their houses and
property falling into the hands of the rebels. At all these places
the Christians solemnly resolved to stand firm in their faith, and
be ready to die rather than deny their Saviour. Of the two chief
stations, Benares and Agra, a little more must be said.

Benares. Benares, the fanatical capital of Brahmanism, presented a
spectacle in the Mutiny not unlike that presented by the equally
fanatical Mohammedan frontier city of Peshawar. All the
elements of disaffection were present. The Sepoys did actually
mutiny, but were defeated. Here, however, as at Peshawar, a true
and courageous Christian was in charge. Henry Carre Tucker was
Commissioner of Benares. Lord Canning had been at school with
him, and knew the man; and he wrote to Tucker that he was
sure he would meet the crisis "with the calm courage based upon
that which alone is the foundation of true courage." And so he

H. Carre
Tucker,
another
Christian
ruler.

did. He neglected no precaution, but he declined to show fear of the people. Every day he rode out with his daughter, an inviting mark for a musket; yet he wrote to Lord Canning that the tranquillity of the city was "a miracle," and attributed it to the "much prayer" going up from the Christians there. There came, however, a time when supplies ran short, and the Government agents failed to get them from the surrounding villages; and then Tucker turned for help to the missionaries. Leupolt fearlessly went out into the country, and being well known to the people, was able to persuade them to bring in grain and cattle for sale. Even when most of the Europeans went about fully armed, the missionaries carried no arms, and were perfectly safe. Of Henry Carre Tucker, Robert Montgomery afterwards wrote, "He left a great impress upon the people amongst whom he laboured; his name is a household word amongst them. He was a valuable public servant, a bright example, a Christian man and a true missionary. It is to men of his stamp India owes so much." After the Mutiny was over, Mr. Tucker retired, and on reaching England he joined the C.M.S. Committee, and remained a leading and valued member for sixteen years, until his death. His sister Charlotte, better known as "A.L.O.E.," did noble service afterwards as a missionary in the Punjab.

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At Agra the same Christian composure was exhibited by John Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; but his post was in many respects harder than Tucker's. Agra was quite isolated, and the whole country round was more or less in rebellion. He held the city, however, for some weeks, but then was compelled to retire into the Fort, and there the English and the Native Christians were cooped up for months, though they were never besieged by a regular army as at Lucknow. When the Mutiny broke out, French was at work at St. John's College; and Mr. Charles Raikes, the chief judge at Agra, has given a vivid account of what he saw one day:—

French in
times of
peril.

"I must here pause to record the impression made upon me by the calmness and coolness of Mr. French. Every Englishman was handling his sword or his revolver: the city folk running as for their lives, and screaming that the mutineers from Aligarh were crossing the bridge; the badmashes (men of bad character) twisting their moustachios and putting on their worst looks. Outside the College, all alarm, hurry, and confusion. Within, calmly sat the good missionary, hundreds of young Natives at his feet, hanging on the lips that taught them the simple lessons of the Bible."*

"And so it was," he goes on, "throughout the revolt." While highly-paid Native officials deserted to the enemy, the students in French's College, Heathen or Mohammedan though they might be, stayed where they were, and when the severer crisis came, many of them proved trusted friends. For of course the above scene was before the withdrawal into the Fort. When, at last,

* Quoted in *Life of Bp. French*, vol. i. p. 91.

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French and
the Native
Christian
fugitives.

Colvin reluctantly took that step, the Native Christians in the city were admitted also; but then appeared the Christians from the village of Secundra, where the Sepoys had swooped down upon them with fire and sword, entreating to be taken in, not doubting that, if left outside the gates, they would be massacred that night. French could not induce the commandant of the Fort to admit them; but at length, "on declaring his unalterable purpose to stay out with them if they were refused"—so his colleague Leighton wrote,—the officer consented to open the gate if a written order were brought from the general; and this was easily obtained.* And well it proved that they were admitted; for the Heathen and Mohammedan servants had all fled, and these poor Christians were taken into employment instead. It is a significant fact that French had afterwards to preach at the Sunday service against oppressive treatment of Native servants.† Another of his sermons was a funeral one for Mr. Colvin, who died in the middle of the siege. He made warm reference to Colvin's personal character and his interest in missionary effort, but told his hearers plainly that the dying Lieutenant-Governor had relied, not upon his own goodness, but only on the Atonement and Intercession of Christ. Meanwhile, the new church, the college, and the mission-houses in Agra, and the houses and printing-presses at Secundra, were all destroyed by the rebels; a few converts who were caught died a martyr-death—among them an old Christian converted forty years before in the days of Corrie and Abdul Masih; and Mr. Hubbard, professor of English literature at the Government College, and brother of the S.P.G. missionary murdered at Delhi and of the C.M.S. missionary at Benares, was shot while driving to the Fort.

Losses at
Agra.

Calcutta.

Let us now come down to the capital of India, and see what was doing there. It is needless to refer to the panic that prevailed among the European population, and the outcry that arose against the Governor-General, Lord Canning, when that calm and noble statesman preserved his equanimity amid unparalleled excitement and contradictory counsels from all quarters. During his first year of office, before the Mutiny began, he had showed that his one object was the good of the Indian people. Dr. Duff, though not approving of all his measures, says, "No Governor-General ever came to India with a more sincerely honest desire to do what he could towards the material improvement of the country and the intellectual and social advancement of the people. His conduct relative to the admission of the evidences of revealed religion into the examinations for degrees in our Indian Univer-

Attitude
of Lord
Canning.

* A strange version of this true incident became current in after years, and unfortunately got printed in missionary papers, and repeated at missionary meetings; viz., that the commandant proposed to *turn out* the Christians when *already inside*, and that French only saved them by threatening to go out with them.

† *Life of Bp. French*, i. p. 111.

sities, was altogether admirable. In the subject of Native female education, and the re-marriage of Hindu widows, thousands of whom are mere children, he took the profoundest interest. For months before the outbreak of the mutinies, he was labouring to secure full and accurate information relative to the exposure of the sick on the banks of the Ganges, and the monstrous system of Kulin polygamy, with a prospective view to possible legislation." And when the Revolt was in full course of being suppressed, it was he that stood between the fierce wrath of too many Englishmen—not unnatural, but certainly not Christian—and the large section of the insurgent population that had been misled, and that might fairly be described as "more sinned against than sinning." Frightful and indiscriminate vengeance was loudly demanded—insomuch that the frenzy displayed drew from Mr. Disraeli the caustic remark that we had better remove from our national altar the image of Christ, and set up Moloch instead. Canning insisted upon justice, stern, swift, and severe justice, but nothing more; and the *sobriquet* by which men marked their scorn of such feebleness, as they thought it—"Clemency Canning"—will be remembered for ever to his honour.

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Clemency
Canning.

Lord Ellenborough, the vain and bombastic Governor-General who had preceded Lord Hardinge, and who was now the leading advocate in Parliament of an anti-Christian policy in India, on hearing of the Mutiny at once jumped to a conclusion as to the cause of it,* and propounded it in the House of Lords—Lord Canning had subscribed to Missions! As a matter of fact Lord Canning had subscribed to the Bible Society, as other Governors-General had done, to encourage linguistic work; also to some of the Mission-schools, to encourage educational work; not to Missionary Societies as such. But supposing he had! When Ellenborough's speech reached Calcutta, a meeting was called of the British Indian Association, a body composed of Native gentlemen, *Heathen*, of the highest standing; and after a series of indignant speeches, they passed unanimously a resolution that nothing Lord Canning had done "could be properly reckoned as an interference with their religion, or could give rise to rebellion."† Perhaps, however, the charge made Lord Canning cautious; or he was advised by men of the old anti-Christian school; but certain it is that some of his further measures were scarcely worthy of a Christian ruler. The *Friend of India*, for expressing, on the day of the centenary of the Battle of Plassey, a hope that in another century the princes of

Lord
Ellen-
borough
divines
cause of
Mutiny.

Hindus
vindicate
Canning.

Timidity of
the Cal-
cutta Gov-
ernment.

* "So little did this foe of Missions know of the facts of an empire which he had ruled, and even of a city in which he had lived for two or three years, that on the mention of the conversion of the Kulin Brahman, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, he asked, 'Is he not a Parsee?'" Dr. G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 237.

† From a pamphlet by Dr. Duff, published at Calcutta at the time, and preserved among C.M.S. Pamphlets on India.

PART VI. India might be Christian, was "warned," i.e. threatened with
 1849-61. suppression if such sentiments were repeated. The C.M.S.
 Chap. 45. Christians in the Krishnagar district sent, unprompted and in
 their own Bengali, a memorial to the Government expressing
 sympathy and loyalty, and offering their services, in providing
 bullock-carts and men, without pay; but Lord Canning declined
 to receive this and similar memorials publicly, although he was
 receiving various other loyal addresses from Hindus and Moham-
 medans. Other significant incidents of this kind occurred.

A Day of
 Prayer.

Then the aged Bishop, Daniel Wilson, begged Canning, by
 formal request and by repeated and earnest personal entreaty, to
 appoint officially a Day of Humiliation and Prayer; but in vain.
 The Bishop then arranged a special service in the cathedral on his
 own account, and also a prayer-meeting at his house, in which
 ministers of various denominations were invited to take part. At
 last, in response to a numerously-signed memorial from the Chris-
 tian inhabitants of Calcutta, the Governor-General issued a
 proclamation naming Sunday, October 4th, as a day of prayer.
 But observe three things: (1) this was three months after the
 Bishop's service; (2) the day was a Sunday—a week-day being
 refused, although the very same Gazette that announced it
 announced also the closing of the Government offices for ten days
 during the Durga Puja, the festival in honour of the bloodthirsty
 goddess Kali; * (3) the terms of the proclamation contained no
 word specifically Christian, and only referred to a vague Deity to
 whom all might pray.

Bishop
 Daniel
 Wilson's
 last ser-
 mon.

Bishop Daniel Wilson was too ill to be present at the cathedral
 on October 4th. Indeed his last sermon had been already
 preached at his own special service in July. His text then was
 Hab. i. 12, "Art Thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God,
 mine Holy One? we shall not die. O Lord, Thou hast ordained
 them for judgment; and, O mighty God, Thou hast established
 them for correction." One singularly striking passage must be
 quoted:—

"To-day, I pray you, hear His voice, and harden not your hearts: yield
 to His merciful designs in your afflictions.
 Scornful! bow before the Creator of the ends of the earth.
 Vain reasoner! prostrate yourself before the wisdom of God in His
 revealed Word.
 Self-confident boaster! humble yourself under the merciful hand of
 the Lord Christ.
 False religionist! tremble before the Omniscient Jehovah who
 searches the heart.
 Dead and sleepy professor! awake from thy fatal slumber: the Sun is
 up; the True Light now shineth.
 Captive of Satan and of thy lusts! break from thy chains; liberty is
 proclaimed in Jesus Christ.
 Procrastinating worldling! remember that at such an hour as you
 think not, the Son of Man cometh.

* *Life of Dr. Duff*, vol. ii. p. 335.

Evangelical controversialist! examine the real amount of your self-knowledge, humility, and love. Examine how far you practically believe in Christ and obey Him.

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Intellectual listener and approver of the Gospel! linger no longer in a critical hearing of truth, but seek for a new heart.

Humble inquirer! fear not; Christ will not break the bruised reed.

Sincere Christian! renew your covenant with your God on the footing of our sublime text."

Bishop Wilson's strength began to fail from that day. He struggled nearly six months against increasing weakness, and at length he entered into rest as the new year opened, early in the morning of January 2nd, 1858, in his eightieth year. The man "on whom (wrote Duff) age has conferred the spiritual sagacity of a seer, in blessed union with the mellow piety of a ripened saint,—in whose character a lion-like fortitude in the advocacy of pure evangelical truth is now beautifully blended and harmonized with a lamb-like demeanour in the whole of his personal conduct,"—directed in his will that on a tablet to his memory in the cathedral should be engraven the words, in Greek as so much more emphatic than the English, 'Ο Θεός, ἱλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ, "God be propitiated to me the sinner."

Death of
Bishop
Wilson.

Although the Calcutta Government was afraid to recognize Native Christians, it was not so with local authorities who knew them better, and who marked their steadfastness under the trial of the Mutiny. While Lord Canning's advisers took no notice of an offer of ten thousand Christian Kols from Chota Nagpore, of a battalion of Christian Karens from Burmah, and of help from the thousands of Christians in South India who addressed the Madras Government, the Commissioners at Benares and Agra were eagerly engaging them as police officers on whom they could rely. A local official even in Lower Bengal raised a corps of them; and that corps suppressed a mutiny in a military prison at Chinsurah—the only case in which such a thing had been done by a Native force alone,—insomuch that the magistrate sent to Krishnagar for "seventy-five more Christians." There was also a demand for Christian servants greater than the supply; not that domestic service was work of which the great majority of the Christians knew anything, but that they could be trusted not to murder their employers,—though, indeed, in some cases, Heathen servants also had risked their own lives to save the lives of their masters and mistresses. But the most notable example of confidence in Native Christians was shown in the Punjab, where there were as yet very few converts. In the brilliant and famous corps of Frontier Irregulars called the Guides, first raised at Sir Henry Lawrence's suggestion in 1846, and also in other regiments of the Punjab Irregular Force, Christians were already welcomed. And as regards civil employment, at the very time that the Calcutta authorities were refusing help, Robert Montgomery issued an official Memorandum on the subject—so important and in-

Loyalty of
Native
Christians
recognized.

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teresting that a few sentences must be extracted from it. He begins with just that kind of acknowledgment that had been looked for in vain at Calcutta :—

Robert
Mont-
gomery
welcomes
Native
Christians
to Govern-
ment ser-
vice.

“The sufferings and trials which the Almighty has permitted to come upon His people in this land during the last few months, though dark and mysterious to us, will assuredly end in His glory. The followers of Christ will now, I believe, be induced to come forward and advance the interests of His Kingdom and those of His servants.”

Then he announces that caste would no longer be allowed to rule in Government service. Merit alone, “irrespective of creed, class, or caste,” would be considered; and then—

“The Native Christians as a body have, with some exceptions, been set aside. I know not one in the Punjab (to our disgrace be it said) in any employment under Government. A proposition to employ them in the public service six months ago would assuredly have been received with coldness, and would not have been complied with. But a change has come, and I believe there are few who will not eagerly employ those Native Christians competent to fill appointments. . . .

“I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the judicial department for Native Christians; and I shall be happy (as I can) to advance their interests equally with those of Hindu and Mohammedan candidates. Their future promotion must depend on their own merits.”

He then goes on to request each missionary to furnish him with a list of Christians fit for employment, and gives detailed suggestions as to the qualifications needed. Such was the policy of the Province—the Province that saved India, the one Province governed by outspoken Christian statesmen and soldiers.

England :
C. M. S.
Anniver-
sary five
days before
the Mutiny

Let us now come to England. Within the week *preceding* the first outbreak at Meerut, on Monday and Tuesday, May 4th and 5th, 1857, the Church Missionary Society held a particularly happy Anniversary. Two of the new “Palmerston Bishops” took a leading part. Montagu Villiers, Bishop of Carlisle, preached the Sermon; and A. C. Tait, Bishop of London, moved the first resolution at the meeting. Francis Close, who had just succeeded Tait at the Deanery of Carlisle, followed him as a speaker. Then came four representatives of the Mission-field. Bishop Smith and Bishop Anderson pleaded for the Far East and the Far West, and undoubtedly China and Rupert’s Land were the chief topics of interest that day; though Jetter, fresh from a visit to Turkey, dwelt on the openings for work consequent on the Crimean War, and Robert Clark, home for his first furlough, told the animating story of the new Punjab Mission. But no one that day dreamed that on the following Sunday a tremendous national and missionary crisis, one of the greatest in the Nineteenth Century, was to fall upon the British Empire and upon the Church of Christ.

Horror in
England.

Of the horror, the distress, the weeping and mourning, caused by the terrible news that kept coming from India all through

that never-to-be-forgotten summer—and this at a time when there was no telegraph beyond Malta, except in India itself—it is not the place of this History to speak. The few readers who remember the time will perhaps recall the solemn appropriateness of the 79th Psalm when it came in the Church service:—

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“O God, the Heathen are come into Thine inheritance. . . .

The 79th
Psalm at
church.

“The dead bodies of Thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the air: and the flesh of Thy saints unto the beasts of the land.

“Their blood have they shed like water . . . and there was no man to bury them.

“We are become an open shame to our enemies: a very scorn and derision unto them that are round about us.

“Lord, how long wilt Thou be angry: shall Thy jealousy burn like fire for ever? . . .

“O remember not our old sins, but have mercy upon us, and that soon: for we are come to great misery. . . .

“Wherefore do the Heathen say: Where is now their God?

“O let the vengeance of Thy servants' blood that is shed: be openly showed upon the Heathen in our sight.

“O let the sorrowful sighing of the prisoners come before Thee: according to the greatness of Thy power, preserve Thou those that are appointed to die. . . .

“So we, that are Thy people and sheep of Thy pasture, shall give Thee thanks for ever: and will always be showing forth Thy praise from generation to generation.”

The letters that reached the Church Missionary Society from all parts of North India as the months went by were immediately printed and circulated; and they cannot be read even now without intense interest. Naturally, the question was instantly raised—as it always is in such circumstances—by the friends and families of the missionaries, as to what the Society was going to do for their protection: would not the Committee move them away from the scenes of danger? On the other hand, missionaries themselves who were at home on furlough were asking to be sent back to India at once. The *C.M. Record* noticed with thankfulness the bravery with which the brethren in the field, and their wives, had clung to their posts in the midst of dire confusion and imminent peril; and the Committee adopted a courageous Minute—may they always do the like!—pointing out “the exceeding importance of not deserting the Native Christians, of animating them by the presence of their leaders, of giving them *increased* spiritual support; also the urgent need for additional spiritual ministrations *for our own countrymen in India*”—(this was not the missionaries' proper business, but how could they refrain from it?);—expressing “an earnest hope that no missionary would withdraw from India except under medical certificate,” and that missionaries at home, or new men appointed to Indian stations, would “be prepared to go forth at once, in reliance upon the Lord.”

What shall
C.M.S. do:
bring the
mission-
aries out of
danger?

There was no hesitation in England in appointing a Day of

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Day of
Prayer in
England.

Humiliation ; and it was fixed for Wednesday, October 7th,—as it happened, within the week following the Sunday observed in India. Just a week before, on September 29th, the C.M.S. Committee issued a Memorandum, which is one of Venn's ablest productions, grave and restrained, yet clear and strong.* "God," it said, "has a controversy with our land, and therefore has visited us with this judgment." It sought "to lead the thoughts of Christian people *above* questions respecting the alleged faults of Government, or mistakes of civil policy or of the military department," and "to fix their contemplations upon our national responsibilities":—

Venn's
Appeal to
the Church.

"The broad fact stands out to confront us, that India has been lying passive at the feet of Great Britain for the greater part of a century, receiving the benefit of a just government, and of extended commerce, and many other temporal advantages. But two generations at least of her teeming millions have been allowed to pass away, untaught in the saving truths of Christianity. While tens of thousands of England's choicest sons have flocked to India, to reap a harvest of temporal wealth from the labour and skill of the Natives, only a few Christian teachers have been sent out, in numbers utterly insignificant compared with the work before them, to reap fields white with a spiritual harvest of immortal souls.

"The guilt of these neglected responsibilities must be divided between the Government of British India and the Christian Churches of Great Britain. For a long period the Indian authorities would allow no Christian missionary to reside within their territory. They compromised themselves with Hinduism, and the Mohammedan imposture; and this under the profession of neutrality in respect of all religions. Of late years this policy has been happily modified; connexion with idolatry has been for the most part severed. Missions have been freely tolerated; but the Christian conversion of the Natives has been discouraged, and the principle of neutrality is still professed. The Christian Church shared in this guilt. For a long time she lifted up no protesting voice, and neglected the spiritual interests of India. She has awakened from her guilty lethargy, but has not risen to the occasion. It was indeed her voice which prevailed over an unwilling Government to open the door to missionaries, and to separate itself from any abominations; but she has not taken full advantage of the opportunities thus gained, but has halted in the subsequent discharge of her own appropriate duty."

And to the
Govern-
ment.

It went on to urge upon the Government of India "to honour God by avowing itself a Christian Government," "to tolerate all forms of religion, but not immoral practices under the garb of religion," and "to let Government education comprise the teaching of the Word of God"; but its chief message was a call to the "Christian Churches" to "make a new and enlarged effort to send forth missionaries to India," and specially "to provide for India a vernacular moral and Christian literature." Some of these points will come before us again in future chapters.

This Memorandum to the public the C.M.S. Committee followed

* Printed in the *C.M. Record*, November, 1857.

up with a Memorial to the Queen on the future policy of the Indian Government, which also will be noticed by-and-by. Then, on January 12th, 1858, a great public meeting on the Indian Crisis was held at Exeter Hall. On this occasion the President yielded the chair to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Vice-Patron of the Society, and himself moved the first resolution. He was followed by Bishop Tait in a grave and powerful address; and among the other speakers were the Archbishop's brother, Charles Sumner, Bishop of Winchester; Mr. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.; Mr. J. F. Thomas, late Secretary to the Madras Government; C. Reuther, the missionary who had escaped by a miracle at Juanpur; H. V. Elliott of Brighton, &c. The meeting was marked by a high Christian tone throughout. There were no denunciations of the Government or of the party of Lord Ellenborough. A statement by Venn, calling for more prayer and effort for India, struck the right key at the beginning, and there was no jarring note. The one real burst of irrepressible enthusiasm was when Bishop Tait, referring to Havelock, whose death had moved the heart of the whole nation, alluded sympathetically to "psalm-singing soldiers":—

"What a cause for thankfulness is it that such an example should have been set for the British Army; that it should have been shown that the man who loves Christ is the man who loves his Queen and his country best. Those of you who have visited the field of Waterloo must have been struck with the monuments erected in the adjoining churchyard to the memory of those that died on that field. It is only a short time since that great event to which I allude; yet how totally different is the state of feeling which those monuments indicate from that which is seen exhibited in the Crimean burying-ground, or amongst many of our soldiers who survive. At Waterloo there is hardly a single epitaph which speaks of life in the Lord Jesus Christ. But now may we not infer from the records of the Crimean War, and from what we learn of our soldiers in all parts of the world, and especially of that great soldier who has recently been removed from amongst us, that a real Christian spirit has been diffused in our army? We sometimes hear people scoff at the idea of a psalm-singing general or psalm-singing soldiers: but there was a day in England when psalm-singing generals and soldiers showed that they were not to be despised. I will not say that there were not great faults in those men. I pronounce no opinion as to what they did politically; but this I will say, that their singing of psalms did not make them less terrible in the day of battle, and I believe every one present feels that those who love Christ most may be expected to fear death least, and to expose themselves most unreservedly in the service of their Sovereign."

Then came the Anniversary. Dr. Miller of Birmingham was the preacher, and gave one of the most powerful deliveries in the whole series of C.M.S. Annual Sermons. For an hour and forty minutes he held an overflowing congregation enthralled. Of this great Sermon our Thirty-fifth Chapter has spoken. The paragraphs on India are forcible and impressive indeed. India might want—did want—all kinds of national and social development, but

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C.M.S.
public
meeting on
the Indian
Crisis.

Bishop
Tait on
psalm-
singing
soldiers.

Miller's
Sermon.

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we might enrich her with all our civilization and culture, and yet leave her poor, unless to these we added the "unsearchable riches of Christ" of which his text spoke. It was in no sense a political sermon: Miller did in one paragraph—which will be quoted in another chapter—formulate the demands which the Church might rightly make upon the Government; but his main appeal was to the clergy and laity, the rank and file of the Church, to set about the evangelization of India on an enlarged scale. The Meeting next day was addressed by Bishop Tait, who thus appeared at Exeter Hall under C.M.S. auspices three times in twelve months; by the venerable Dr. Marsh, who was carried on to the platform, and spoke a few words for the last time; by Hugh Stowell and Hugh McNeile, the latter of whom assailed the neology of the day, powerfully urging that there was "none other name" but Christ's whereby men might be saved, and applying this to Indian policy; and by the newly-appointed successor of Daniel Wilson in the bishopric of Calcutta, G. E. L. Cotton, who was brought by Tait to be introduced to the Society, and who spoke a few cordial words. In the following year, 1859, Bishop Tait, in addition to preaching the St. Bride's Sermon—which has been referred to before—again spoke at Exeter Hall, and again urged, in his grave and impressive manner, the adoption of a Christian policy in India; and the meeting heard with deep interest from the lips of French and Leupolt their personal experiences of Agra and Benares respectively in the Mutiny days. The appointed Thanksgiving Day for peace in India was the preceding Sunday.

Further
C.M.S.
meetings.

John Lawrence and
H. Edwardes
come home

In 1859, Sir John Lawrence and Colonel Herbert Edwardes returned to England. Edwardes left his house at Peshawar as a gift to the Mission, that the rent of it (over £100 a year) might perpetuate his subscription—as it does to this day. Lawrence's last act as Lieutenant-Governor was to perform the ceremony of cutting the first sod of the Punjab Railway. A stately ceremonial emphasized the importance of this act, in the midst of which verses of Scripture were read, and prayer offered; * and Lawrence delivered an impressive speech, from which an extract must be given in these pages:—

Lawrence's
speech at
Lahore.

"This is perhaps the last time I shall have the opportunity of meeting so many of my friends. I am now about to give up my stewardship and return to England. I feel that I have been singularly favoured, much indeed beyond my deserts, since I was first employed in the Punjab, now very nearly thirteen years ago. When I first crossed the Sutlej, there was not a trace of a road in the country: now we have several thousand miles of roads, and are commencing a railway of 240 miles in length. In those days we had lately defeated the Sikhs in four severely-contested actions. The people as a race were our enemies. One class in the country preyed on the other. There was little real security. Crimes of violence, such as highway robbery, dacoity, and Thuggee,

* The prayer is printed *verbatim* in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1859, p. 253.

were of common occurrence. Now all this has changed: no part of Her Majesty's dominions is more peaceable; in few parts are the people better disposed. Life and property, except on the extreme frontier, are secure, and even on the frontier, are wonderfully safe. Indeed, in no portion of the Punjab has the improvement in the administration been more marked. All this has been proved beyond question in the crisis of 1857, when, but for the general contentment of the people, it would not have been possible to maintain the public tranquillity, still less to have assisted in the re-conquest of Hindustan.

"For all these great advantages, I acknowledge myself indebted to the great Author of all good. Without His guiding and protecting Hand, what would indeed have become of us all?"

Much surprise was expressed, both in India and in England, that such men as Lawrence and Edwardes did not both receive higher honours from the Crown. Lawrence, already K.C.B., only got his G.C.B. and a baronetcy, although Sir Colin Campbell was made a peer with the title of Lord Clyde; while Edwardes only received a C.B., although the able military commander at Peshawar, Sydney Cotton, was made K.C.B. But what was lacking in official recognition was more than supplied by popular enthusiasm, and especially by the gratitude of the Christian public. Of the honours showered upon Lawrence by various public bodies it is not for this History to speak; but one must be mentioned, which perhaps he valued most of all. On June 24th, 1859, at Willis's Rooms, before a crowded and influential assembly, an address was presented to him, thanking him for the stand he had taken in India as a Christian statesman and ruler, and signed by eight thousand persons, including twenty-three archbishops and bishops, twenty-eight peers, seventy-one M.P.'s, and three hundred mayors, provosts, &c. Bishop Tait presented the address, and delivered a noble speech of his own, assuring Sir John that the meeting pressed upon him no detailed policy, desired to exact from him no pledge, but simply wished to express unreserved confidence in his "manly and straightforward Christian sentiments," and were "perfectly satisfied to leave to him as a Christian statesman to carry out and apply, as might seem good to him, the general principles he had enunciated." In replying, Lawrence, referring to a notice in the address of the Punjab having saved India, said, "That we were eventually successful against the fearful odds which beset us was alone the work of the great God, who so mercifully vouchsafed His protection. Nothing but a series of miracles saved us. To Him, therefore, alone is the glory due"; and then, on the question of a Christian policy in India, he said:—

"It is not possible to introduce Western learning and science into India without leading its people to throw off their faith. If this position be correct, surely we are bound to give them facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the true faith. This is our true policy, not only as Christians, but as statesmen. In doing our duty towards them we should neither infringe the rights of conscience nor interfere with

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Peace and
safety due
to God.

Honours to
Lawrence
in Eng-
land.

Bishop
Tait's
address to
him.

Reply of
Lawrence.

PART VI. the free will of man, while we should be working in the true way to
 1849-61. maintain our hold on India. Had the mutineers of the Bengal army
 Chap. 45. possessed some insight into the principles of the Christian religion, they
 would never have been misled in the manner they were—they would
 never have banded themselves together to resist and to avenge
 imaginary wrongs. Ignorance, in all ages, has been productive of error
 and delusion. India has formed no exception to this rule. I pray
 that the misfortunes entailed by this mutiny may teach England true
 wisdom, without which her tenure of India can never prove prosperous
 and enduring."

Lawrence was no orator; but Edwardes was a great one in every respect. A lecture on Our Indian Empire which he gave before the Young Men's Christian Association at Exeter Hall in 1860, and also at Manchester, is a magnificent specimen of fervent eloquence; * and not less so was his great speech at the C.M.S. Anniversary, in the same year. By universal consent, no such speech had ever been delivered at any annual meeting. The only one that can be compared with it is Alexander Duff's in 1836.† He took as his definite subject, "The Safety of a Christian Policy in India." After dwelling powerfully upon the fact that while the Bengal Army, with strict caste and no Christians, revolted, the Bombay and Madras Armies, with Christians in the ranks and no caste, stood loyal,‡—also on the loyalty and usefulness of the Native Christians in Bengal when employed in the police and otherwise,§—also on the loyalty of the Rajah of Kaparthala, the one chief in all India favourable to Christianity,—also on the examples of God-honouring Christian men like the Lawrences, Montgomery, McLeod, Havelock, and H. C. Tucker,—he proceeded to cite nine striking facts connected with the Mutiny which could only be attributed to Divine interposition. These were—(1) The sudden peace with Persia releasing our troops there; (2) The intercepting of the troops going to China; (3) the electric telegraph being ready; (4) the preservation of order in the Punjab; (5) the favourable attitude of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and (6) of the Afghans, and (7) of the chiefs of several Native States, and (8) of the people of India as a whole, "who might have smothered us with their very turbans"; (9) the failure of the revolt to produce one skilful commander. "My friends," exclaimed Edwardes, "these things are wonderful. In them we hear the voice of God. And what says that voice?"—

"That Voice says, 'India is your charge. I am the Lord of the world. I give kingdoms as I list. I gave India into the hands of England. I did not give it solely for your benefit. I gave it for the benefit of My one hundred and eighty millions of creatures. I gave it to you to whom I have given the best thing man can have—the Bible, the knowledge of the only true God. I gave it to you that you might communicate this light and knowledge and truth to these My heathen creatures. You have neglected the charge I gave you. You have ruled India for your—

* Reprinted by C.M.S. in 1886, and now on sale.

† See Vol. I., p. 310.

‡ See p. 237.

§ See p. 225.

Great
speech of
Herbert
Edwardes.

Safety of
Christian
Policy.

How God
interposed
in India.

The Voice
of God to
England.

selves, and I have chastened you : I have humbled you in your pride : I have brought you even to the dust—I have brought you within one step of ruin. But I have condoned your offences. I have raised you up. When no mortal hand could save you from the results of your own policy, I, the God whom you have offended, have come to your assistance. I have lifted you up again, and I say to you, England, that I once more consign this people to your charge. I say to you that I once more put you upon your trial : and I say to you, take warning from the past.'

"And, my friends, let us take warning! Let us not only take warning, but let us take courage. It is not the language of fanaticism which says, 'Christianize your policy.' It is the language of sound wisdom ; it is the language of experience. I say that the Christian policy is the only policy of hope. . . . Stand avowedly as a Christian Government. Follow the noble example of your Queen. Declare yourselves, in the face of the Indian people, a Christian nation, as Her Majesty has declared herself a Christian Queen, and you will not only do honour to her but to your God, and in that alone you will find that true safety rests."

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It is impossible to describe in cold print the effect of this speech ; but the preacher of the Sermon on the previous evening, Henry Venn Elliott of Brighton, has left a vivid account of the scene in a letter written to his son in India, the present Sir Charles A. Elliott.* "No one who was there," he says, "will ever forget it. It was a thrilling spectacle to see five or six hundred clergy and laity on the platform, losing the equilibrium of their gravity, and tumultuously rising up to cheer with hands and feet and voice ; and when the cheer pealed itself out, reviving it till it rang again through the vast assembly up to its topmost pitch. The two thousand ladies caught the enthusiasm, and forgetting etiquette, stood on their feet, and waved their handkerchiefs. . . . People shook hands and congratulated one another that they had heard such a speech. Nobody thought of what they did or said, but did or said what their excitement forced them to do or say." Sir John Lawrence, too, was present, and joined in the applause, "but with a difference," says Elliott, "by the heavy knock of his stick on the floor." When the tumult subsided, shouts arose of "Lawrence ! Lawrence !" but the grave Deliverer of India was not to be drawn, and remained quietly in his seat. There was one man to be pitied, the Rev. C. F. Cobb, the Benares missionary (whose wife was Elliott's niece), who had to speak next. In fact, the meeting could take in no more ; and although Dean Close and Emilius Bayley did speak, the Bishop of Sierra Leone and Dr. Miller, who were to have come last, were dropped out of the programme.

Effect of
the speech :
extraordi-
nary scene
at Exeter
Hall.

In closing this chapter we must go back a little in date. In order to notice Herbert Edwardes's great speech, we stepped forward into 1860. But one great event in 1858 has yet to be mentioned.

The Mutiny naturally brought to the front the whole problem

* *Life of H. V. Elliott*, p. 326.

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Problem of
Indian Govern-
ment.

The new
Conserva-
tive Minis-
try.

Votes of
Censure.

Transfer of
Govern-
ment from
the Com-
pany to the
Crown.

of the best method of governing India; and in 1858 the question of the East India Company's position was the prominent one in Parliament. Lord Palmerston brought in a Bill for the Better Government of India; but just then a sudden hostile vote of the House of Commons, on a Bill designed to prevent French refugees in England from conspiring against the French Emperor, turned out the Ministry; and Lord Derby came in as Premier. This change was not welcome to the Evangelical Churchmen of that day. Although naturally disposed towards Conservatism in politics, they dreaded the loss of Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments; they entirely distrusted Mr. Disraeli; and they were especially alarmed for India when Lord Ellenborough was appointed to the India Office. He did not, however, continue there long. Lord Canning, on the reconquest of Oudh, had shown some severity in dispossessing the rebellious chiefs of their lands; and Ellenborough, with his usual impetuosity, had seized the opportunity to condemn in a violent despatch the action of his political opponent, the man whose supposed subscriptions to Missions he had before denounced. Lord Shaftesbury at once moved, in the House of Lords, a vote of censure on Lord Derby's Government, and was only beaten, after a full-dress debate, by nine votes—a Pyrrhic victory for a Conservative Ministry in that House. A similar motion was then made in the Commons, and it looked for a few days as if the new Cabinet would be prematurely turned out; but Ellenborough resigned office to save his colleagues, and after a confused debate the motion was withdrawn. Ellenborough's resignation, however, did not bring much comfort to the Christian men who cared for India; for his post was taken by Lord Derby's son, Lord Stanley, who was understood to be a freethinker. But all these changes made little difference to the immediate question of Indian Government. Mr. Disraeli's Bill was so curiously artificial that it was at once laughed out of court; and a more commonplace measure was substituted for it, very much on Palmerston's lines. In fact, all the Bills were alike in their main feature, the transfer of government altogether from the East India Company to the Crown. The Company fought hard against this, but in vain. The President of the Board of Control, as the Minister for India had previously been called, became a Secretary of State, and a Council of fifteen experienced Anglo-Indians was formed as his permanent adviser and referee. On September 1st, 1858, the Company's government ceased to exist; and in November, the Queen was proclaimed throughout India as its direct ruler, with Lord Canning as her first Viceroy. Some sentences from the Proclamation will be examined in another chapter. Let another of them close the present page:—

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.”

CHAPTER XLVI.

INDIA : THE GREAT CONTROVERSY—NEUTRALITY OR CHRISTIANITY ?

The Neutrality of the Indian Government—Craufurd and the Sepoys - Contamination feared, not Conversion—The Education Discussions of 1853—The Despatch of 1854—C.M.S. Memorial to the Queen, 1858—Bishop Tait and Dr. Miller—The Santal Schools—Herbert Edwardes's Memorandum—John Lawrence's Manifesto—Lawrence's "Reply" to Arnold—Lord Ellenborough and Lord Stanley—The Queen's Proclamation: What did C.M.S. think of it?—Their Doubts dispelled—How to deal with "Shylock"—The Riot in Tinnevely—Madras acts well, Calcutta acts badly—Cust's Stand for Liberty—The Mazhabi Sikhs—Question of the Bible in the Schools.

"Who is on the Lord's side?"—Exod. xxxii. 26.

"The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God."—2 Sam. xxiii. 3.



T first sight one might think this chapter unnecessary, so much has already been said upon the subject. In Chap. V. we reviewed the attitude of the East India Company to Christianity in the last century. In Chap. IX. we noticed the struggle of 1813, and the opening of India to the Gospel. In Chap. XXI. we glanced at the reforms under Lord W. Bentinck; and in Chap. XLII. at some further reforms under Lord Dalhousie. And in the two preceding chapters, XLIV. and XLV., we have been face to face with the great problem, and have seen the wondrous blessing vouchsafed by the Lord of Hosts to the statesmen who feared and honoured Him. But it was in 1858 that the controversy was at its highest, and in that and the following year the *Times* and other great journals, the religious papers, and the C.M.S. publications, were full of it; and we shall find that we have still to note many incidents and utterances which cannot be passed over.

The attitude of the Government was avowedly one of religious Neutrality. Sometimes this was defended as though it were identical with religious Toleration. But the two things are widely different. Neutrality may or may not be tolerant. Of course it professes to be so, but in practice it may sometimes show a good deal of intolerance. On the other hand, Toleration does not necessarily imply Neutrality. The strongest advocate of a particular religion may extend the widest toleration to the

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Distinction between
Toleration
and Neu-
trality.

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Neutrality
not under-
stood by
Hindus
and Mos-
lems.

votaries of other religions. The contention of the Christian side in the controversy was (1) that Government neutrality was in fact one-sided, (2) that it had failed in its desired effect upon the Indian people. The former proposition has already been illustrated in this History, and will again be illustrated in the present chapter; and the latter was its natural and inevitable result. The Hindus could not understand our boasted neutrality. There seemed no consistency in it. On the one hand, all sorts of concessions were made to the caste system, particularly to the prejudices of the pampered Brahman Sepoys, while at the same time Missions and missionaries were, in the main, discountenanced; and on the other hand, various social reforms were enforced, such as the abolition of Suttee and other customs which were part and parcel of the Hindu religion. The very fact that the Government disclaimed all preference for Christianity, and held aloof from all missionary effort, encouraged the thoughtful Hindu or Mussulman to suspect its honesty in the matter. No Brahman or Moslem is ever afraid or ashamed to avow his faith. If he did, there would be reason to suspect some underhand design. This is just what the Sepoys, and a good many other Natives, did dread. As Lord Canning said, in an official despatch, there was "a prevalent and fatal delusion that it was the fixed design of the British Government to interfere by force with the religious liberty of the people." The proclamation of the rebels at Delhi affirmed that it was "well known that the English entertained the evil design, first of destroying the religion of the army, and then of making the people by compulsion Christians." And this in the teeth of the loud and repeated professions of neutrality!

Hindu
miscon-
ceptions
not caused
by Chris-
tian rulers.

It was not the attitude and action of those governors who openly avowed their Christian faith, and supported Missions, that had caused this delusion. In the North-West Provinces, Mr. Thomason and Mr. Colvin, who were successively Lieutenant-Governors, identified themselves in the most open way with missionary effort; and no rulers were ever more generally popular. But when a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who had distinguished himself by issuing a proclamation disavowing any connexion with Missions or Christianity, visited Ghaziabad, a town in those very North-West Provinces, there was quite a commotion, as the populace really believed that his proclamation was a blind, and that he had come to make them all eat rice together, and so lose caste and be made Christians!*

Nor by
Missions.

Nor was it the preaching of the missionaries that had caused the delusion. In those parts of India where Missions had been most successful, as in the South, and in Rural Bengal, there was no Mutiny, not even disaffection. At two-thirds of the military stations where the massacres took place there were no Missions;

* From a Letter to Lord Stanley, by Mr. Henry Carre Tucker, who was Commissioner of Benares at the time, preserved in the C.M.S. volume of pamphlets on India.

there was as yet no Mission in Oudh, where, more than anywhere else, the mutiny of the soldiers became a rising of the population generally; and of all classes of the population the Sepoys were the most carefully protected by the Government from the intrusion of the missionaries. Even the East India Company's chaplains were forbidden to speak to them of religion. In 1830, when the Rev. G. Craufurd (afterwards Sir G. Craufurd, Bart.) was chaplain at Allahabad, several Sepoys came to him asking him to teach them Christianity; and at last they invited him to come into the lines and instruct them systematically. He went, and found chair and desk ready, and began to teach. Presently up rushed the major of the regiment, and exclaimed, "Preaching to the Sepoys, Mr. Craufurd! You'll cause a mutiny, sir, and we shall all be murdered at midnight!" "Sir," said Craufurd, "they asked me to come." "That, sir," rejoined the major, "*must* be false." The matter was referred to Calcutta, and a peremptory order came to stop all such proceedings. The men were allowed, however, to visit the chaplain at his own house, and when they inquired why he could not come to the lines, they could not credit the reason: why, said they, should the Sahibs forbid their own religion to be taught? Soon, under Craufurd's instruction, several professed their faith in Christ, and asked for baptism. Again the Calcutta authorities were referred to, and they positively prohibited it; and this was followed by a general order forbidding chaplains to speak to the Sepoys of religion at all. *That major* rose to higher rank in due course, and when the Mutiny broke out was in command at Cawnpore—where he was barbarously murdered by his own men.* Well might it be said that if the Gospel had been allowed to be proclaimed freely, even among the Sepoys—but of course by volunteer preachers,—they would have understood better the true spirit of Christianity, and have known that any attempt to force it upon unwilling hearers would be contrary to its own principles. It is a remarkable fact that while there were no Christians in the Bengal Army, which mutinied, there were at the same time 359 Christians in the Bombay Army, and 2011 in the Madras Army, and in neither of these forces was there any revolt.†

And it was not the Missions themselves that were objected to. The Hindus perfectly understood their purpose, and while they could persecute any of their own people who became Christians, they quite recognized the right of English Christians to spread their faith by legitimate means. At that remarkable meeting of Hindu gentlemen to repudiate Lord Ellenborough's statement that the Mutiny was provoked by a Governor-General subscribing to

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For the
Sepoys
were pro-
tected from
Christian
teaching.

Case of
Mr. Crau-
furd.

No Hindu
objection
to uncon-
cealed
Christian
effort.

* The whole detailed narrative is given in a memorandum written and signed by Sir Herbert Edwardes, and printed in the *Life of Sir H. Lawrence*, p. 54. It was Mr. Craufurd who was the instrument of bringing Henry Lawrence to decision for Christ. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

† See *Memoir of Sir H. Edwardes*, vol. ii. p. 252.

PART VI. Missions,—which was referred to in the preceding chapter,—the
1849-61. chief speaker, Babu Dakinaranjan Mukerji, said :—
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“ However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of our society, and generally of those of the people, when I say that as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land; nay, *they are held by us in the highest esteem.* European history does not bear on its record the mention of a class of men who suffered so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education as the Christian missionaries in India.”

A Hindu official calls on Government to avow its Christianity.

At the height of the revolt, a highly-educated Hindu gentleman at Benares, a Government Inspector of Schools, and learned writer on science, named Sivaprasad, wrote a long letter on its causes to Mr. Henry Carre Tucker, the Commissioner there,* in which he said :—

“ The people know that the Government is a Christian one : let it act openly as a true Christian : the people will never feel themselves disappointed, they will only admire it. You may have a thousand missionaries to preach, and another thousand as masters of schools, at the expense of the Government, or distribute a thousand Bibles at the hands of the Governor-General. The people will not murmur a single syllable, though they may laugh and jeer. But take care that you do not interfere with their caste, that you do not force them to eat the food cooked by another in the jails, or thrust grease down their throats with the cartridges. I do not think such acts have anything to do with the Christian religion.”

Hindus fear, not conversion, but contamination.

In other words, as Sir Charles Napier put it, “ What the people feared was *not conversion, but contamination.*” And in view of the whole history, one cannot be surprised that when Lord Ellenborough and others threw the blame on the missionaries, the narrative of Ahab and Elijah occurred to many minds. “ When Ahab saw Elijah, . . . Ahab said unto him, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? And he answered, I have not troubled Israel; but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim.”

But after all the disputes and recriminations, the question remained, What was to be done in future? A very sensible remark was made in the letter, already quoted from, written by the Hindu at Benares to Mr. Tucker :—“ As to your question, What is now to be done? it is difficult to answer without knowing *the man through whom it is to be done.*” Exactly. *Rem acu tetigit*; or in English proverbial language, he in those words knocked the right nail on the head.

Question of Religious Education.

Before reviewing the history of the great controversy of 1857-59, we must briefly glance at the circumstances out of which arose

* The letter was published at Calcutta, and is preserved in the C.M.S. collection of pamphlets on India. Another letter written by Sivaprasad is printed in the *Life of Sir H. Edwardes*, vol. ii. p. 278. There are references also to him in the *Memoir of Bishop Cotton*, p. 181, and in Dr. G. Smith's *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 96.

one important branch of it, viz., the question of religious education for the people of India.

When, in 1852-53, the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was approaching, strong opinions were expressed that the Company had been spending too much of the revenue of the country on War, and too little upon Education and the social and moral improvement of the people. Something had been done in the direction of Higher Education. In the days of Lord William Bentinck, and under the auspices of Macaulay and Trevelyan, inspired, as we have seen, by Alexander Duff, English literature and culture had been introduced, and the Government Colleges for such instruction had been fairly successful. But for the primary and vernacular education of the people generally, scarcely anything had been done; and in 1852, comparatively few as the missionary schools were, they were teaching four times as many children as all the Government institutions put together.* Indeed the only comprehensive plan for primary education had been formed by James Thomason in the North-West Provinces. The people were not serfs; there were in those Provinces alone four millions of peasant proprietors with their families; yet the men could not read the entries in the Land Registers regarding their own little possessions, nor calculate rents and taxes, except mentally. Thomason tried to entice the people, by the attraction of the three R's, to set up little village schools for themselves, providing, on the part of Government, model schools here and there, inspectors, and scholarships. "He was the father of elementary education in North India."†

The Parliamentary Committees on Indian affairs in 1852-53 gave much attention to educational proposals. An interesting account is given in the Life of Dr. Duff of his examination before them, and the clear and strong policy that he urged upon them; and it is claimed for him, apparently with justice, that he was the real inspirer of the measures determined on. At the same time, he was working throughout with Mr. J. M. Strachan, the leading member of the C.M.S. Committee so often referred to in this History, who knew the South of India as well as Duff knew the North. On June 3rd, 1853, Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control in Lord Aberdeen's Ministry, expounded in the House of Commons, in a speech of five hours' length which made his reputation as a statesman, the principles on which the administration of India was to be conducted. In his closing remarks he spoke as the representative of a Christian nation should speak. While approving of Government "carefully abstaining from pro-

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Primary
education
backward.

Efforts of
Thomason.

The ques-
tion in
Parliament

Sir C.
Wood's
great
speech.

* "It is notorious that missionary vernacular schools have succeeded when ours have failed. I think the time has come when we may wisely use the services of these laborious, zealous, and earnest men." Mr. (afterwards Sir) F. Halliday, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Minute of 1853, quoted in *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1858, p. 61.

† Sir R. Temple: *James Thomason*, in "Rulers of India" series, p. 172.

PART VI. 1849-61. moting the conversion of the people officially," he expressed his
 Chap. 46. "hope and trust" that education would "gradually lead to the reception of a purer faith"; "but that result," he added, "we must leave in the hands of Him who will, in His own good time, bring about that which He desires to come to pass." Some had said that if we enlightened the people we should lose India; on which he uttered these noble words, and then sat down:—

"I believe that by so doing we shall not weaken but strengthen our empire. But even if the reverse should be the case—even if the result should be the loss of that empire—it seems to me that this country will occupy a far better and prouder position in the history of the world, if by our agency a civilized and Christian empire should be established in India, than if we continued to rule over a people debased by ignorance and degraded by superstition."

The Educational Despatch of 1854.

Then in the following year was issued the famous Educational Despatch, dated July 19th, 1854, and covering eighteen folio pages of a blue-book. It was drafted for Sir Charles Wood by Mr. T. G. Baring, afterwards Lord Northbrook, who himself became in later years Viceroy of India. But it was to a large extent built up upon memoranda supplied by Dr. Duff, by Mr. Strachan, and by Mr. J. C. Marshman, the great historian and journalist, son of Carey's colleague. "Duff's handiwork can be traced, not only in the definite orders, but in the very style of what has ever since been pronounced the great educational charter of the people of India." * The Despatch dealt with both Higher and Elementary Education. For the promotion of the former, Government Colleges were to be multiplied, and Universities established in the three Presidencies. For the promotion of the latter, Vernacular Schools were to be established on an extensive scale; but the special feature of interest under this head was an arrangement for giving grants-in-aid—just as the Privy Council had begun to do at home—to schools started and carried on by voluntary effort, under Government inspection. These aided schools might be conducted by Christian missionaries, or by Hindus and Mohammedans themselves, the managers being at liberty to give what religious instruction they chose, but the Government inspection and grants being confined to the secular instruction. In announcing this policy, the Despatch referred in cordial terms to "the noble exertions of Societies of Christians of all denominations to guide the Natives of India in the way of religious truth," which had "largely contributed to the spread of education." In Government Colleges and Schools there was to be no religious instruction. At one time the Bible had not been allowed in them at all, and the masters, even if asked by the pupils, were to refuse to give any explanation of even its history; † but this had been modified before, and the Despatch

The grant-in-aid system.

Should the Bible be read?

* Dr. G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 245.

† The *Bombay Gazette* of July 18th, 1862, stated that the original order to exclude the Bible from Government Schools was due to the misdirected zeal of a chaplain at Poona. When the Government English School there

approved and confirmed the practice then existing, viz., that the Bible be placed in all school and college libraries, and the masters be free to explain or expound it to any inquiring pupils out of school-hours. Duff and Strachan had earnestly recommended that the Bible be a class-book in Government schools, attendance on the class being optional; but this suggestion was not acted upon, and the Grant-in-aid system was in fact adopted instead, as a compromise.* The Despatch, however, was received with enthusiasm by the Missionary Societies and Christian men generally. Henry Venn, before it came out, heard from Mr. Strachan of Sir C. Wood's plans, and in his journal he wrote:—

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C.M.S.
approves
the new
policy.

(May 26th, 1854.) "Mr. Strachan called, bringing me an account of his interview with Sir C. Wood. My heart was filled with praise and gratitude to God at hearing of the measures respecting education in India which it was proposed to adopt. A despatch will soon appear which will lay a foundation for missionary schools, and accomplish more towards the evangelization of India than any public measure which has yet been adopted."

On the strength of this information, and before the Despatch was published, the Society sent a circular to its missionaries in India, enjoining them to lose no time in making their schools as efficient as possible, so as to take full advantage of the intended Government scheme. And the Annual Report of the following year spoke of the Despatch as "marking a happy change in the policy which, for more than half a century, had led the rulers of India to ignore the labours of Christian missionaries within their dominions." "No state paper relative to India has appeared, of comparable importance and ability, since Lord Glenelg's despatch of 1833, which first enunciated the just relations of our Government to the religious institutions of the Natives."

It fell to Lord Dalhousie, then at the height of his power and reputation, to carry out in India the plans of the great Despatch; and he did it with all his heart, and with his incomparable energy. It is interesting, indeed, to find that the Grant-in-aid Scheme of Duff and Strachan had been already submitted to him, and to

Dalhousie
proceeds to
carry it out.

was opened (it is stated), the master, accustomed to English ways, had the Bible read as a matter of course. The chaplain was shocked at the profanation of the Sacred Volume being in the hands of Pagan pupils, and complained to the authorities; and the result was an official order prohibiting the practice. (*U.M. Record*, October, 1862.) It is not clear from this when the incident occurred, nor whether the order referred to applied to all India or only to the Bombay Presidency.

* Mr. Strachan wrote in 1858:—"The proposal for the Grants-in-aid Scheme originated with Dr. Duff and myself. A paper urging the introduction of the Bible into the Government Schools and Colleges, or, if that were refused, representing the claims of Christian schools for a portion of the Government grants, with a memorandum appended containing a sketch of the Grant-in-aid Scheme, written by Dr. Duff at my request, was laid before the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control. The Grant-in-aid Scheme was accepted as a compromise." (Letter to Capt. Eastwick, in C.M.S. collection of pamphlets on India.)

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John Lawrence and Montgomery and McLeod in the Punjab, and that they had all strongly endorsed it. Dalhousie, in a Minute of June, 1854, which can scarcely have reached England before the Despatch was finally settled, spoke of "the strong expediency of supporting missionary schools by public money where they really impart a good secular education, and of increasing their efficiency by grants-in-aid"; and he added, "I am of opinion that for these days *we carry the principle of neutrality too far*; that even in a political point of view we err in ignoring the agency of the ministers of *our own true faith*." * He had not time during his tenure of office to do more than lay the foundations of the great educational system of India; but he did do that; and now five Universities and 130,000 schools and colleges are engaged in educating three millions and a half of people.

The con-
troversy of
1858.

In the controversy which raged throughout the year 1858, and which was revived, owing to certain incidents in India, in the following year, the Christian party—if it is fair to call them so distinctively—were the assailants. Neutrality was in possession at the India Office, and at Calcutta, and it was to be dislodged if possible. The attitude of the Church Missionary Society can be conveniently shown by three extracts. First from the Society's Memorial to the Queen:—

C.M.S.
Memorial
to the
Queen.

"May it please your Majesty,—

"We, the undersigned—Vice-Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, Friends and Supporters of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East—your Majesty's most humble and devoted subjects. . .

"Your Memorialists humbly venture to bring under your Majesty's consideration some things in the system of government hitherto pursued in your Majesty's territories in the East Indies, which, as they conceive, have been at variance with the duty of Christian rulers.

Protest
against
Neutrality.

"The Government of India has professed to occupy a position of neutrality between the Christian and false religions. Such profession, as your Memorialists believe, dishonours the truth of God, practically discourages the progress of Christianity, and is inimical to the social welfare of the Natives. Especially they conceive it to be inconsistent with a right discharge of the duties of Government in endeavouring to repress those anti-social evils which are mainly attributable to caste-distinctions, public indecency in idolatrous rites, and generally to a false standard of morality—evils which have been fearfully exhibited amidst the revolting cruelties of the present rebellion, and which can only be effectually counteracted by recognizing the Christian religion as the basis of law and social order.

Neutrality
an impos-
sible policy

"Your Memorialists also humbly submit that neutrality has not been, and cannot be, practically maintained by a Christian Government in the midst of Hindu and Mohammedan institutions. The Government, for example, has been compelled to suppress by law certain so-called religious practices, which violated the laws of humanity; and, while professing to respect false religions, has unavoidably undermined their

* Quoted in Letter from H. Carre Tucker to Lord Stanley, 1858, in C.M.S. collection of pamphlets on India.

foundations by educational and social improvements. Thus your Majesty's Government has presented to the people of India a disingenuous aspect, and has exposed itself to the charge, falsely alleged against it by the mutineers, of designing to make them Christians by fraud or coercion. PART VI. 1849-61. Chap. 46.

"Your Memorialists would therefore humbly beseech your Majesty have it declared to the public authorities in the East Indies:—

What should be done: encourage Christian influence.

"1. That the existing policy will be no longer professed or maintained; but that, as it is the belief of your Majesty and of this Christian nation that the adoption of the Christian religion, upon an intelligent conviction of its truth, will be an incalculable benefit to the Natives of India, the countenance and aid of Government will be given to any legitimate measures for bringing that religion under their notice and investigation.

"2. That since the Government, in addition to maintaining its own educational establishments, provides grants-in-aid to all other schools which provide a prescribed amount of secular knowledge, according to the principles laid down in its Educational Despatch of July 19th, 1854; the Bible will be introduced into the system of education in all the Government schools and colleges, as the only standard of moral rectitude, and the source of those Christian principles upon which your Majesty's Government is to be conducted.

"3. That any connexion which may still subsist between the Indian Government and the revenues or ceremonies of the Mohammedan, Hindu, or other false religions, shall at once cease and determine.

"Your Memorialists humbly suggest that it should be at the same time made known to your Majesty's Mohammedan and Heathen subjects, that attendance at Government schools and colleges is, and will be, purely voluntary; that Christian principles forbid the employment of fraud, bribery, or coercion, of any kind whatever, as the means of inducing men to profess the Christian faith, and allow to every man the free exercise of his choice or conscience in religious matters; and that, in conformity with these principles, none of the rites or usages of the Hindu or Mohammedan religions will be interfered with, unless at variance with humanity or public decency.

But no coercion.

"Finally, your Majesty's Memorialists humbly submit to your Majesty that there can be no better time for inaugurating these changes than when the armies of England have gained a signal triumph, through the blessing of Almighty God, and British authority in India appears again in its strength and confidence."

Then from two addresses at the Anniversary of 1858—the proceedings at which were noticed in our last chapter. Bishop Tait, in his speech, laid down a fundamental principle in general but perfectly plain terms:—

Bishop Tait explains the real position.

"Our principle remains firm and sure, our conviction has deepened day by day, that it is impossible for men who are themselves Christians, and who, as Christians, are endowed with great influence, to leave their Christianity out of view in their attempts to use this influence aright. . . . There is a great mistake in men's minds in this matter. Some persons suppose that, if you are yourselves Christians, you must force your Christianity on the reluctant consciences of those who are not ready to receive it; and when it is shown that this cannot be done, it is said, 'You had better think no more of your Christianity, and act with entire impartiality'—what is meant by this being, that you are to act as

PART VI. though you were not Christian. But there is the widest possible
1849-61. difference between doing injustice to those around us, and showing in
Chap. 46. all our acts that we ourselves are Christians; and no mode of adminis-
— tering any one of our dependencies, and no mode of carrying on the
Government at home, can be attended with success if it be not based on
Christian principles."

Miller
formulates
C. M. S.
demands.

And Dr. Miller, in his Sermon at St. Bride's, formulated the demands made of the Government, on Bishop Tait's principle :—

"We deprecate with 'Indophilus' 'the introduction into India of a low type of spurious, state-manufactured Christianity.' But we ask that a Christian nation, ruling over millions of Mohammedan and idolatrous subjects, should, in its own enactments and proceedings, distinctly avow its Christianity: and for itself, its recognition of the oracles of God's truth. That thus no second Ram Mohun Roy may affirm, 'It is your Government which has prevented India from becoming a Christian country long ago'; nor another Jay Narain declare that, 'Had the Christian religion been true, the Company Bahadur, which had, in other respects, benefited the country, would not have withheld from, at least, commending this religion to their notice.' We ask that all connexion with the maintenance and practice of idolatrous worship shall, at any cost, be forthwith and finally abandoned. That Trusteeships for idolatrous temples, their revenues, their worship, their priests, their dancing girls, be so renounced as to involve no breach of faith or national honour; but so as to free us utterly from the pollution of the accursed thing. Nor must any future Maitland be called to choose between his duty as a soldier of England, and as a soldier of Christ. We ask for no interference with the rites of those false systems, so long as humanity and decency be not publicly outraged. For no State-propagandism: but for the same freedom for the diffusion of Christianity, by voluntary effort, as is enjoyed at home. For no coercion which shall violate the rights of conscience. For no bribe, direct or indirect, to make Native hypocrites instead of Native Christians. But we *do* ask that neither Sepoy nor civilian shall be endamaged in his worldly prospects by conversion to the faith of Christ. That the mournful story of the Mirut Naik, Prabhu Din, never be re-enacted. We ask that Native Christians be equally eligible with all others to Government employ and preferment. That in 1859 there be no repetition of the dismissal in 1849 of a Native high-caste gentleman from a college in Calcutta, because of his Christian baptism. We ask, not that caste be forcibly abolished by legislative enactments, but that it be not recognized or indulged in the British service. We ask that in schools where the Koran and the Shasters are taught, the Book of God be not only on the shelf, accessible as a book of reference, but taught, where no reluctance is expressed, no objection tendered. Or, if we be told that our Government, in its peculiar relation to such a country, will not venture on such a policy, then we say plainly, and we say earnestly—Let Government stand aloof from the education of India. Leave it to the Church of Christ."

Sir C. Tre-
velyan.

The "Indophilus" alluded to by Dr. Miller was Sir Charles Trevelyan, who wrote a weighty series of letters to the *Times*, taking what may be called a moderate view, not disapproving the attitude of the Punjab men, the Lawrences and their lieutenants, but deprecating some of the proposals embodied in Miller's sermon.

One more extract must be given, from a speech delivered on the Wednesday of that week, at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The occasion was interesting in more ways than one. It was the first Annual Meeting opened with prayer *—to the thankful satisfaction of the vast majority of the members. Again, Lord Shaftesbury delivered one of his weightiest speeches, mainly on the Indian question. But the speaker now to be quoted was Bishop Tait, who made his first appearance that day at the Bible Society's Meeting. Only a few sentences can be given here; but they are worth reprinting:—

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Bible
Society.

Another
speech by
Bishop
Tait.

"I am not quite sure that the effort which has been making for so many months throughout the land, to secure, amidst the changes which are about to take place in India, the introduction of a more thoroughly Christian tone than has hitherto been known there,—I am not, I say, quite sure that the great battle has been entirely won, and I think it most important that we, this great assembly of British Protestant Christians, should come out this day, and declare that we are determined to make our voices heard, and that, in all the efforts which are to be made for the promotion of civilization and good government in India, the Word of God shall have free course, and that all our future arrangements with respect to India shall be based upon the principles contained in the Word of God. . . . Let it be understood that our desire is that in our Indian possessions the Word of God shall hereafter be more honoured than it has hitherto been; let it be understood that we feel very deeply that there can be no real education of the Asiatic mind which does not infuse from the Word of God the spiritual element which is now wanting, and then I believe that our voices will not be uplifted in vain. . . . The mode in which we are to extend it—the prudence necessary to be exercised in order not to excite unnecessary fears and alarms—are matters which ought to be fully and rightly considered. We ought not to go to work with mere zeal, untempered with discretion, but we must take care that our discretion does not destroy our zeal."

Utterances like these were not confined to Exeter Hall and other Evangelical meeting-places. The S.P.G. joined in the conflict, and some of Bishop Wilberforce's noblest speeches were made in advocacy of a Christian policy in India,† insomuch that he, favourite as he generally was of the *Saturday Review* (then at the height of its fame as what Mr. Bright called "the *Saturday Reviler*"), now came under its lash just as if he had been a "Shaftesbury bishop."

S.P.G. and
Bishop
Wilber-
force also
speak out.

But how came it that the Missionary Societies and the Christian public were now urging on the Government so earnestly and particularly the regular teaching of the Bible in Government schools, which Duff and Strachan, though they desired it, had agreed to waive in consideration of the adoption of the grant-in-aid system? The answer to this question is fourfold. (1) The East India Company did not carry out in their integrity the plans of the great Despatch. (2) The presence at the India Office, first of

Why a
stronger
policy now
advocated.

* See Vol. I., p. 280; and p. 38 of this volume.

† See *Bp. Wilberforce's Speeches on Missions*, Speeches x. to xiv.

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Mr. Vernon Smith, in Lord Palmerston's first Ministry, and then of Lord Ellenborough, and then of Lord Stanley, in Lord Derby's Ministry, with Sir George Clerk as Permanent Under-Secretary,* made the outlook quite different from what it would have been with Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Baring there. (3) Independently of these considerations, the Mutiny had opened men's eyes to the perils of a neutral policy, and led them to hear, as they thought, the voice of the Lord calling them to more decisive action. (4) It was now known that a great and successful ruler like Sir John Lawrence—to say nothing of more ardent men like Edwardes—was favourable to Bible-teaching in Government schools under certain conditions: surely, then, the plan was a safe one to adopt.

Ominous
treatment
of Santal
schools.

The first of these four reasons is illustrated by an ominous act of the East India Company—perhaps inspired by Sir George Clerk—at the very time of the Mutiny. The aboriginal Santals of Bengal, of whom we shall see more in future chapters, had in 1855 broken out in rebellion, having been goaded to desperation by the extortions of Hindu money-lenders. The insurrection was suppressed with bloodshed; and then the Commissioner of the district, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Udny Yule, recommended to the Government of India a scheme for raising the down-trodden and degraded people by supporting schools to be established by the Church Missionary Society. The Rev. E. Droese, the missionary at Bhagalpur, had already started schools in a few villages, and when the insurrection broke out, the people in those villages did not join it until forced by the rest to do so, and then enabled the teachers to escape. To subsidize such schools was at once recognized by the Calcutta authorities as in full accordance with the Despatch of 1854; but to the astonishment of everybody the Directors in England disallowed the scheme. Mr. Yule sent a very incisive remonstrance. "We are not here," he said, "merely to introduce steam-engines, and the sooner we set about our appointed work the better. Government might have Christianity taught in all the schools. . . . I earnestly hope and firmly trust to see swept away that mistaken policy which has hitherto made us appear traitors to our God and cowards before men." But it was all to no purpose. "All the benefits," wrote Mr. Strachan, "contemplated by the authorities [in Bengal] are to be cast away, lest the Government should be suspected of favouring a scheme for the purpose of civilizing and instructing the people by a Christian missionary." †

G. Yule
protests.

In the meanwhile, in India, amid all the turmoil that still

* Sir George Clerk was one of the ablest of Anglo-Indian rulers. He had been Governor of Bombay, and was so again afterwards. At this time, as Permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office, he exercised great influence; and he was not only a leading advocate of Neutrality, but strongly opposed to Missions.

† From the Letter previously cited.

prevailed while the rebellion was being suppressed and the work of pacification entered upon, the great Christian rulers of the Punjab were discussing the same question, What was now to be done? Sir Herbert Edwardes prepared a long and able "Memorandum on the Elimination of all Unchristian Principle from the Government of British India," and sent it to Sir John Lawrence. Lawrence first obtained comments on it from Robert Montgomery and Donald McLeod, and then drew up an elaborate paper, by the pen of his Secretary, Richard Temple, and sent all on together to Lord Canning. Lawrence did not concur in some of Edwardes's proposals; and very invidious and unfair comparisons have consequently been made between the two men. But their spirit and purpose were the same; on the general lines of Christian policy they were agreed; only Edwardes was a Welshman, fervent and impetuous, while Lawrence was an Ulster man, with Scotch caution more developed in him than Irish vivacity. Although affectionate friends, they frequently differed in ordinary questions of administration, as the reader of their respective biographies soon finds out; and while one admires Edwardes, one generally (not always) feels that Lawrence was right. Mr. Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence* is one of the most brilliant biographies in the English language; and when he discusses points of controversy, he is generally unanswerable. But he is not fair to Edwardes when he calls Lawrence's paper a "reply" to the Memorandum. What did Edwardes himself think of it? He wrote, "It is a noble expression of the duty of the Indian Government to do whatever Christianity requires, at whatever cost; and it only differs from mine as to what Christianity *does* demand of us, and what it does not." In other words the principles were identical, but the application of them different in *some* points. Again he wrote, "It is a fine manifesto, and I rejoice to have elicited it." Of Donald McLeod's paper, with which Lawrence's agreed, Edwardes generously said, "I rejoice to have fulfilled the office of a pump, and drawn so much sweet water to the surface." *

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H. Edwardes's
Memorandum on
Unchristian Principle.

Edwardes
and John
Lawrence.

Bosworth
Smith on
the controversy.

Proposals
of Edwardes.

What were Edwardes's proposals? (1) That the Bible should be read and taught in Government schools; (2) that Government endowments of Hinduism and Mohammedanism should be withdrawn; (3) that caste should cease to be recognized in the army and in courts of justice—but be respected in gaols; (4) that the holy days of Hindus and Mohammedans be no longer observed as holidays in public offices; (5) that Hindu and Mohammedan law be no longer binding on English judges; (6) that restrictions be placed on Hindu and Mohammedan religious processions; (7) that certain phases of immorality be no longer tolerated; (8) that greater facilities be allowed for the marriage of English soldiers; (9) that official connexion with the opium-trade be discontinued;

* *Memorials of Sir Herbert B. Edwardes*, vol. ii. pp. 86, 109.

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How far
Lawrence
agreed.

(10) that the excise laws, which he thought tended to the increase of drunkenness, be reformed. Now Sir John Lawrence agreed with (1) with some qualifications; disagreed with (2); agreed with (3), so far as it was practicable; disagreed with (4); agreed in principle with (5), but thought we were already acting on it as far as we could; agreed with (6), and indeed would go further, and forbid such processions altogether; agreed substantially with (7), (8), (9); and saw no need for (10).

Question of
Bible in
schools.

At (1), the question of the Bible in Government schools, we must look a little more closely. Both Edwardes and Lawrence distinctly advocated more than the Despatch of 1854 had allowed. Edwardes urged that the Bible be regularly read and taught. One would suppose, from the emphasis so often laid upon Lawrence's disagreement with Edwardes, that he was opposed to him on this crucial point. Not at all. In principle he entirely agreed with him. "Such teaching," he says, "ought to be offered to all those who may be willing to receive it." Subject, however, to two conditions, viz., that there were (a) "teachers fit to teach it," (b) "pupils willing to hear it." On neither of these points had Edwardes said anything. He had only dwelt on the general principle. So Lawrence, on (a), rightly pointed out the inexpediency of Heathen teachers teaching the Bible, and the long period, therefore, that must elapse before the system could be carried out; and on (b) he said, "If Colonel Edwardes would render it obligatory . . . *then* the Chief Commissioner entirely dissents from this view." But on the general principle he was as strong as Edwardes. "The formation of Bible-classes of an approved character in as many schools as possible should be a recognized branch of the educational department." Moreover, he argued that no religion *except* Christianity ought to be taught in the schools:—

"Such teaching would be superfluous. The Natives have ample means of their own for this purpose, and need no aid. But if they did need aid, it is not our business to afford such. The case is utterly different as regards Christianity. Of that religion the Native can have no knowledge except through our instrumentality. And this religion we should teach exclusively, so far as we can, from the preference which it is our right to give to what we believe to be the truth."

Lawrence
really at
one with
Edwardes
in the
main.

It will be seen at once that the word "reply" is not felicitously chosen to describe Lawrence's paper. But this is not all. He proceeded to append to his comments on the particular proposals some general remarks of the highest value; and these, so far from being a "reply" to Edwardes, are a strong endorsement of Edwardes's general policy, and indirectly a decisive "reply" to the party of neutrality. The paragraph begins by saying that the Chief Commissioner had been led, by "the awful events of 1857," to "ponder deeply on what may be the faults and shortcomings of the British *as a Christian nation* in India"; and that in considering the topics in Edwardes's Memorandum he would

“solely endeavour to ascertain *what is our Christian duty*,” and having ascertained *that*, “*would follow it out to the uttermost, undeterred by any consideration.*” He acknowledged that measures had been proposed “as essential to be adopted by a Christian Government which would be truly difficult or impossible of execution,” but regarded such measures as “not enjoined by Christianity,” but “contrary to its spirit.” (Edwardes’s No. 2 is certainly open to this remark; also one or two of the details under No. 1.) Then follow two sentences that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and which in fact have been quoted times without number, and may be said to have become classic phrases:—

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Grand principle laid down by Lawrence.

“Christian things done in a Christian way will never, the Chief Commissioner is convinced, alienate the Heathen. . . . It is when un-Christian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an un-Christian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.”

He goes on to say that such measures as Christianity demands—and presumably these would be the majority of Edwardes’s proposals—would “arouse no danger,” would “conciliate instead of provoking,” and would “subserve the ultimate diffusion of the truth among the people”; and he recommends that “such measures and policy, having been deliberately determined on by the Supreme Government, be openly avowed and universally acted upon throughout the empire,” so that we might “exhibit that harmony and uniformity of conduct which befits a *Christian nation striving to do its duty.*”

“A Christian nation,” with a “Christian duty” to be “followed to the uttermost”—that is the gist of the whole matter. It is a small thing that men who were agreed upon *that* did not see eye to eye as to the exact things that “Christian duty” required; and it is misleading indeed to represent such a manifesto as a defence of “neutrality” against “narrow Evangelicalism.” Moreover, it should be observed that the great question of all is not touched on by either Edwardes or Lawrence—viz., Might a British official seek to promote, in a Christian and reasonable way, the evangelization of the Hindus and Mohammedans? *That* is what the neutrality party disputed; but Edwardes and Lawrence both assume an affirmative reply; with them it “went without saying,” and needed no discussion. In a personal letter to an official on the “neutrality” side Lawrence wrote these significant words:—

The real question.

“We believe that the Bible is true, that it is the only means of salvation. Surely we should lend our influence in making it known to our subjects. . . . You seem to think that we violate the principles of toleration by attempting to convert the people. . . . The whole question seems to me to resolve itself into what is the just interpretation of the term ‘toleration.’ I consider that it means forbearance; that is to say, we are to bear with and not to persecute mankind for their religious

The real view of Lawrence.

PART VI. opinions. But this cannot mean that we would not strive by gentle
1849-61. means to lead those in the right way whom we see to be going wrong."*
Chap. 46.

Meanwhile, Lawrence was "replying" indeed to arguments on the opposite side. Mr. W. D. Arnold, who was at the head of the Punjab Educational Department, strongly objected to the reading of the Bible at all in Government schools; and "in reply" to him Lawrence, again by Richard Temple's pen, addressed a masterly despatch to the Governor-General.† Let these weighty sentences be carefully noted, for they apply, not only to the particular question at issue, but to the whole problem of Indian government:—

"Our Government is, as all other Governments are, or ought to be, established for the good of the people. But while with other Governments the popular will is generally the criterion of the public good, such is not always the case with us in India. If, by being trustees of the people, we are supposed to be bound invariably by the will of the people, then we are not, the Chief Commissioner thinks, trustees in that sense. We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of Providence. This alone constitutes our charter to govern India.

"In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our conscience, and not by theirs. Believing that the study of the Bible is fraught with the highest blessings, we, of course, do desire to communicate those blessings to them if we can. We desire this not only as individuals, but as a Government; for Christianity does truly go hand in hand with all those subjects for which British rule exists in India. But this can only be effected by moral influences, voluntarily received. Anything like 'proselytism' or 'quiet persecution' of any kind, or the application of secular motives, direct or indirect, are, in the first place, absolutely forbidden by the very religion we profess, and, in the second place, would be worse than useless for the object in view.

"Therefore, we have nothing to do with such means. Nor do we as a Government undertake to found and maintain Christian Missions, because the thing can be done better by private effort, and because our doing so might tend to introduce those secular means for propagation of Christianity which we wish to avoid. But, as we have schools, there arises a fair opportunity of offering the Bible to those who may choose to receive it; and, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, it is just, politic, and right that we should avail ourselves of that opportunity. Such, briefly stated, is the real argument for the formation of Bible-classes in Government schools.

"To say that we have no right to offer Christian teaching to Government schools because we do not allow the Native religions to be taught there, is to misapprehend the fundamental relation that in this country subsists between the Government and the people. We are to do the best we can for them, according to our lights; and they are to obey us. Mr. Arnold writes: 'What answer am I to give to Hindus and Mohammedans if they say that, after having excluded their religions, I have introduced my own?' Shall I say that I am master, that I am the officer

* *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 313.

† This great Christian manifesto is not mentioned in the *Life of Lord Lawrence*, but is printed in full in the *Memoir of Sir Herbert Edwardes*, vol. ii. p. 194.

Masterly
reply of
Lawrence
to Arnold,
in defence
of Bible-
teaching
in schools.

The true
attitude of
a Christian
Govern-
ment.

of a conquering Government, and will do as I please?' That answer would indeed be arbitrary. The proper answer would be thus: 'We offer you the Bible in our Government schools because we believe it to be for your inestimable good, if you choose to listen to it. We do not wish you to study it unless you do so voluntarily. But you cannot expect us to help in teaching your religion, which we do not believe to be true. That you can do for yourselves.'

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It will now be seen that Lawrence was strongly on the Christian side in the great controversy, although he was not prepared to go all lengths with Edwardes. This was quite recognized by Sir Bartle Frere, who—religious man as he was, and a hearty friend of Missions—was strongly and equally opposed to both. But, to judge by his own letters, opposed to them because he misunderstood them. "As Christians," he wrote, "we are not justified in using the temporal power of Government to enforce particular forms of religious belief, even when that belief is Christianity. I can see no logical difference between the course proposed by Sir J. Lawrence and that followed by the Inquisition." * "To enforce"—who had advocated that? Not Lawrence; not Edwardes; not the Church Missionary Society.

View of
Sir B.
Frere.

While Lawrence's and Edwardes's Memoranda were coming home to England, a despatch from Lord Ellenborough was on its way out to India, which was inspired by a very different spirit. Sir George Clerk, who was now Under-Secretary at the India Office, had written a Memorandum in which the anti-Christian policy was strenuously advocated, and the most bitter comments made on Missions, and on those Anglo-Indian rulers who supported them; and Lord Ellenborough embodied these views, expressed in more guarded language, in his despatch. Then, on his resignation—as related in the preceding chapter—of the office of Minister for India, Lord Stanley also, who succeeded him, put his foot down strongly, and affirmed the old principle of neutrality in a form which would undoubtedly condemn—and was very likely intended to condemn—the policy and acts of the Punjab men. The C.M.S. Committee held a special meeting on July 15th, 1858,—at the National Club, for the convenience of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Shaftesbury, and other peers and M.P.'s who were Vice-Presidents to consider the possibility of moving Lord Stanley. The Archbishop, however, did not believe there was a chance of moving him; and in the House of Commons, on July 30th, he announced that the future policy of the Government had been embodied in Lord Ellenborough's despatch, and quoted from it the following:—

Policy of
Lord
Stanley.

"The Government will adhere in good faith to its ancient policy of

* *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, vol. i. p. 259. When Frere himself could be so strangely mistaken, it is hard to blame his biographer. Yet nothing can excuse the misrepresentation of the views of the Christian party in his remarks at p. 256 of the same volume. It is of the essence of fair writing to describe the views of those opposed to you with anxious justice.

PART VI. perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of the people of India,
 1849-61. and we most earnestly caution all those in authority under it not to
 Chap. 46. afford by their conduct the least colour to the suspicion that that policy
 — has undergone, or will undergo, any change. It is perilous for men in
 authority to do as individuals that which they officially disclaim."

Upon this, the Missionary Societies, thoroughly alarmed, sent a strong and united deputation to Lord Stanley; but they failed to move him. Very serious were now the apprehensions of Christian men; for this despatch seemed to go further in the wrong direction than any previous manifesto, and appeared to confirm the worst interpretation of a certain ambiguous despatch sent out eleven years before, in 1847, which had said:—

An old
 despatch of
 1847.

"We have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the Natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of that principle that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military. . . . While invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. . . . We deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent."

What is
 "inter-
 ference"?

Note particularly the word "interference," which will presently come before us again in another connexion. What is "interference"? That despatch, says Sir John Kaye,* "puzzled the Government to which it was addressed. The President in Council at Calcutta could make nothing of it. The Governor-General at Simla could make nothing of it. Lord Hardinge, Mr. Millett, Sir F. Currie, were all alike thrown into a state of ludicrous embarrassment." As they did not understand it, they could not act upon it; so they quietly passed it on to the heads of the minor governments, but refrained from publishing it at all. They wrote home that any such "interference" as was probably contemplated was unknown—although numbers of officers and civilians were actively promoting Missions,—and asked for further enlightenment. The answer received from England was worthy of Dickens's Captain Cuttle: "The application of the rule should in every case be governed by the principle on which it is founded"! But what was the principle?—that was the question.

But now it seemed as if Lord Stanley, following Lord Ellenborough and Sir George Clerk, was inaugurating, not a more Christian, but a less Christian, course of action. It was an immense relief, so far as India was concerned, when, in the following year, 1859, Lord Derby's Ministry was defeated, and the Liberal Party came into power again, with Lord Palmerston again as Premier and Sir Charles Wood again as Indian Secretary.†

* *Christianity in India*, p. 450.

† Throughout this period, the *Record* and other Evangelical organs were on what was then called the Liberal side, trusting Lord Palmerston and distrusting Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. The *Guardian* also took the same side when Mr. Gladstone joined Palmerston as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

This, however, is anticipating. It was while Lord Derby's Ministry was still in office that, as we have before seen, the government of India was transferred from the East India Company to the direct rule of the British Crown. What did the Queen's Proclamation say on this great and urgent question?

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The
Queen's
Proclama-
tion on
assuming
the direct
govern-
ment of
India.

The history of the Proclamation is very curious.* A draft of it was considered and approved by the Cabinet, and sent to the Queen for signature. But the Queen objected to its spirit and wording, and wrote to Lord Derby, requesting him to "write it himself in his excellent language," and indicating further the line she wished to be adopted. Another draft was prepared, and submitted in its turn to Her Majesty. This she accepted in substance, but made certain emendations with her own hand. The sentences dealing with the religious question ultimately stood as follows:—

"We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind Us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

It came out afterwards that the words, "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion," were the Queen's own addition; also that the word "neutrality," which had been in the draft, she had struck out; and that she had added these words at the end:—

The words
added by
the Queen.

"May the God of all power grant to Us and those in authority under Us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people!"

These paragraphs from the Proclamation have been again and again quoted since as expressive of what in this chapter we have called the Christian side of the question. But at the time, and at first sight, there were grave doubts whether this was intended by them. Every word was examined and discussed, and certainly the use of the word "interference" was regretted, and there was a fear lest it should be used as a handle against the work of Christian officers in supporting Missions. It was felt that if Lord Palmerston and Sir Charles Wood had been in office, there would have been a

What did
the Procla-
mation
really
mean?

* See Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, vol. iv. pp. 284-87.

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different ring about the words ; and when it leaked out what the Queen had done to improve them, there was a still stronger feeling that there had been a very narrow escape from a grievous national blunder—one of those blunders that are proverbially worse than crimes. In Henry Venn's Private Journal there is a curious and interesting account of the gradual change that came over his and other minds, from deep disappointment and apprehension to thankfulness and hope. This is perhaps the most vivid account existing of a Committee meeting in those days :—

" I first read the Queen's Proclamation in the omnibus going down to Salisbury Square [on Monday, Dec. 6th, 1858], and my heart sank within me as I read the sentence about 'interference,' &c. Upon arriving at the office I found my colleagues took the same gloomy view ; and they pointed out a passage upon the maintenance of lands and usages which they thought would perpetuate official countenance of the temples. Soon after, Mr. J. F. Thomas arrived, and we all joined in lamenting the Proclamation, and descanted upon the evil of having Lord Stanley for an Indian Minister—and Lord Ellenborough and Sir George Clerk, whose voices, as we thought, were heard in the Proclamation. It was determined, however, that the question should be more fully discussed at the meeting on Tuesday,

" When I read the Proclamation on Tuesday morning the expressions respecting belief in Christianity, and the general tone of the Proclamation, appeared to me in some measure to compensate for the objectionable phrases ; and the phrases themselves seemed to me ambiguous, so that they might have either a good or bad interpretation. In this frame of mind I went down to the Committee, and upon introducing the question I first appealed to the lawyers present for their interpretation. Mr. Peter Cator thought that the natural sense of 'interference' would apply to the *private* acts of the Company's servants, and that only a non-natural sense would free them from such restrictions. Mr. O'Malley next declared his conviction that no High Court in Great Britain would put Mr. Cator's interpretation upon the words—that they would clearly be taken to mean 'official and authoritative interference'—but how Indian officers and Indian judges might interpret ambiguous words he was not prepared to predict. Mr. Dugmore thought that the objectionable sense of the words would be more generally received both at home and abroad, but he owned that they *were* ambiguous. Each of our Indian members in succession expressed their opinions, being for the most part gloomy, and General Alexander very gloomy. J. F. Thomas, however, took a different view, and thought that whether officials in India might or might not consider the phrase adversely, Christian men in India were bound to act conscientiously, and put their own interpretation on the words. Mr. Strachan went a great way with Mr. Thomas ; and my mind was more and more convinced that the words could only apply to the official acts of the Company's servants. Mr. Ridgeway made one excellent remark, 'The words are ambiguous : let the nation put the right interpretation upon them.'

" When I arose upon Wednesday morning, and again read the Proclamation, my own mind was fully made up, and I could unfeignedly thank God for the Proclamation, as a fulcrum upon which we could place our powerful lever. As soon, therefore, as I arrived at the office, I set to work to draw up an address to the Queen—thanking her for the Proclamation, and claiming on the strength of it all the Christian measures

Doubts in
the C. M. S.
circle.

Discussion
in C. M. S.
Committee

Venn
comes
round to
a more
favourable
view.

which we had advocated in our famous Religious Societies' Petition. Comparing these two documents together, I came to the conviction that the Proclamation had been drawn up with our Petition in view, and that it was intended to meet our prayer. Under this view I found that even the word 'interference' had been taken from our Petition, as we had twice used it in reference to 'force or fraud.' Before I had done Mr. Knox and Major Straith came in, and I propounded to them my views. They were succeeded by Mr. O'Malley, and with him I discussed the question for nearly two hours. He thoroughly confirmed in every point my views. Then came Lord Shaftesbury, and I had another hour with him. He at first could only say that the Proclamation was not so bad as it might have been; but in the conclusion he came over wholly to my view, and went away, as he said, with a heart overflowing with gratitude to God for the Proclamation, and determining to put a Christian interpretation upon it in the face of Parliament, and let the Ministry if they dared—give it an un-Christian and narrow interpretation.

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And per-
suades
Lord
Shaftes-
bury and
others.

"On Thursday morning I went to Lord Chichester, but could only have a very few words with him; and he had not paid particular attention to the wording. His offence was rather at the awkward and vulgar expression, 'solace of religion.' From him I went to Arthur Kimbaird, who was gloomy enough to begin with; but when I explained my views, and told him of Lord Shaftesbury, he bounced to the top like a cork in the water. I then went to the office; and the Editor of the *Record* came to me at Lord Shaftesbury's request, that he might be thoroughly primed. Happily, however, he had himself, as a lawyer, taken the right view, and propounded it in the *Record* of Wednesday."

We can all see now how entirely in this case second thoughts were best. Look at the words of the Proclamation again. "We disclaim alike the right and desire to *impose* our convictions on any of our subjects." The word "impose," which implies compulsion, must in all reason interpret the word "interference." Again, "none" must be "in anywise favoured, none be molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances." That would undoubtedly forbid any "favouring" or pampering the Brahman Sepoys, or the dismissal of any Sepoy who might be or become a Christian. Clearly "interference" meant the interference of partiality, or of coercion. Again, "our subjects of whatever race or creed" were to be "freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service." Then anti-Christian officials could no longer act upon the principle, "No Native Christian need apply." But there was something even more important than these excellent clauses, as Mr. Ridgeway proceeded to show in the *Intelligencer* (January, 1859). "Not only," he said, "is there an express recognition of God as the source of blessing and of power, but Her Majesty has done more—she has avowed her conviction of the truths of Christianity; she has placed herself before India as a Christian Queen. It is this," he added, "which we have prayed for in all our Memorials." He then discussed the word "interference." At first sight the use of it might seem to confirm the unhappy despatch of 1847 above mentioned; but a closer examination—as Venn's Journal says—showed that the Missionary Societies themselves had used the word, in the right and true

Venn's
new view
correct.

Ridgeway
expounds
the true
view.

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sense ; and there was internal evidence that—as Venn suggested—their Memorial had actually been before Lord Derby when he drafted the Proclamation, and that he had borrowed expressions from it. This view was curiously confirmed afterwards, when it came out that the word “undermine,” which occurs in the C.M.S. Memorial (see *ante*) had been in the original draft, but had been objected to by the Queen. In discussing the practical effect of a wrong interpretation in India of the word “interference,” Mr. Ridgeway felicitously quotes from the *Merchant of Venice*. “Suppose an inexorable official craved for judgment against” (say) Christian officers who were promoting Missions, “and stood forward, a very Shylock, resolved to execute the penalty to the uttermost”—

“I crave the law—
The penalty—a forfeit of my bond.”

Christian England would say, “For all interference that carries with it force or fraud, let the penalty be rightly exacted ; but he who would prosecute must whet his knife and make it sharp, for if he trenches but a hair’s breadth on individual right and freedom, he must yield the forfeiture” :—

“Shed thee no blood, nor cut thou less, nor more,
But just a pound of flesh : if thou tak’st more
Or less than a just pound, be it but so much
As makes it light or heavy in the substance
Or the division of the twentieth part
Of one poor scruple,—nay, if the scale do turn
But in the estimation of a hair,—
Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.”

The Proclamation
in India :
riot in Tinnevely.

But difficulties did arise in India. First, in December, 1858, a riot took place in the town of Tinnevely, the Brahmans of the great Temple of Siva there rousing the people to prevent the body of a Tamil Christian who had died being carried along the public road to the burial-ground. One would have thought that *their* action was just what the Proclamation forbade, as certainly the Christians were “molested and disquieted by reason of their religious faith and observances” ; but, not only the Brahmans, but also the local Native officials and magistrates, chose to consider the Christian funeral as an “interference” with *their* religion.* The riot caused a great sensation, and no little controversy. The Hindus of Madras held a public meeting, and adopted a memorial to Lord Stanley. For they got no comfort from the Governor of the Madras Presidency, Lord Harris. In an impartial and well-balanced judgment, he censured the Native Tahsildar and Munsiff, and dismissed them from office ; and that he was not

Madras
Governors
adopt
Christian
policy.

* It turned out that the Government translator, in rendering the Proclamation into Tamil, had seriously mistranslated it. The Tamil version of “We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions upon any of our subjects” really meant “We have no wish and no authority to bring any of our subjects into our religion.”

afraid, along with the maintenance of strict justice, to avow his own Christian principles, was shown by his presiding, at that very time, at a meeting in Madras for the Bible Society. Nor did his successor, Sir Charles Trevelyan, please them any better. On the general question he used the following admirable words:—*“Officers of Government, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindu, have a right, in their private capacity, to recommend their respective religions by all proper means.”* Nor, again, did the memorial to Lord Stanley come to anything; for before it arrived in England Lord Palmerston’s Ministry had come in, so it fell to Sir Charles Wood to send a reply; and that reply was a very curt and decisive No to the demands of the memorialists.*

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But the Supreme Government at Calcutta acted differently in the North. Take three instances.

Calcutta
rulers take
a different
line.

(1) An order was issued that missionaries were to be forbidden to visit prisoners in gaols; and when Donald McLeod wrote a respectful remonstrance, he was visited with sharp rebuke. “It is singularly unbecoming in officers,” said the despatch, “to advocate and maintain views on this most important and delicate subject so directly opposed to the strong and lately-reiterated commands of Her Majesty’s Government.” Such a practice was to be “entirely discouraged and repressed.”

(2) In May, 1859, Mr. R. N. Cust, then Commissioner of Amritsar, with the Deputy-Commissioner, the Assistant-Commissioner, and the commander of a Native regiment, attended the baptism of six converts of the C.M.S. Mission in the mission church at Amritsar. Instantly there came to the Punjab Government a despatch from Calcutta asking what this meant. Sir Robert Montgomery, who had now succeeded Lawrence as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, courageously replied in a way that, if he had not been in so high an office, might have brought upon him, too, the censure of “the Governor-General-in-Council.”† He said:—

R. N. Cust
called to
account.

Mont-
gomery
defends
Cust.

“Mr. Cust, whilst carefully observing his duty from interfering by his official acts in the religious affairs of any sect, maintains his right to attend on the religious ceremonies of his own Church, so long as the public service is in no way affected, or the principles of toleration compromised. The Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor coincides in the sentiments thus expressed, and Mr. Cust does not appear to His Honour to have acted in any way inconsistently with his duty to the Government; nor is he aware that the practice prevalent in such matters in the Punjab materially differs from that which Mr. Cust states to have been the course pursued on the present occasion.”

In other words, “Mr. Cust acted in accordance with the regular

* See *C. M. Record*, February, 1860, p. 35.

† Perhaps Lord Canning himself was not much to blame. He may have been pressed by his Council, backed by the despatches from England. At all events, he and Lady Canning, and Lord Clyde, when at Peshawar in 1861, together visited the important Mission-school there, and examined the Mohammedan boys they found in it.

PART VI. Punjab policy and practice ; and that policy and practice we mean
1849-61. to continue." The Calcutta Government thought it wisest to let
Chap. 46. the matter drop.

Mazhabi
Sikhs
become
Christians.

(3) During the Mutiny, among the new regiments which Lawrence had raised and sent to the siege of Delhi was one called the 24th Punjab Native Infantry Regiment of Mazhabi Sikhs. These Mazhabi Sikhs were the Sikh sweeper caste, much despised by their co-religionists, and in their ordinary character both turbulent and degraded—"half Thugs and the rest thieves," as they were described. When Delhi was taken, some of these soldiers found Christian books among the spoils, read them, and went to their European officers asking for Christian instruction. On the return of the regiment to their own Province, these officers referred the inquirers to the C.M.S. missionaries at Amritsar; and the result was that several were baptized. When the regiment was moved to a station where there were no missionaries, some of the officers, who were godly men, continued their instruction and joined them in Christian worship. Again the Calcutta authorities interfered, and three days after sending off the despatch about Mr. Cust's action at Amritsar, sent off another to the Adjutant-General of the Army in the Punjab, warning the officers "against using their authority in any way for the furtherance of conversion." This was just what they were not doing! They were instructing and worshipping with Christians, and using no influence to bring in non-Christians. Yet the major in command felt it his duty to order them to desist. It was afterwards contended by the Calcutta authorities that he had misinterpreted the despatch, and that they had not intended to interfere with the right of the officers to attend services for Christians. Still the fact remained that for fourteen months those officers had been obliged to refrain. The matter was, however, at the request of the Bishop of Calcutta, referred home, where Sir Charles Wood was now Indian Secretary; and the result was "the restoration of liberty of action to Christian regimental officers, in respect of unofficial Christian intercourse with their men."* At the same time a regulation was made regarding the intercourse of missionaries with Native soldiers:—

Officers
forbidden
to encour-
age them.

Sir C.
Wood
insists on
Christian
liberty.

"They are at all times to have free access to the Native Christians of the regiment, in their huts, in hospital, and on all occasions, so long as the men's duty is not interfered with; but when in the lines, the religious instructions must be confined to the Christians only.

"The Missionary Clergymen must on no account enter into any conversation or discussion of a religious nature with any other soldier or individual in the lines of the regiment, this being forbidden by the regulations of the service; but out of the lines no impediment is to be placed in the way of the men attending their meetings and listening to their instructions."

Nothing could be more satisfactory than this, and it shows how much depended, not on the letter of the Proclamation, but on the

* R. Clark, *Punjab and Sindh Mission*, p. 291.

man who interpreted it. The same lesson is taught by the sequel of the story of the Mazhabi Sikh regiment. At first it seemed as if every man would embrace Christianity; and had this been so, a second regiment of the same class would probably have followed, and possibly the entire tribe of Mazhabis. With this in view, arrangements were proposed by the commanding officer which would have given the two regiments a fixed locality, where the wives and families of the men might live, and a pastor be provided; but this was negatived. For a short time, at Khairabad, Mr. Robert Clark himself shepherded them. But after a while new officers were appointed who "cared for none of these things";* and a series of unfavourable circumstances led to the opportunity being lost of Christianizing a whole clan. Twenty years later, there was not a single Christian left in the 24th Punjab Native Infantry. The sincere Christians had died or left; and the rest of the regiment, discouraged, first by the Calcutta order separating their officers from them, and then, when this was set right, by the advent of officers of a different type, had long ceased to care for the message of the Gospel.†

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But, too late!

Meanwhile, the controversy on the question of the Bible in Government Schools in India continued to rage in England. When Lord Palmerston's new Ministry came in, a powerful deputation waited on him and Sir Charles Wood, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and Lord Shaftesbury. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the words spoken by the two Ministers on the general subject. Sir C. Wood said, "No persons can be more anxious to promote the spread of Christianity than we are. Independently of Christian considerations, I believe that *every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country, and an additional source of strength to the Empire.*" And Lord Palmerston said, "*It is not only our duty, but it is our interest, to promote the diffusion of Christianity as far as possible throughout the whole length and breadth of India.*" And on the immediate point under discussion, the difference appeared to be narrowed down to a very small point. Sir C. Wood conceded spontaneously that the Bible might not only be in the school libraries, but that the masters might teach it, provided they did so half an hour before or after the regular school-hours. The deputation wanted this proviso withdrawn. Small as the difference seemed, the real difficulty was that a voluntary class outside school-hours would probably, in practice, not be held at all.

Liberal
Ministry
in power :
good
words by
Palmerston
and Wood.

* This, alas! is a much more common case; and it is a real perplexity to the Natives. At Agra, in 1849, some Sikh Sepoys heard the Gospel for the first time at a *mela*. How was it, they asked, that they had never been told such momentous truths by their English officers? (*C.M.S. Report, 1850, p. 136.*)

† The story is told briefly in R. Clark's *Punjab and Sindh Mission*, pp. 289-294. Clark's letters in the C.M.S. publications are pathetic.

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Duke of
Marl-
borough
moves in
House of
Lords.

In the following year, 1860, therefore, great efforts were made to arouse public opinion upon the point; and when at length the Duke of Marlborough gave notice of a motion in the House of Lords, "for the removal of the authoritative exclusion of the Bible from the course of instruction in Government Schools and Colleges in India," more than two thousand petitions in favour of it were sent up from all parts of the country within a few days. The Duke was earnestly pressed to refrain from moving his resolution by some of the friends who were in favour of it, notably by Lord Shaftesbury. It was known that the Government would not accept it, and it seemed undesirable to drive them into an attitude of opposition, which might prevent anything being done; whereas, if not driven into a corner, they might be induced to concede something. But the Duke insisted on going on, and on July 2nd made a long and elaborate speech. The moment he sat down, Lord Brougham sprang to his feet, and moved the previous question, which was at once put and carried without the Government having uttered a word. Archbishop Sumner considered that nothing better could have happened; that a conclusive speech had been delivered on the right side, and no one had attempted to answer it. Moreover, two days after, Bishop Wilberforce, having a petition to present on the subject, took the opportunity to deliver the speech he had prepared for the expected debate; and Venn and the Committee seem to have been hopeful. But nothing more was ever done; and although the next Annual Report stated that the Committee would "not cease most respectfully to submit to Her Majesty's Government" whether it was "consistent with sound policy to maintain a position of antagonism to the great current of Christian feeling in this country, of antagonism to a great Christian movement in India, and of antagonism also to the judgment and action of some of the most successful administrators of the Indian service," that position was, and always has been, resolutely maintained.

But in
vain.

Five years afterwards, Herbert Edwardes said,—“There was a good stand-up fight, and our party were defeated, mainly, I think, on two grounds—a fear of even the appearance of religious pressure, and a fear of drifting into a State Church in India.” In the course of years we have become accustomed to a much wider separation of Government from the public profession and teaching of religion than would have been thought possible forty years ago. If only the Christian Church rose in equal proportion to its own duty, we could view this separation with more equanimity.

Apparent
defeat of
Christian
party, but
real victo. y

But though the party represented by Lawrence and Edwardes were defeated on the one question of the Bible in Government Schools, they were not defeated, but were in every way victorious, on the general and much more important question, of the liberty of Christian officials to avow their Christianity openly, and openly

to promote the evangelization of the people. Sir Charles Aitchison, himself a devoted Christian, and one of the most brilliant of Anglo-Indian rulers, remarks on the strangeness of the policy of Neutrality, as advocated forty years ago, "looked at in the light of the practice of the present day, when officers of every degree take part in missionary meetings, and the highest in India, not omitting the Viceroy himself, lay the foundation-stones of mission schools and churches, and acknowledge from the public platform the indebtedness of the Government to the Christian missionary." That is substantial victory; and it is due to the noble courage of the Christian men of earlier and darker days.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

INDIA: MISSIONS AFTER THE MUTINY.

New and Restored Missions—Agra and Allahabad—William Muir—Oudh: Henry Lawrence and R. Montgomery; Leupolt at Lucknow—Lady Workers at Benares—New Native Clergy—Calcutta Cathedral Mission—James Long: his Work, his Imprisonment, his Influence—Bishop Cotton—Bishop Gell—Peshawar—The Derajat: Reynell Taylor's Invitation—French as Leader of the Derajat Mission—French again driven home.

"Og the king of Bashan went out against them. . . . And the Lord said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his land. . . . So they smote him. . . . And the children of Israel set forward."—Numb. xxi. 33-35; xxii. 1.

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"Annus
mirabilis,"
1858.



THE year 1858—that *annus mirabilis* of missionary history, which saw Japan's closed gates unlocked, China's inland provinces made accessible, the Victoria Nyanza discovered, the Niger region occupied by African evangelists, the frozen regions of Athabasca and Mackenzie visited by the Gospel message, the Indians of the North Pacific coast reached, the Universities' Mission to Africa organized, and the Cambridge University C.M.S. Union established,—saw also revival, expansion, and extension in the Missions in British India. The Sepoy Revolt, the cruel deaths of so many of our countrymen, the narrow escape of English rule from being put an end to, had deeply impressed the mind and conscience of Christendom; and the cry of the day was for more prayer and effort for India.

New Mis-
sions in
India.

The two principal organizations that now entered India for the first time were (1) the American Methodist Episcopal Church, which began its remarkable work in Oudh and Rohilkund, the districts where the embers of the Revolt died out most slowly and which has ever since carried on one of the most vigorously aggressive Missions in India; and (2) the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, which, at the suggestion of Dr. Wilson of Bombay, took the unoccupied territories of Rajputana as its field. To these we must add two auxiliary organizations, the Christian Vernacular Education Society, established on interdenominational lines definitely as a memorial of the Mutiny, and the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, developed from an

association supporting a Normal School at Calcutta. Both these Societies owed much to the wisdom and energy of Henry Venn.

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But the existing Missions also were revived and extended. In particular, the S.P.G., encouraged by two solemn public meetings in London, and by a special fund of £19,000, resumed with earnestness the work at Cawnpore and Delhi which had dropped from the hands of its martyred missionaries. At Delhi, indeed, it is a striking fact that the Mission-school was re-opened by that remarkable Christian and mathematician, Ram Chander, before any English missionary appeared. A year or two later the Rev. R. R. Winter took charge, and began the deeply-interesting work which he carried on for many years in conjunction with his excellent wife, a daughter of the Rev. T. Sandys, the veteran C.M.S. missionary at Calcutta.

Revival of
S. P. G.
Mission
at Delhi.

The Church Missionary Society also opened a Special Fund for India, which within a few months produced £50,000, and increased in a few years to £75,000. Its object was threefold, viz., (1) to restore the buildings and property destroyed at Meerut, Agra, Secundra, Azimgarh, Juanpur, and Gorakhpur; (2) to replace the local contributions of Indian friends who had perished, like Sir Henry Lawrence, who had repeatedly given large sums to the Missions, and a civilian who gave £40 a month under the signature of "A Sinner"; (3) to extend the Missions generally. In certain special cases the Committee made grants from this Fund to other Societies. The venerable head of the Chota Nagpore Mission, Pastor Gossner of Berlin, whose funds failed at this time, approached the C.M.S. with a view to transferring to it the whole Mission, comprising several German missionaries, Native teachers, buildings, and some thousands of converts from among the aboriginal Kols,—being quite willing that it should be carried on in future upon Church of England lines, and the missionaries being ready to join the Church. But a new society at Berlin was formed to take over the work, and the negotiation with the C.M.S. fell through. The Committee, however, voted £1000 to help in keeping things together during the time of transition. Two other smaller German Missions were also offered to the Society, one in Assam and one in Coorg; but the Committee, in lieu of adopting either, gave them money grants. A grant was also made to the newly-formed Christian Vernacular Education Society.

C. M. S.
India
Fund.

C. M. S.
grants to
other
Missions.

It was naturally upon the North-West Provinces, the chief scene of the Revolt, that the Society's eyes were chiefly fixed, both for restoration and for development. To Gorakhpur, the Rev. H. Stern quickly returned, with the Native Christians, after the Mutiny; the Christian village of Basharatpur was rebuilt, and the various agencies resumed; and some notable converts were given to the Mission in the very first year of renewal. Azimgarh and Juanpur were not re-occupied till 1861, and the destroyed buildings meanwhile remained in ruins. Meerut was re-opened and

Restora-
tion of
Missions
in N. W. P.

Meerut.

PART VI. re-organized at once, and an interesting extension took place to the
 1849-61. Dehra Dun Valley, where some fugitive Native Christians took
 Chap. 47. refuge at the time of the Mutiny, founded an agricultural settle-
 ment, and were soon joined by a good many neighbouring villagers
 inquiring about Christianity; and from the time that C. T. Hoernle
 took charge of the district, in 1860, the work went steadily on.

Agra. At Agra, the Mission-church in the Kuttra was restored and
 re-opened, a large congregation of thankful worshippers assembling
 on the occasion; and a peal of bells, communion table, and com-
 munion vessels, which James Thomason, when Lieutenant-Gover-
 nor, had given to Secundra, and which had been lost when that
 station was destroyed, were unexpectedly recovered, and handed
 to the city church. French was invalided home at the end
 of 1858; but H. W. Shackell—as brilliant a son of Cambridge as
 French was of Oxford—took his place, and had the joy of reporting
 some notable baptisms in the following year: among them that of
 Tara Chand, the head student in the Government College, who
 had received his earlier impressions of the Gospel from Ram
 Chander of Delhi, and who in after years became a valued S.P.G.
 clergyman at that city,—and that of Madho Ram, who had learned
 of Christ in St. John's College itself, and who was afterwards an
 ordained pastor connected with the C.M.S. The orphanage,
 printing-press, and Christian village at Secundra were restored in
 1860, when another disastrous famine threw some hundreds of
 orphans upon the Society's care; and for many years, first the
 Rev. C. G. Daible, and then the Rev. J. Erhardt, were in charge.

Allahabad
 the new
 capital of
 N.W.P.

The Mutiny brought an important change upon Agra in one
 respect. That historic city ceased to be the seat of government
 for the North-West Provinces, which was removed to Allahabad.
 The new capital was a remarkable place. Being at the confluence
 of two sacred streams, the Ganges and the Jumna—indeed of
 three according to Hindus, who believe that the Saraswati, which
 loses itself in the sands of Sirhind, four hundred miles to the
 north-west, flows underground and joins the others at this point,—
 it is a specially holy spot, and is the scene, every January, of one
 of the greatest *melas* in India, hundreds of thousands of pilgrims
 assembling. Its Hindu name is Prayag, “the confluence,” but it
 ordinarily bears the Mohammedan name of Allahabad (“city of
 God”), given it by the Mogul Emperor Akbar when he built the
 celebrated red sandstone fort in 1575. Owing to the transfer of
 Delhi and its district to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the
 Punjab in honour of John Lawrence's efforts for their re-conquest,
 Agra was now no longer a convenient centre for the North-West
 Provinces; whereas Allahabad was designed to be, and soon
 became, the junction of three great railways. Hence the transfer
 of the seat of Government. But this had an effect upon the
 C.M.S. Missions. The Government Press was removed from
 Secundra to Allahabad, and the Native Christian workmen moved
 with it. It was necessary, therefore, to provide for their spiritual

Native
 Christians
 remove
 thither.

charge; and to this the Society was earnestly invited by the Secretary to the Government, Mr. (now Sir) William Muir, who, pending the arrival of a clergyman, himself conducted Sunday services for these Christians. Let us see a missionary's * account of Mr. and Mrs. Muir, who in later years became so well known to us in England:—

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William
Muir cares
for them.

“He is as distinguished for his piety and love for God's work, as for his talents and high position; and the same devotedness characterizes his wife also. Early in the morning, when I went out for my walk, I saw her and her young daughter in the buggy, coming away from calling at the house of a sick Native Christian servant; and in the evening, when we went to see the settlement of Native Christians, they all came flocking round their kind and influential friends as round a father and mother, who seemed to know as much about the sick children, and were as kindly interested about them, as the most devoted parish priest among his flock at home.

“This gentleman is burdened with responsibility and duty. Often he has from 100 to 120 cases a day on which he has to form the final judgment, which must be, of all things, wearying and distracting to the mind. He rises at half-past four; and, except his exercise, his bath, and a short hearty breakfast, and his time for private and family devotion, he is all day long at his desk. And yet this is the man, who, with his secretary, finds time and thought for acting as a nursing-father to the shepherdless flock who have followed the Government Printing Press from the ruins of Secundra, at Agra, to Allahabad. He gives them a service every Sunday and every Wednesday evening, besides teaching in the Sunday-school, in which there are about eighty children.”

The Society soon provided a Native pastor for Allahabad, as we shall see; and in 1859, a Cambridge wrangler, the Rev. Brocklesby Davis, was sent out to establish a regular Mission.

Allahabad
Mission
begun.

But the most interesting and important event in the C.M.S. Missions, immediately following the Mutiny, was the occupation of Lucknow. The Kingdom of Oudh had been annexed by Lord Dalhousie, after repeated warnings by himself and his predecessors. The misgovernment of this fine country had been terrible. The king was a tyrant and a debauchee; and but for British protection, there is no doubt that his oppressed subjects would have risen and deposed him long before. At length, in February, 1856, Dalhousie accomplished the last act of his great proconsulship by issuing a proclamation annexing Oudh to British India. “The British Government,” he said, “would be guilty in the sight of God and man if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions.” Outram was then the Resident at Lucknow, and upon him fell the duty

Oudh.

Annexed
by Lord
Dalhousie.

* Apparently this missionary, whose name is not given, was C. F. Cobb, then at Benares. His letter, describing a visit to Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, in 1859, is one of the most graphic narratives in the whole series of *Intelligencer* volumes (June, 1859). *Inter alia*, it describes the work of W. T. Storrs among the English soldiers at Lucknow. The 97th was there at the time, containing praying Christian men who had served under Hedley Vicars in the Crimea.

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C.M.S. in-
vited to
Oudh by
Henry
Lawrence.

of deposing the king and starting the new régime; but soon afterwards he was called away to command the expedition to Persia; and a few months later, the new Governor-General, Lord Canning, appointed Sir Henry Lawrence Chief Commissioner of Oudh. Henry Lawrence reached Lucknow on March 20th, 1857, only a few weeks before the outbreak of the Mutiny; but during that short period, while he was quietly preparing for disturbances which he foresaw, one of his first acts was to invite the Church Missionary Society to establish a Mission in Oudh. In April of the previous year, 1856, the Committee had felt obliged to put aside a similar suggestion from lack of men and means, and had stated so in the Annual Report. But between their final approval of the draft Report and its being read at Exeter Hall, a letter arrived from India, offering £1000 anonymously towards an Oudh Mission; and a P.S. was added to the Report accordingly. There was, however, no man to send that year; and before the receipt of Lawrence's invitation, North India was in the flames of the Revolt. And on July 4th, as before related, the devoted and beloved Chief Commissioner was laid in a soldier's grave.

The invita-
tion re-
newed by
Robert
Mont-
gomery.

When Oudh was re-conquered by Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Canning, on John Lawrence's strong recommendation, appointed Robert Montgomery to the Chief Commissionership. In March, 1858, Lucknow was taken from the rebels. In April, Montgomery entered on his new office; and on the 20th of that very month he began his administration by writing to the Church Missionary Society as follows:—

"I learn that the late Sir Henry Lawrence, shortly after taking charge of this Government, addressed you with a view to missionaries being sent to Oudh; but the late fearful events in India, and our loss of Oudh, prevented your Society from sending missionaries. As Sir Henry Lawrence's successor, I have the privilege of repeating his call, and it will afford me great pleasure to learn that the Society have determined to establish a Mission at Lucknow, where the field is vast and extensive."

Leupolt
ordered to
Lucknow.

What a commentary are these simple words upon the whole of our preceding chapter!

Shall he
go?

In August, 1858, Leupolt of Benares, who had just packed up to go to Europe on furlough, whither Mrs. Leupolt had already gone, received orders from the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Calcutta, to proceed at once to Lucknow, to begin preaching, to try and form a local Church Missionary Association, and to arrange for permanent occupation. With Leupolt, to receive such an order was to obey without question, wife or no wife, furlough or no furlough, health or no health. It was a commission not without peril. Oudh was still full of rebels, and Colin Campbell's troops were still engaged in dispersing them; and the Benares Native Christians wept at the thought of their beloved Padre going into such danger. Leupolt, accompanied by his faithful helper, David Mohan, drove all night in his "trap," and reached

Allahabad early next morning, seventy-five miles. There he was welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. William Muir, and visited the Christians, who (as above mentioned) were being shepherded by that devoted husband and wife. Thence he drove on to Cawnpore, and there crossed the Ganges. "On touching the soil of Oudh," he writes,*—

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Enters
Oudh.

"We followed the example of Columbus on landing in America, and of our good Bishop Wilson on entering the Punjab: we took solemn possession, not of America, nor of the Punjab, but of Oudh, in the name of the Lord of Hosts; not for Queen Victoria and her Government, for theirs it already was, but for the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory. Our earnest prayer was, 'Lord, let this great country soon be Thine own!'"

At Lucknow he was received by Montgomery; but the active American Methodist Mission was three days ahead of him. The Chief Commissioner, however, divided the city between the two Missions, and directed the chief engineer, Colonel Crommelin, to look out for a house for the C.M.S. The Government had scores of deserted palaces on their hands; and one of these, the Zahur Bakhsh, was allotted to Leupolt. He found it five hundred feet long, and with so many rooms that he was afraid to go in lest he should be lost. "You will think we wanted furniture," says Leupolt:—

The Zahur
Bakhsh.

"So we did, and we had it. Mohan and myself had a table between us, and two chairs, and each had a native cot. The furniture cost no less than six shillings, and on leaving Lucknow we had the magnanimity of leaving our furniture to our friends."

Not less quaint is Leupolt's account of the first preaching:—

Leupolt
preaches in
Lucknow.

"Captain H. asked me when we would commence preaching, for he wished to hear us. He accompanied us to the city. He certainly belonged to the Church Militant, for he was armed with sword and revolvers, and was ready for action.

"To preach the Gospel at Lucknow was a novelty, and the crowd was immense, calm, quiet; the windows, too, in the surrounding houses were filled. Captain H. took a place on an elevated spot opposite to us, watching the people, and listening to our preaching. He had come, I was afterwards told, for our protection.†

"From that time we went twice a day, and I have had nowhere larger crowds to speak to, or more attentive hearers, than at Lucknow. We had glorious preaching."

On September 24th, the eve of the anniversary of the relief of the garrison of Lucknow by Havelock, a meeting was held for the formation of a Church Missionary Association, with Robert Montgomery himself as President; and Rs. 5000 was at once subscribed by Christian officers and civilians. While the meeting

* From a vivid narrative in Leupolt's *Further Recollections of an Indian Missionary*, p. 334.

† "Captain H." was, in fact, George Hutchinson, afterwards Major-General, and Lay Secretary of C.M.S.

PART VI. was being held, the distant sound of guns was heard, the troops
 1849-61. being engaged with one of the last parties of insurgents only a few
 Chap. 47. miles off. Leupolt also officiated on Sunday at the English
 service, no chaplain having arrived. "All the Europeans were
 armed, the civilians with revolvers, the officers with swords and
 A military Communion Ser-
 vice. revolvers, and the men with bayonets fixed. As one party of the
 men came up to the Communion Table, their muskets were
 guarded by their comrades; and the others came in a similar
 way."

Lucknow
 Mission
 begun.

Leupolt stayed at Lucknow four months, and then took his
 deferred furlough home; and at the next May Anniversary he
 delighted Exeter Hall with his simple but graphic story of the
 commencement of the Oudh Mission. Meanwhile, three mission-
 aries, J. P. Mengé, W. T. Storrs, and W. J. Ball, with the wives
 of the two former, occupied the Zahur Bakhsh; and the great
 building, at first let by Government at a nominal rent, and then
 sold to the Society for a small sum, has been the headquarters of
 the Mission ever since—sometimes occupied by a missionary
 party in each wing and a large boarding-school in the centre.

Benares.

All this while, the Mission at Benares—which city, owing, under
 God, to the wise measures of its Christian Commissioner,
 H. Carre Tucker, had escaped the horrors of the Mutiny—was
 steadily developing. Jay Narain's School, of which H. D.
 Hubbard was now Principal, and Timothy Luther Native head-
 master, was doing well; and the new Lieutenant-Governor of the
 North-West Provinces, the Hon. George Edmonstone, showed
 much interest in it, as his predecessors Thomason and Colvin
 had done before him. Mrs. Leupolt, being (as above mentioned) in
 England, told a Christian lady of the need of training Native
 teachers, male and female, for school work; and this lady gave
 the Society £2000 to establish institutions for the purpose. The
 gift was the more welcome because the Committee, perceiving
 that Bible-teaching in Government schools could not be obtained,
 were exceedingly desirous to extend the Society's educational
 work, so that some at least of the boys and girls in its Mission
 districts might be able to attend schools where they would hear of
 Christ. Two institutions, for young men and women respectively,
 were accordingly planned, and in due course opened, at Benares.
 For the former, two able German masters, Treusch and Weber,
 were engaged. To the latter was appointed Miss Jane Hooper,*
 who went out with her brother the Rev. W. Hooper, an Oxford
 man of distinction, in 1861.

Ladies at
 Benares.

Mrs. Leupolt was also the first European lady in the North-
 West Provinces who succeeded in visiting a zenana. This was
 before the Mutiny, in 1855; and the zenana belonged to a
 Rajput Babu who was long an inquirer, and devoted to Leupolt,

* Miss Hooper afterwards became Mrs. Low, and has laboured in later
 years in Palestine.

but never could come to the point, and at last died of cholera without being baptized. But zenanas began to open, very slowly, from that time. The first ladies to go to Benares definitely for such work were three sisters from Dublin, the Misses Gabbett, who, when Mr. and Mrs. Leupolt returned to India after furlough in 1860, went with them at their own charges. Their coming made a great impression upon the people. It was quite a new thing. "They do not wish to marry," said a Hindu gentleman to Leupolt; "they don't want money, nor fame; yet they are at work night and day; what did they come for?" In the midst of their usefulness, however, one of them became seriously ill, and all the three left India and came home. The Indian Female Instruction Society did not begin work at Benares till 1867.

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1849-61.
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If one mark of progress in the North-West Provinces gratified the Committee more than another, it was the commencement of a Native Pastorate. Prior to the Mutiny, only three Natives had been ordained in North India in connexion with the Society, viz., Abdul Masih, by Bishop Heber; Anund Masih, by Bishop Wilson; and Daud Singh, also by Bishop Wilson, for the Punjab. Now, within a few months of the suppression of the Mutiny, on Jan. 25th, 1859, three more were ordained together, in the cathedral at Calcutta, by the new Bishop, Dr. Cotton. These were David Mohan, Davi Solomon, and Tulsi Paul. The two former have been mentioned before as converts of Bowley's at Chunar and faithful catechists at Benares. Solomon was now put in charge of the congregation at Chunar, and Mohan in charge of the Christians at Allahabad who had come thither from Secundra; while to Paul was allotted the pastorate of the newly-gathered congregation in the Dehra Dun Valley. Of the latter, French wrote: "He is an elderly man, of majestic appearance, with a noble beard, overflowing with intelligence and beaming with kindness and love. I translate with him Butler's *Analogy*, Hengstenberg's *Christology*, and Augustine *De Civitate Dei*. He is a wonderful preacher: the people quite hang upon him. He works in such a winning, patient, laborious manner, that, with God's blessing, it seems as if every Mission must be blessed where Paul is." Thus both North and South India had at this time a true "Apostle Paul." * "These pastors," said the next Annual Report, "have not received an European education, nor adopted European habits. They occupy their true position in the midst of their countrymen. It is hoped that they will soon receive their support from local funds, and thus form the first genuine Native Churches in North India." † Bishop Cotton wrote of them to A. P. Stanley:—

New
Native
clergy.

Another
"Paul."

"Their appearance was singular, as they were arrayed entirely in white, always coming shoeless into my presence, and with white turbans. I

* See p. 184.

† It should here be explained that while in the South the Native clergy have always kept their native dress and ways, in the North an inevitable Anglicizing process has gone on among educated Natives generally.

PART VI. felt it an impressive moment when the Archdeacon [Pratt] advanced up
 1849-61. the aisle, and presented three heathen-born Hindus, brought down from
 Chap. 47. the very centre of war and anarchy to be ordained ministers of the
 ——— Gospel of Peace.”*

There was extension also at this time in Bengal. The Santal Mission dates from 1858. But we leave that for a future chapter, and go on to Calcutta. Up to that time, the only centre of C.M.S. work in the city was the quarter called Mirzapore, with Trinity Church and mission-houses and schools; and of the outlying suburbs, Agarpara to the north and Thakurpukur to the south were occupied. But in the early part of 1857 some important work was handed over to the Society by Bishop Daniel Wilson. When the Cathedral was built, the Bishop, as before mentioned, contemplated a chapter of Canons being attached to it, some of whom should engage in missionary work. For this purpose he applied to Government for a charter, but failed to obtain one, although in view of it he had raised an Endowment Fund, and subscribed largely to it himself. He then founded the “Cathedral Mission,” and gave to it the charge of Christ Church in Cornwallis Square—a church (and house) built and maintained by a trust connected with the Old Church (Kiernander’s and David Brown’s), called the Evangelical Fund,—and also two small Missions in the suburbs. The scheme, however, was not a success; and ultimately the Bishop came to the conclusion that Missions were best managed by regular Societies formed expressly for the work. He therefore arranged to give a portion of the interest of his Fund, for the support of a Native missionary, to the S.P.G., in repayment—so to speak—of a grant it had made for a Missionary Canon; and the rest he allocated to the C.M.S., to carry on a “Cathedral Mission.” At this time, an influential and godly man in Calcutta, Mr. Macleod Wylie, had been urging upon the Society the importance of more definite efforts being made to reach the large and increasing class of educated Hindus; and it was accordingly now determined to make the Cathedral Mission—in part, at least—an agency for that purpose. The Rev. R. P. Greaves, the Manchester Incumbent whose offer of service at this time was mentioned in our Thirty-sixth Chapter, was appointed to this work; and the Rev. H. C. Milward, who had lately gone out under the Bishop, was transferred by him to the Society: these two Cambridge men thus becoming “C.M.S. Cathedral Missionaries,” with Christ Church as their headquarters.

At the same time the Bishop’s small Missions in the southern suburbs, at Kidderpore and Alipur, were handed over to the Society. All this took effect in 1857, at the very time the Mutiny was breaking out; and simultaneously a station of the London Missionary Society at Kistopore, another outlying village, was transferred to the C.M.S.

* *Life of Bp. Cotton*, p. 88.

Calcutta.

Bishop
Wilson’s
Cathedral
Mission.

Trans-
ferred to
C.M.S.

Calcutta was at this time the scene of the labours of one of the most remarkable men on the Society's roll, the Rev. James Long. His reputation at Islington College we have already seen.* He went out in 1840, and for more than thirty years worked with untiring devotion in ways all his own. His allotted field was Thakurpukur, a village south of the city, where, says the Report of 1855, "he brought the whole community to a degree of intellectual and moral improvement which would bear comparison with many villages at home." No man has ever succeeded better in getting—to use a colloquial phrase—at the back of the people's minds. He avowedly took as his model our Blessed Lord, in that "without a parable spake he not unto them." He gave them catechetical instruction in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. He delivered lectures on the emblems of Scripture, illustrating them by proverbs collected from all nations. He wrote a Bengali commentary on the Book of Proverbs. He was one of the first missionaries to use the magic-lantern. His two great principles were, (1) Use the vernacular tongue if you want to reach the heart, (2) Do nothing for the people which they ought to do for themselves. His influence was by no means confined to the labouring classes. No man was more respected by the educated Hindus. But it was for the ryots that he lived, the oppressed ryots or serfs of Bengal; and in their cause he was now to suffer.

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James
Long.

His
methods.

The condition of these ryots was at this time deplorable. The European indigo-planters employed thousands of them, and for the most part treated them as, alas! too many Englishmen have been wont to treat "niggers." In 1858, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kinnaid brought their wrongs before Parliament; but nothing being done, an agitation, nearly developing into an insurrection, broke out in the Nuddea district in 1860. The Krishnagar missionaries, Blumhardt, Lincké, and others, openly expressed their sympathy with the people, with the natural result—as in the West Indies thirty years before†—of being branded as political agitators. A Government Commission was appointed, and in their Report said:—

The Ben-
gal ryots.

Planters
and mis-
sionaries.

"If to express dislike of what they deem oppression, when forced to their notice, and to stand up for the rights of those who have had no tongue to plead for them, be to carry on an agitation, then the missionaries have done this. But, in so doing, they had no private interests to advance, and no political object to gain, except the contentment and well-being of the agricultural population. It would have been ungenerous and unmanly to turn a deaf ear to the complaints of the ryots."

And the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir J. Peter Grant, in his Minute, "entirely exonerated" the missionaries, and "respectfully expressed his admiration of their conduct."† This verdict, naturally, did not please the commercial classes among the

* See Chapter XXXVII.

† See Chapter XXIII.

‡ Quoted in the *C.M.S. Report*, 1861, p. 93.

PART VI. English population; and suddenly they found an unexpected
1849-61. opportunity of venting their wrath upon a missionary, and that
Chap. 47. missionary Mr. Long.

Prosecu-
tion of
Long.

A Bengali play was brought out, called the *Nil Darpan*, or "Mirror of Indigo-planting," representing village life in Bengal, and showing the English indigo-planters, socially and morally, in a very unfavourable light. The Secretary to the Bengal Government, Mr. Seton Karr, desirous to read this curious production, commissioned Long to translate it. The translation was printed, circulated from the Government office, and, says Bishop Cotton's biographer, "burst like a cyclone over society." * An association of indigo-planters brought an action for libel against Long, not, as usual in such cases, in the civil, but in the criminal court; and so hot was the feeling against him that he found great difficulty in securing a counsel for his defence. The judge, Sir Mordaunt Wells, summed up strongly against him; † and the jury, composed of Englishmen of the mercantile class, brought in a verdict of guilty. He was at once sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1000 and one month's imprisonment in the common gaol of Calcutta. Then there came a revulsion of feeling. A wealthy Bengali at once stepped forward and paid the fine; addresses and resolutions of sympathy poured in upon Long, one of them signed by three thousand Hindus; and during his month in gaol he was visited by men of the highest standing, both European and Native, including some of the planters themselves. ‡

Long con-
demned,

and
honoured.

This event greatly increased Long's influence with the Natives. He became personally acquainted with the editors of Bengali papers and the writers of Bengali works, which were pouring forth from the eighty native presses in Calcutta, and he gave the Scriptures to six hundred of them. When Duff reorganized the Bethune Society—an old secular debating society for educated Natives founded by a much-respected Englishman of that name,—so that it became a kind of Social Science Association, and no longer excluded religion from its programme, Long was put at the head of the department of sociology, § and he repeatedly wrote of the access this gave him to the most influential Native circles.

The new
Bishop of
Calcutta.

The new Bishop of Calcutta has been twice mentioned in this chapter, and he must now be more regularly introduced. When Bishop Daniel Wilson died, it was the earnest desire of the Church Missionary Society that he should be succeeded by

* *Memoir of Bp. Cotton*, p. 187. But the biographer omits to mention that it was by the Government that Mr. Long was employed as translator.

† "In the most outrageously partial terms and with indecent violence of manner and expression."—*Life of Sir B. Frere*, vol. i. p. 361.

‡ To conciliate the planters, Lord Canning censured Mr. Seton Karr; but shortly afterwards Karr was made a Judge of the High Court himself, and subsequently became Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.—*Life of Sir B. Frere*, vol. i. p. 362.

§ *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 381.

Archdeacon J. H. Pratt, who had been in India many years, and whose ripe scholarship, intellectual eminence, and high character, had won for him a position of influence far more important than could have been given him merely by his ecclesiastical status. He would have maintained the large-hearted Evangelical Churchmanship of his father, the Society's early Secretary, and of Wilson himself. But Mr. Vernon Smith, Indian Minister in Palmerston's first Ministry, did not look favourably upon one so identified with the Missionary Societies, and with the cause, then so keen a subject of controversy, of a more decidedly Christian attitude on the part of the Indian Government; and he therefore appointed a man strongly pressed upon him by Bishop Tait, avowedly on account of his more moderate views. This was Tait's examining chaplain, George Edward Lynch Cotton, Head Master of Marlborough. He had been a Rugby master under Arnold—indeed he is the “young master” of *Tom Brown's School Days*—a fervent disciple of that greatest of educationalists, and an intimate friend of Stanley, Conybeare, Howson, and Vaughan. He had lifted Marlborough out of debt and depression and made it one of the best schools in England; and he was honoured and beloved by all his pupils. Tait, who was Head Master of Rugby during part of Cotton's time there, had unbounded confidence in him. Let it be said at once that he proved one of the ablest and best bishops India has ever had.

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Cotton's
ante-
cedents.

It has been mentioned before that Bishop Tait brought Cotton to the C.M.S. Annual Meeting in May, 1858. The graceful words in which he expressed his “cordial adhesion to this great and venerable Society,” and told how he had supported it while at college and had advocated its cause whenever opportunity had offered, and promised to be “the friend and helper of the missionaries,” were received with much satisfaction; but he got a solemn warning from one of the subsequent speakers, the Rev. George Knox, a Madras chaplain, who shortly afterwards became an Association Secretary of the Society, and subsequently editor of the *Intelligencer*. Knox's speech was a vehement denunciation of the caste system—as all readers of his articles in after years will understand,—and in the course of it he turned to Cotton and in very incisive language warned him not to fall into Heber's mistake of tolerating caste, but to adopt Daniel Wilson's decided attitude against it. What Cotton thought of this is not recorded; but certainly he did in India oppose caste more strongly than might have been anticipated from a man of his mental constitution and previous environment. Moreover, he did not turn out to be quite the defender of the “Neutrality” policy which perhaps Mr. Vernon Smith had hoped for. In his Primary Charge, while displaying great anxiety not to run counter to the Government, and while not openly espousing the C.M.S. policy of Bible-teaching in Government schools, he said he “wished that the word neutrality could be dropped in describing the relations of the

Cotton at
C.M.S.
Meeting.

Knox and
Cotton.

Cotton on
Neutrality.

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British Government to religion," and that he never heard it used without thinking of our Lord's words, "He that is not with Me is against Me." Henry Venn, on reading the Charge, wrote out to him about it, "with entire satisfaction," except for his "not quite liking" what was said about the Bible in schools; and Cotton expresses pleasure at receiving this from "the person who has done most for, and knows most about, missionary work." *

Cotton
on the mis-
sionaries.

The circles from which Cotton had come were not remarkable—nor are they now—for appreciation of Missions. Nor, it must be added, for knowledge of them. But he himself was the most candid of men, and after his first visitation of North India he wrote to his successor at Marlborough, Dr. Bradley (now Dean of Westminster), as follows:—

"With the missionaries I have been agreeably surprised. Spite of some heresies in my Charge, they received me everywhere with real cordiality, and listened attentively to my entreaties that they would not neglect their schools for the more exciting work of preaching in bazaars; and many of them are not only devoted Christians, but sensible and practical in their work to a degree which I had not expected. One whom I ordained priest, a high wrangler of Cambridge [H. W. Shackell], is a really superior man, and passed as good an examination as I have ever seen either as chaplain or as bishop. His school is the best of the missionary schools, and the only one which could compare in secular knowledge with the Government colleges. I regretted, however, that some of the missionaries study the Revelation more than the Koran and Shasters, or rather, perhaps I should say (since Revelation itself is a most profitable study) Elliott's *Horæ Apocalyptiæ* and Cumming's *Great Tribulation*." †

It is a curious example of unconscious inconsistency that, not long after, the Bishop mentions that he did not intend to study the Vedas or Koran, which "would consume immense time without corresponding fruit," and that he was rather reading books of Scriptural criticism, such as—Elliott's *Horæ Apocalyptiæ*! "by which," he says, "I remain unconvinced, though the learning of the book is great, and it is written by a good man." ‡

Death of
Bishop
Dealtry.

Another new Bishop now appeared in India. Bishop Dealtry, of Madras, had died on March 5th, 1861, to the deep regret of the diocese over which he had presided for twelve years, following on many years at Calcutta as Minister of the Old Church and as Archdeacon; to the deep regret also of the C.M.S. Committee. During his tenure of the see of Madras, he had ordained twelve Native clergymen in connexion with the Society, and confirmed many thousands of converts; and his visits to the Missions had been markedly seasons of spiritual refreshment. And now he was succeeded, to the Committee's thankful satisfaction, by one entirely like-minded, a hearty friend of the cause, the Rev. Frederick Gell. He was the founder and Hon. Secretary

Succeeded
by F. Gell.

* *Memoir of Bp. Cotton*, p. 99.

† *Ibid.*, p. 162. See another of Cotton's letters at p. 494. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

of the Rugby-Fox Memorial Fund; and it was interesting to the Society that when he sailed for India, he was accompanied by a young C.M.S. missionary, John Sharp, who, like Fox, had been both a Rugby boy and a graduate of Wadham, Oxford, and who was now appointed to assist Robert Noble as Rugby-Fox Master in his School at Masulipatam. Bishop Gell continued at Madras thirty-seven years, his episcopate far exceeding in length that of any other Indian bishop.

The Diocese of Madras was not materially affected by the Mutiny; nor was that of Bombay, where good Bishop Harding was still labouring. For this reason, in reviewing the Missions in Southern and Western India in our Forty-second and Forty-third Chapters, we did not pause at the great epoch of 1857, but fairly completed their story for the whole of our present period. There is therefore nothing that need be added to it in this chapter.

We have still to notice the "Missions after the Mutiny" in the Punjab.

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Punjab
Missions.

The work at Amritsar, Multan, and Peshawar was zealously prosecuted throughout the period. The Mutiny, owing to the wise and successful measures of the great Christian statesmen before mentioned, never interrupted it. In the next three or four years much good work was done in Amritsar and its neighbourhood by Keene, Leighton, Strawbridge, Robert Bruce, and Mortlock Brown; and at Multan, Fitzpatrick was joined by G. Yeates. Bruce opened the new and afterwards famous outstation of Narowal. The *lumbadar* or head-man of this village had been led to Christ by Fitzpatrick, and baptized by the name of Paulus.

Peshawar soon lost Dr. Pfander, who was sent to Constantinople to found the new Turkish Mission; * but Robert Clark and Colonel Martin were joined by two Cambridge men, the former's brother Roger, and T. Tuting; and by an able man from Islington, J. A. McCarthy. The latter received priest's orders from Bishop Cotton on his first visit to Peshawar, in 1860. The Bishop wrote, "It is a solemn thing thus to devote a man to Christ's service and ministry on the very borders of the fiercest Asiatic fanaticism; and I believe that McCarthy is a man likely to pursue his work in the spirit of power, and love, and soberness. Everyone here speaks of his untiring devotion to the school and other labours of the Mission." † The school, a large and important one, was McCarthy's special sphere, and while he was in charge it was visited, and highly praised, by both Sir John Lawrence and Lord Canning. In 1858, an interesting Afghan convert was baptized, Dilawar Khan, of the famous Guide Corps, formerly a border brigand. Of him, and of other converts, we shall see more by-and-by.

Peshawar.

We now come to a highly important and interesting extension

* See Chapter XLI.

† *Memoir of Bp. Cotton*, p. 133.

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The
Derajat as
a Mission-
field.

of the Punjab Mission. In 1860, Robert Clark, being at Attock on the Indus ministering to the Christians in the Mazhabi Sikh regiment,* went down the river and visited the long strip of country, about three hundred miles in length and fifty in breadth, lying between it and the Afghan mountain-ranges; and he wrote to the Society urging that it also be occupied, and thus the chain of Frontier Missions from Peshawar down to Karachi be gradually completed. This country is called the Derajat, or "Encampments"; and its three principal towns, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Futteh Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan, were originally the "camps" of the three chiefs or khans, Ismail, Futteh, and Ghazi. Into it debouch all the mountain-passes between the Khyber to the north and the Bolan to the south. By these passes there continually came over into the plains of India the trading caravans of the Lohani and Povindah tribes, bringing goods of all kinds from Afghanistan, Balkh, Bokhara, Khiva, Khokand, Khorassan—indeed from all Central Asia—to sell at the towns of the Derajat, and, crossing the Indus, all over the North-West of India. Not only were these traders worth evangelizing on their own account, but the Scriptures and Christian books given into their hands might get circulated in the heart of Mohammedan Asia. The people of the Derajat themselves, too, deserved to have the Gospel from us, if only to repay them for their signal services under Edwardes and Nicholson in the second Punjab War and in the Mutiny.

Appeal to
C.M.S.

It was a period, however, of financial pressure in the Church Missionary Society. The income had not kept pace with the work, and in 1861 the Committee were face to face with a deficit. At the General Committee meeting of October 13th in that year, applications from different parts of the world for enlarged grants were regretfully refused. But at that very same meeting, after the financial business had been disposed of, there came on a proposal which seemed to embody the Lord's command to "go forward" even with the Red Sea of deficit stretching right across the path. It was a proposal for a Derajat Mission.

Reynell
Taylor.

Who sent this proposal? No other person than the Commissioner of the Derajat himself, Colonel Reynell Taylor. As Henry and John Lawrence had welcomed the Society to Amritsar—as Edwardes had encouraged it to come to Peshawar—as Montgomery had invited it to Lucknow,—so now the ruler of the Derajat called upon it to enter his district. Reynell Taylor was one of the boldest and most chivalrous of British officers. His daring and heroic deeds were the admiration of India. Like Nelson, he never seemed to know what fear was. But he was not only "*sans peur*," but also "*sans reproche*." So conspicuous was the lovable beauty of his character that the Natives used to say he was one of the two English *ferishtas* (angels) in the

* See p. 258.

Punjab—the other being Donald McLeod. He was, in fact, a devoted follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. Two years later than this, when in Political charge of the British force in the difficult Umbeyla campaign—in which heavy losses were incurred—he invited the troops to observe one day as a day of prayer; and as from that day victory inclined to our arms, he presently named another as a day of thanksgiving.

To Herbert Edwardes, who also had been Commissioner in the district, and who was now in England, Reynell Taylor wrote of his desire to see a Mission in the Derajat. With this letter was one from Robert Montgomery, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, warmly supporting Taylor's scheme. These two letters Herbert Edwardes, accompanied by Colonel Martin (who had also come to England), brought to the C.M.S. Committee on that very day when they were refusing applications for grants. Taylor's letter gave full particulars of the openings for the Mission and the methods it should adopt. He offered £1000 for himself, and £100 a year subscription, and said he could collect a great deal more, Robert Montgomery promising £100 each for three stations when taken up. Thus the letter began:—

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R. Taylor
proposes
Derajat
Mission.

"You will, I know, share in my feeling that having been so long and so much connected with the classes of the Derajat, we should not look back happily on the whole association if this one effort had been left unmade.

"What I want you to do is to be kind enough to negotiate the matter with the Church Missionary Society. God be with and bless what I may write and you may say, and may He deign to forward the project, and to correct and purify our motives, so that we may really begin, continue, and end it in Him."

And thus it closed:—

"I should wish to put the matter entirely into the hands of the Church Missionary Society. I like its connexion with our own Church; and I believe it to be in every way entitled to confidence and honour, both as to motives and means employed. Therefore we can never do better than put ourselves in its hands. Now about funds. . . .

"So much for the Derajat Mission, which God bless!"

And thus wrote Robert Montgomery:—

"We have held the Frontier for twelve years against all comers, and now, thank God, we are at peace with all the tribes. Now is the time to hold out the hand of friendship, and to offer, through the missionaries, the bread of life. . . . I rejoice to see Missions spreading. . . . Dera Ismail, as a centre, should be taken up first, and then Bannu and Dera Ghazi. The whole Frontier will then be lined with Missions. It is my earnest prayer that the knowledge of the true God will from those points cover the vast Suliman range, and enter into the hearts and homes of the myriads of Central Asia."

Robert
Mont-
gomery
supports
him.

If the British Empire had always been extended and administered in this spirit, what an untold blessing it would have been to the world!

In the face of Reynell Taylor's liberality, it was impossible for

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Herbert
Edwardes,
also.

the Committee to refuse to enter on the proposed Mission on financial grounds; and Edwardes's eloquence overcame all hesitation. It was resolved to send two men, as soon as they could be found, to occupy Dera Ismail, as a beginning. Next day Edwardes wrote a long letter to Henry Venn, in order that what he had said *vivâ voce* to the Committee might be published for the Society at large. He acknowledged that "the good old staff of faith and hope" was "bending under its burdens":—

"But I am doubly thankful to your Committee for yielding to the appeal in the midst of your world-wide difficulties. Even during the hour that I was with you, I was struck at hearing of appeals from Rajputana, from Sindh, from North-West America, from Japan, and from several other places, while a falling-off was reported in your income. May these difficulties be lessened, not increased, by your answering this call from the Derajat! Walking by faith, and not by sight, may you be followed into new territory by the increased sympathy of all who know Whose inheritance the Heathen are!"

Mr. French
volunteers
to head the
Mission.

The Committee appointed to the new Mission two Islington men, W. Soans and J. Cooper, and with a view to their going forth at once, the Bishop of London included them in his Christmas ordination. And, unexpectedly, a trusted and honoured leader was found for them. T. Valpy French had come home invalided from Agra after the Mutiny, but now he offered to go out again, and gladly agreed to head the Derajat Mission. He and the two younger brethren were taken leave of by the Committee on January 24th,* and in his reply to the official Instructions he referred to a motto on one of the tombs in Exeter Cathedral—"This man put his hand to the plough, and never looked back,"—and to a text on which he was leaning: "We see not yet all things put under Him; but we see Jesus—crowned."

French
and Bruce
in the
Derajat.

One of the young missionaries, Soans, died within four months of reaching India. The other stayed three years. French was joined also by Robert Bruce, and together they faced the fanatical Mussulmans—as they proved to be—of the Derajat. French was shocked by the "fiendish malice" with which the mullahs read passages from the Gospels, "mocking and blaspheming." But this was not always his experience. Here is another picture:—

"The khans or chieftains of the village were usually the first to call and try to discover the object of our visit. One of the first questions usually was, whether I had known 'Neecholsayn Sahib' (General John Nicholson), whom they seemed to associate with all that was noble and terrible in English character and rule. The next question would generally be whether the English ever prayed, implying, in fact, whether they had any religion, for religion and the stated seasons for prayer are almost synonymous in the Afghan mind, and beyond this, doctrine and practice seem little accounted of. The rest of the people ventured very little into my tent, but could often be met in considerable numbers

* See the account of the interesting proceedings in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1862.

in the *chaunk*, a large hut of mud or straw erected in the centre of each village for the reception of strangers, and for village gatherings when any matters required joint public deliberation. Here the mullahs (or *akhunds*, as they were called in these parts) would come forward, and prove themselves far abler champions of Mohammedanism than I have looked for so far from the world's great thoroughfare."*

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—

But French's work only lasted from April to December. In the latter month he was found by a medical officer insensible in the jungle, and at once ordered home:—

French
invalided.

"I feel a pang of deep regret at being withdrawn from the work. It has been begun in great weakness, but under prayerful auspices, and on the highest and most Scriptural principles. None can say how important a bearing its future may have on the entrance of the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ into the regions of Central Asia."

But the Derajat Mission has never yet fulfilled the hopes with which it was started. Is the arm of the Lord, then, waxed short? Nay, but the responsibility lies upon the Church at home. This Mission, like so many others, has never been adequately manned. We shall see by-and-by that two or three faithful men did wave the banner of Christ there. We shall see Bannu occupied, and also Dera Ghazi, making the three stations contemplated by Robert Montgomery. But the time of victory is not yet.

Hopes not
fulfilled :
why ?

So we close these six chapters on the India Missions during this period of our History. Except perhaps in the last ten years in Uganda, there is no section of the History so full of thrilling incident, of faithful service, of great personalities, of events big with future issues. Truly we may say, "They got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them : but Thy right hand, and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, because Thou hadst a favour unto them."

* *Life of Bp. French*, vol. i. p. 143.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CEYLON'S ISLE.

Slow Progress—Sir J. E. Tennent's Testimony—Deaths—C. C. Fenn—Cotta and Colombo—H. Whitley—Kandyan Itinerancy—Tamil Coolie Mission—Jaffna—Buddhist Revival—New Missionaries—Native Clergy—Other Missions—Why was Progress slow?—C.M.S. Principles.

"Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters."—Isa. xxxii. 20.

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CEYLON has not yet had a chapter to itself. In our Sixteenth Chapter it was included among the "Insular Mission" fields; and at the close of our Twenty-second Chapter a brief paragraph mentioned the names of the missionaries up to the period of the Society's Jubilee. It is now time to examine more closely the work in "Ceylon's Isle."

During the thirty years that had elapsed between the foundation of the Mission and the Jubilee, twenty-two missionaries had gone out. Three had died in Ceylon, after an average term of service of twenty years; nine had retired, after an average term of twelve years and a half; and ten remained in 1848, together with three Singhalese clergymen. There were then three thousand Christians in attendance on public worship, but of these only three hundred were communicants. The nominal Christianity of the Dutch period still prevailed, keeping everything at a low spiritual level; and new converts from the Buddhism of the Singhalese and the devil-worship of the Tamils were few and far between. The best work of the Mission was in the schools, which were giving a Christian education to nearly three thousand children. But the letters of the missionaries were almost uniformly depressing; and it was only from Government officials that a more favourable impression was made on the Society at home. Sir J. Emerson Tennent, Secretary to the Government, and afterwards well known for his elaborate book on Ceylon,* had promised to speak at the Society's Annual Meeting in May, 1850; but at the last moment he was prevented from coming, and wrote instead a letter to Lord Chichester, in which he said:—

"The mission of Christianity is not doomed to repulse, as has been improperly asserted. Its ministers are successfully carrying forward the

* *Ceylon, an Account of the Island, &c.* Sir James Emerson Tennent. Longmans, 1859.

Thirty
years in
Ceylon.

Sir J. E.
Tennent's
opinion.

work of enlightenment and civilization with an effect so remarkable, and a result so convincing, in Ceylon, as to afford every assurance of a wide and a permanent triumph for the Gospel."

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But the Committee in that same year drew the right lesson from the comparative failure which they more correctly recognized. After referring to the little progress made in thirty years, and to "the evil effects of Christian baptism administered without the evidence of real conversion from Heathenism," which had "checked the spirit of inquiry among the Heathen," the Report went on to say, "Such experience teaches an important lesson in respect of the foundation of a Native Church—that it is essential to maintain a just standard of qualification in the catechumens, and rather to delay baptism than to attempt to build up a Christian Church upon an unsound foundation."

The true lesson of slow progress.

Trials of another kind came upon the Mission at this time. While that Report, and Sir J. E. Tennent's testimony, were being read to the Meeting, a letter was on its way from Ceylon announcing the death of one of the most devoted and most beloved of the missionaries, J. F. Haslam, the Cambridge Wrangler at the head of the Cotta Institution, who had for nearly twelve years worked untiringly, notwithstanding frequent ill-health and the loss of his wife and child. In addition to his educational work, he had taken a leading part in the revision of the Singhalese Bible, had compiled a Singhalese Arithmetic, and had translated into Singhalese the remarkable Sanscrit life of Christ by Dr. Mill of Bishop's College, Calcutta. He was greatly beloved by his students, one of whom wrote of him, "He has left behind in the heart of his pupils a living monument to his own exemplary life and conduct. Happy would it be if every Christian would lead such a life of usefulness with the same single eye to the glory of his Lord." Then C. Greenwood, the missionary in charge of Baddegama, who was appointed to succeed Haslam at the Institution, was drowned in a river just before starting for Cotta. On the opposite page of the Report which records this sad event, we are startled by the heading, "Death of Edward Bickersteth." The original Edward Bickersteth had indeed gone to his heavenly rest in that same year; but this was an old Singhalese at Baddegama, baptized by that honoured name some years before, and who now died at the age of one hundred.

Death of Haslam,

and of Greenwood.

Other missionaries had returned to England about this time, and after these deaths in 1850 the only man in the Mission of more than five years' standing was William Oakley, who for many years laboured alone at Kandy, with his excellent wife, daughter of an Indian officer, born at Madras, and who in all her life never visited England. The younger missionaries included R. Pargiter, Isaiah Wood, R. Bren, and G. Parsons; and in the following year were sent out C. C. Fenn and E. T. Higgins. Mr. Fenn, son of Joseph Fenn of Travancore, was one of the Cambridge men whose offers of service at that time gave such hopeful satis-

C. C. Fenn.

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faction to Henry Venn.* He was sent out to take Haslam's place at the Cotta Institution. At the Valedictory Meeting, held at the Liverpool Road Schools, Islington, on June 20th, 1851, R. Clark, Fitzpatrick, and H. Stern, for India, and Klein for Jerusalem, were also taken leave of; and Venn's Instructions have been referred to before.† Another point in them was that the missionaries were earnestly exhorted (1) to seek for nothing less than the true conversion of souls, (2) to be "men of the One Book," (3) to maintain, in accordance with the Society's 31st Law, "friendly intercourse with other Protestant Societies." It is worth while quoting these three injunctions in connexion with Mr. Fenn, embodying as they certainly do three of the conspicuous features of his career.

Cotta In-
stitution.

For twelve years Mr. Fenn carried on the Cotta Institution. Under Lambrick and Haslam it had been one of those seminaries upon which the hopes of the earlier C.M.S. Committee were much set. Boys were admitted—Christians in the case of Ceylon, Heathen in some other Missions—with a view to their being trained as future mission agents. But the results were not commensurate with the outlay, or with the efforts of the teachers. The better the education, the more did the students, after getting all its advantages at the Society's expense, shirk Mission employment and drift away to more lucrative occupations; besides which, a promising scholar did not always develop into a fervent "fisher of men." Forty-eight of the Cotta students had become Mission agents, of whom twenty-three were still serving in 1851, and three of them had been ordained. This, *per se*, did not look like failure; but then where were the rest, out of 130 altogether? In the Instructions to Mr. Fenn the Committee announced a change of plan. The Institution was to open its doors to pupils of all creeds avowedly desiring only a good education, and willing to pay fees for it, without any idea necessarily on their part of entering the service of the Mission, or even of becoming Christians; and it was hoped that the teaching and influence of the Principal might be blessed to the conversion of some to Christ, and to the dedication of some of these to His regular service. Under this new scheme the Institution did excellent work, and produced Native clergymen, catechists, and schoolmasters; but after Mr. Fenn's time further changes took place, and later plans are more in harmony with the developed state of the Mission.

Cotta and
Badde-
gama.

The general work of the Cotta district was for many years superintended by Isaiah Wood, and subsequently by J. H. Clowes, J. Ireland Jones, and E. T. Higgins; but the results were discouraging, and even in 1868, the history of Cotta was described as "dark and sad." Only since then have the brighter scenes appeared upon which the eyes of so many visitors have looked with thankfulness. The other Singhalese station in the south,

* See p. 62.

† See p. 206.

Baddegama, has a similar story ; and the Committee in more than one Report expressed doubts about continuing the work there. The energy of George Parsons, however, and the quiet consistency of the Native pastor, Abraham Gunasekara, kept things together ; and Bishop Chapman was much pleased with the station and the work when he paid Baddegama a visit.

Up to 1850, the Society had done nothing in Colombo, though there was a Church Missionary Association there, composed of European residents, with the Governor at the head, and a good deal of money was raised by them for the Mission. In that year, however, George Pettitt, whose excellent work in Tinnevely had inspired the Committee with great confidence in him, was sent to Ceylon for a special purpose, and, having to reside at the capital, began to open up work there. The special purpose was to be Secretary of the Mission. Hitherto it had had no regular governing body. The missionaries met from time to time in conference and arranged its affairs. But now it seemed desirable to create a regular Corresponding Committee on the Indian model, which would give independent Christian laymen a share in the management, and also the Bishop ; and with a view to this a wise Clerical Secretary was needed, like Cuthbert at Calcutta and Tucker and Ragland at Madras. To this office Pettitt was appointed. Difficulties in the arrangement subsequently arose, and in 1854 they became so serious that one of the Secretaries at home, William Knight, was sent out to adjust them—as well as to visit some of the India stations, where we have already met him. Ultimately the Corresponding Committee plan, not being successful, was given up ; and the administration of the Mission reverted to the missionaries in conference. This form of government has lasted ever since—with, in later years, a small finance committee of independent gentlemen ; another attempt in 1884 to form a Corresponding Committee proving equally unsuccessful, as we shall see in a future chapter.

But Pettitt's new missionary agencies at Colombo lasted. He organized evangelistic work by Native agents among both the Singhalese and the Tamils, superintending the latter section himself (Tamil having been his language in Tinnevely), while a Singhalese clergyman, the Rev. C. Jayasinha, took charge of the former. And he built the now well-known church at Galle Face, the esplanade of the fort on the south side of Colombo. Local friends subscribed £700 towards the cost, as well as £450, a few years later, for a parsonage. The church was built with the special design of providing English services for the Evangelical Church people of Colombo, which would be taken by the Clerical Secretary, and also both Singhalese and Tamil services for the Christians of both races, thus giving an outward and visible token of the unity of the Church. It was dedicated by Bishop Chapman on October 13th, 1853, in the presence of a large congregation representing all three nationalities ; and in the next Annual

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Colombo.

Pettitt
Secretary
of Mission.

Galle Face
Church.

PART VI. Report Henry Venn referred to this service as "affording a happy
1849-61. illustration of one of the main objects of the erection of the church—
Chap. 48. the union of races in the Church of Christ."

Whitley :
his influ-
ence,

Pettitt retired in 1855, and was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Whitley, a Cambridge man who had been curate of Sapcote, Leicestershire, chaplain to the Ironmongers' Company, and Minister of their chapel at Kingsland, and who had been greatly beloved by his people. At Colombo he gained much influence as a most devoted pastor; and besides learning enough Tamil and Singhalese to supervise the work in both languages, he built up an English congregation which was conspicuous for earnestness and liberality, and took a warm interest in the Mission generally. Great was the outburst of grief when in 1860 he was suddenly killed by the falling of a wall when an old schoolroom in the compound was being pulled down. Bishop Chapman wrote to the Society, "The last sad offices were solemnized by myself on the following evening amid more universal sorrow than I have witnessed on any previous occasion. The pall was borne by persons of the highest position in the colony." And C. C. Fenn wrote, "Our brother Whitley seemed never off his guard; always in the same frame; always living in the presence of a reconciled Father; always serenely and gravely cheerful; always ready to show kindness; ceaselessly laborious. He was living in the spiritual world even while upon earth. He was gathered because he was ripe."

and sudden
death.

Kandy :
Oakley.

The work at Kandy under Oakley was at this period not more encouraging than at Cotta and Baddegama. The Kandyans, or Singhalese of the hill districts, are a very different people from the Singhalese of the low country; but the human heart is the same everywhere, and indifference to the Gospel was as marked among the hills as in the plains. Among the Kandy Christians, however, there were a few men influential in a worldly sense as well as excellent in a spiritual sense. One of these, Jayetilaka, took an active part in raising £500 towards building Trinity Church, which was opened in 1854; and his son-in-law Dunawila was prominent in promoting the establishment, in 1857, of the Kandy Collegiate School, to conduct which the Rev. John Ireland Jones, of Trinity College, Dublin, was sent to Ceylon. The design of this school was to attract the sons of the Kandyan chiefs, a class proud of their ancestry and their former feudal power. Not many, however, of them were reached; but in after years the place of the school was taken by the present Trinity College, Kandy, which has proved, and still proves, a great channel of blessing. Mrs. Oakley also opened a boarding-school for the daughters of the same chiefs, and with the same very partial success; but it was the forerunner of the present excellent Clarence Memorial School of the Church of England Zenana Society.

Collegiate
School :
J. I. Jones.

But Oakley's heart was in the villages of the hill-country; whenever able, he got out among them; and at length he persuaded

the Society to undertake definitely a Singhalese Itinerant Mission—sometimes called the Kandyan Itinerancy. Only thus could the real Kandyan families be reached; the Singhalese in the town being mostly from the low country. To this work E. T. Higgins was appointed. He was to itinerate systematically over the hilly region with a radius of thirty miles round Kandy, including part of a district to the north-west called the Seven Korles, in which is the important town of Kurunegala (or Kornegalle). He was, however, quite alone, without even one Native catechist at first. Few men could have faced the sort of life which Mr. Higgins cheerfully lived, day by day climbing steep hills, forcing his way through dense jungles, tramping the swamps in the valleys; unable in such a country to carry a tent, and obliged (unless near a coffee or tea planter's bungalow) to sleep in native huts. Gradually the work grew; catechists were appointed to it; J. Ireland Jones and J. H. Clowes took their part in it; and little congregations were gathered out. Oakley lived to see his favourite scheme successful in spreading the knowledge of Christ and bringing not a few souls into the Church.

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Kandyan
Itinerancy.
Higgins.

This village work among the Kandyans had commenced on a small scale before the Itinerancy had regularly begun. As far back as 1837, a prisoner in Kandy gaol, from the village of Ratniwala, had some Christian tracts given him; and when he came out of prison, he came to Oakley for further instruction. On June 3rd, 1838, he was baptized by the name of Abraham—the first convert from among the hill-people—one who had been a devil-dancer, and of bad character. His son was baptized two months later by the name of Isaac; his wife, two years later by the name of Sarah; his brother—who at first threatened to shoot him,—three years after that, by the name of Samuel; and subsequently his second son and his wife, David and Christina, and three young daughters, Mary, Martha, and Rebecca. These three girls were the only persons of their sex in the whole district who could read and write. Samuel built a school in the village at his own charges, and Abraham became the schoolmaster. Abraham's violent temper made him but an inconsistent Christian; but Samuel was an exemplary character, and for more than a quarter of a century lived a godly life, despite a good deal of persecution from his neighbours. Although Oakley knew the village well, he was never able to spend a Sunday there till 1852, when he found a hundred people squeezed into the little schoolroom for his service. In the following year began the Itinerancy.

Kandyan
converts.

In later Reports many interesting incidents are given. For example, Mr. John Ireland Jones, in his first year in Ceylon, 1857, paid a visit to Kurunegala, and found there a Buddhist priest who had thrown off his yellow robes, and was reading the Bible. This man, who was known by the name of his village, Hunapola, was baptized by Mr. Oakley, and then set to work to tell of the Saviour he had found, especially at a village seven miles off called Talam-

Buddhist
priests
converted.

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pitiya. Five years afterwards, Mr. Jones, visiting that village, found nearly fifty inquirers, and among them another Buddhist priest named Ukuweda, who had, under Hunapola's influence, also thrown off his robes as an outward and visible sign of his abandonment of his hopeless creed. He, too, was baptized by the name of Abraham, and became in after years familiar to the readers of C.M.S. Reports. The village of Talampitiya has often since then supplied cases of conversion, of Christian life and conduct, of peace and hope in death, for the encouragement of us at home who have prayed for the Ceylon Mission.

Talam-
pitiya.

Another new and interesting work was begun in the Kandyan hill-country about a year later. This was the now well-known Tamil Coolie Mission. A great part of the Central Province was, and is, occupied by plantations, the property mostly of British planters. These were the famous Ceylon coffee-estates. In recent years, since the coffee-disease brought not a few of the planters to ruin, tea has been cultivated instead; and Ceylon tea has attained a high reputation. Now the labourers on the estates are not Natives of the Island, but Tamils from Tinnevely, who come over to Ceylon for a few years—sometimes only for a year or two,—save some money, and return to their own country. In five years, 1844-48, the number of coolies who thus came over was 245,000; and in the same period 95,000 went back. The Tamil Coolie Mission was established to preach the Gospel to these labourers or coolies.

Tamil
Coolie
Mission.

The coolies
from
Tinnevely

But it began with an attempt, not to reach the Heathen, but to shepherd Christians. The Secretary of the Singhalese Tract Society, Mr. John Murdoch,* visiting some of the estates, discovered among the coolies some Christian Tamils from Tinnevely. He and Mr. Knight, the C.M.S. Secretary from England whose visit to Ceylon at this time has been already mentioned, made further inquiries, and found that on more than one estate Christian coolies were meeting regularly for worship and mutual instruction, under the leadership of one of themselves. One English planter, coming from a Christian home to a Heathen land, had been astonished to hear hymn-singing on Sunday, and found a hundred of his own labourers engaged in praising the True God. The idea at once occurred to Mr. Knight and Mr. Murdoch that Tamil catechists might be brought over from Tinnevely to minister to these Christians and to evangelize their Heathen countrymen. Murdoch went over to India and saw the Tinnevely missionaries. At Paneivilei he addressed a monthly missionary meeting, after a sermon by J. T. Tucker on Isa. vi., and called for volunteers. Eight men at once responded, "Here am I, send me"; and four of these, who were catechists of experience, with two from Mengnanapuram, were chosen to go over to Ceylon as missionaries of the

Murdoch
and Wm.
Knight.

* The Dr. Murdoch so well known since then for his untiring labours in behalf of Christian Vernacular Education and Literature in India.

Tinnevelly Church. A Valedictory Meeting was held to take leave of them, at which the great Tamil preacher, the Rev. Paul Daniel, gave them an animating charge.

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Meanwhile such of the planters as cared at all for the souls of their coolies formed themselves into an Association, undertaking to support the catechists and provide small chapels and schools for worship and instruction. Then they asked for a missionary to come and supervise the work. Many of them were Scotch gentlemen, Presbyterians; but they were quite willing that an Evangelical clergyman should come, and that the work should be carried on upon Church of England lines. The C.M.S. Committee appointed one of the Tinnevelly missionaries, Septimus Hobbs, to go over and conduct the new Mission; and to his wisdom and energy were due, under God, its successful establishment and marked progress. Very soon the catechists were not merely visiting the estates on which there happened to be Tamil Christians, but itinerating over the whole country, armed with letters from Mr. Hobbs to the various planters, asking leave for them to address the coolies; and at a great many places the whole body of coolies would be assembled at morning or evening roll-call, when the catechists were allowed to speak to them for fifteen or twenty minutes. Then they would visit the "lines"—the rows of huts in which they live—and speak to the sick, or others unable to join the muster. Once a month the catechists assembled in Kandy for instruction from Mr. Hobbs. In due time arrangements were made for some of them to reside at given centres, and have a definite number of estates, twenty or thirty, to visit regularly. For several years the number of agents varied from twelve to twenty; the estates under visitation were five to six hundred in number; the planters contributed from £300 to £600 a year; from fifteen to thirty thousand coolies were addressed monthly; and the converts baptized yearly numbered from twenty to seventy. A further development took place when the other C.M.S. Tamil Missions in Ceylon were extended, and agents were obtained from among their converts. Mr. Hobbs left the Mission in 1862; but several other of the Tamil-speaking missionaries in Ceylon took their part in the work from time to time. The planters continued to show interest in it, i.e. some of them. Englishmen in foreign countries are not always examples of pure and godly living, and Ceylon is no exception in this respect; but there have always been Christian men among the planters, and some have derived spiritual benefit themselves from the visits of the missionaries to their estates.

Planters
organize
Mission.

Septimus
Hobbs.

Methods
of the
Tamil
Coolie
Mission.

There were among the Tamil coolies some who came from the S.P.G. districts in Tinnevelly, and even from the Tamil country further north, also worked by the S.P.G.; and in connexion with this fact an interesting incident is recorded. In 1864, a Kangani (conductor or head-man over the coolies on an estate), whose home was near Trichinopoly, and who had been converted through read-

Reflex
influence
on S.P.G.
work in
Tinnevelly

PART VI. ing a tract given him by one of the catechists of the Tamil Coolie
 1849-61. Mission, brought to Mr. Pickford £100 towards building a church
 Chap. 48. in his own village in India. The S.P.G. Committee added
 another £100, and a good church was built. The Christians of a
 neighbouring village, struck by what had thus been done by a man
 whom they had only known as a Heathen—his conversion having
 occurred while in Ceylon,—resolved to have a similar church for
 themselves. They therefore raised a like sum of £100, and the
 S.P.G. having given them too a similar grant, a second church
 was built in the Trichinopoly district, both of them silent witnesses
 to the power of the Gospel among the Tamil coolies.

Jaffna.

It remains to notice the Mission among the Tamil population of
 the Jaffna Peninsula at the north end of the Island. Three towns
 were occupied, Nellore, Chundikuli, and Copay. There was an
 English School or Seminary at Chundikuli, a Training Institution
 at Copay, and a Female Boarding School at Nellore. The work
 here, as elsewhere in Ceylon, was at times very discouraging.
 In 1855, so much hypocrisy and mercenary conduct appeared
 among the Christians (about 250 in number), that it was proposed
 to close the stations and abandon the work; but a visit from Mr.
 Knight revived the spirits of the missionaries, and the work took a
 fresh start from that time. Several conversions followed from
 among the educated classes; and in course of time Christian Tamil
 officials, clerks, and schoolmasters, from Jaffna, were to be found
 all over Ceylon.

Later
 history.

As there will not be a Ceylon chapter in the next Part of our
 History, let us here overstep the limits of our present period, and
 come down to the year 1868, when the Mission celebrated its
 Jubilee. The missionaries then brought out a small volume of
 “Jubilee Sketches,” giving the history of each station during the
 fifty years. This little book is singularly modest in its estimate
 of the work done and the results achieved. It is true that most
 of the blessing that has been vouchsafed to the Mission has been
 witnessed since 1868. Still it is very clear that the improvement
 had begun before that, both in the Singhalese and in the Tamil
 districts. Much indirect good had come from a great “Buddhist
 revival” in 1862-4. A vigorous effort was at that time made
 by the Buddhist priests in the Singhalese low country to over-
 throw Christianity, and bring back the Singhalese Christians to
 the old Buddhist faith. Public lectures were given; tracts
 attacking Christianity were circulated by thousands, in which
 much use was made of objections gleaned from infidel publications
 in England, and from Bishop Colenso’s works, just then coming
 out; and the result was most remarkable. Thousands of the
 nominal hereditary Christians, descendants of those who had
 professed to believe in the Dutch period, went back to Buddhism.
 But, as the *Jubilee Sketches* said, “the Buddhist revival seemed
 to accomplish what missionaries for years had been labouring in

Buddhist
 revival.

Its good
 effects on
 the Chris-
 tians.

vain to effect. It taught many that it was utterly inconsistent to call themselves Christians while they were Buddhists at heart. It brought before them the fact that Christianity and Heathenism are completely opposed to each other, and that if one were true the other must be false." Not that all who clave to the Church thereupon became exemplary Christians; very far from it. Nevertheless, the tide turned; and from that time the Singhalese Missions, and the Tamil Missions too, began to look more promising. The Jubilee itself was an event which stimulated the zeal of the Native Christians, and strengthened the faith of the European labourers.

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Jubilee of
Mission.

Several missionaries whose names became well known went out in the period we are now covering. Besides J. Ireland Jones and J. H. Clowes, who have been already mentioned, Stephen Coles joined the Singhalese Mission in 1860, as a trained schoolmaster, and was ordained in 1867 by Bishop Piers C. Claughton, who had succeeded Bishop Chapman on the latter's retirement after an episcopate of sixteen years; John Allcock in 1864, and R. T. Dowbiggin in 1867; while the Tamil Missions were reinforced by the arrival of J. Pickford in 1852, C. C. McArthur in 1858, W. E. Rowlands in 1861, H. D. Buswell in 1862, and T. Good, D. Wood, and E. M. Griffith, in 1866-7; besides the transfer of S. Hobbs from Tinnevely, before referred to, and also that of W. Clark in 1868. But George Parsons died, deeply lamented, in 1866; Hobbs, Pickford, Clowes, and McArthur had all come home before the Jubilee of the Mission; and Buswell had been transferred to Mauritius. The deaths of Mrs. Pickford and Mrs. Oakley were also serious losses. After the latter's removal in 1867, the veteran and bereaved husband, after thirty-two years of labour unbroken by any furlough, retired to the hill-resort of Nuwara Eliya, and from thence conducted the general administration of the Mission.

New mis-
sionaries.

A highly-respected Singhalese pastor died in 1862, Abraham Gunasekara, one of the first two Singhalese ordained, in 1839, by Bishop Spencer of Madras. First as catechist, then as assistant minister, and finally as pastor in independent charge of Baddegama, he had laboured forty years in the Society's service, "a diligent and faithful evangelist, a patient and able controversialist, and a loving shepherd of Christ's people." He sent a dying message to the Society of thanks to God and to the Committee for the establishment of Baddegama station in 1818; "which led," he said, "to my own conversion and that of my wife and nine children, and of my parents, brother and sister." His son Henry Gunasekara, a pupil of C. C. Fenn's at Cotta, was one of four Singhalese ordained in 1867-9, the others being Daniel Jayasinha, Hendrick De Silva, and Bartholomew Peris Wirasinha. Another, not before named, Andris de Levera, was ordained previously, in 1861. In the Jaffna Mission four Tamils were ordained in 1863-5, all of whom had been baptized with English names, viz., John Hensman, George Champion, Elijah Hoole, and T. P. Handy. The

Death of
first Native
pastor.

New
Native
clergy.

PART VI. ordination of these four brought from Bishop Claughton a highly-
 1849-61. encouraging letter on the work at Jaffna.
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Other Missions. This chapter must not close without a brief reference to the work of other Societies in Ceylon. The Baptists had begun a Mission at Colombo in 1812, but it was always on a small scale. The Wesleyans, who started in 1814, had a much more extensive work, among both the Singhalese and the Tamils, and carried on in all the provinces of the Island. The American Board (Congregationalist) had a vigorous Mission to the Tamils of Jaffna only. These three bodies had in 1859, more or less in connexion with them, some 8500 Christians. Of these the Wesleyans had much more than half, but they have always included all races in their statistics, and their numbers were swollen by a large number of English-speaking "Burghers," a half-caste people sprung from the mixing of Dutch and Portuguese with the Singhalese Natives. The Dutch Burghers are a highly-respectable community. The Church of England had a great deal of work of the same mixed character. In fact there is not in Ceylon that great gulf between the European and the Native that is seen in India. The educated Singhalese, and even the educated Tamils, are more or less Europeanized; and Portuguese names are common among the former, like those of two of the Singhalese clergymen above-mentioned. Many of these Europeanized Singhalese retained their old profession of Christianity even amid the Buddhist revival; and under Bishops Chapman and Claughton churches and clergy for mixed congregations of Burghers and Singhalese multiplied. To this work, and also to a considerable amount of work among the Heathen, the S.P.G. had begun in 1840 to render important help. Its policy was not to start independent Missions of its own, as the C.M.S. had done many years before the first Bishop arrived, but to assist the Bishops in Missions established locally and largely supported by local subscriptions. In the statistics of the year above mentioned, 1859, the S.P.G. is credited with four missionaries and 2100 adherents (200 communicants), against twelve missionaries and 6200 adherents (350 communicants) credited to the C.M.S.; but the S.P.G. was really enabling the Bishop to support other missionaries of the Burgher or Anglicized Singhalese class, so the figures do not adequately indicate its work. The Society very fairly claims, in the interesting chapter on Ceylon in its *Digest*, to have worked, not for itself, "so as to be able to say 'This is ours,' " but for the Church as a body.

High Church criticism of C.M.S. Ceylon Mission.

We have seen in our Thirty-third Chapter that in 1855-60 there was a great deal of criticism of the C.M.S. and its methods in the *Christian Remembrancer* and the *Colonial Church Chronicle*. The latter paper took advantage of the frank and honest acknowledgments of slow progress and causes of discouragement to be found in the C.M.S. Reports, and noticed above, to disparage its work in Ceylon.* At this time, as will be remembered, there was a great

* *Colonial Church Chronicle*, January, 1859.

effort, under the lead of Bishop Wilberforce, to multiply missionary bishops; and the *Chronicle*, in advocating the movement, adduced what it regarded as the failure of the C.M.S. Ceylon Mission as an illustration of the comparative uselessness of a Church Mission without a bishop at its head. Of course it was not the fault of the C.M.S. that there had been no bishop for Ceylon until twenty-seven years after the Mission was begun—though Bishop Heber of Calcutta and Bishop Spencer of Madras had, as we have seen, visited the Island when it was in their dioceses respectively. But obviously the question was not, Whose fault was it? but, How did the Mission actually get on? The *C.M. Intelligencer* cited an elaborate series of statistics prepared by one of the Society's missionaries at Madras, T. Foulkes, to show that the results, not only of C.M.S. work, but of Protestant Missions in Ceylon generally, compared favourably with those achieved in India. This, however, was scarcely an answer to the *Chronicle*, whose whole design was to show the urgent need of bishops in India. It was more to the point to dwell, as the article also did, upon the principle on which all Evangelical Missions profess to be conducted, viz., that no mere outward profession of Christianity is enough, and that—as far as may be, and not forgetting the liability of human judgment to err,—true conversion of heart should be looked for before admitting an inquirer to baptism. The Missions of the Church of Rome, of course, are conducted on a different principle. So are some Protestant Missions. And even in Missions that avow the principle, it is not one that can always be fully carried out. In Ceylon an effort had been made to observe it; which had undoubtedly checked the progress that could be gauged by statistics; and this was the true answer to the criticisms. And so Henry Venn, in the very next year, closed his Annual Report with this emphatic statement of the “fundamental principles” of C.M.S. work:—

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Foulkes's
reply.

The true
lesson
again.

“The fundamental principles, to which your Committee specially refer, are such as these—that the Lord will guide His own work by the leadings of a special providence, that the only solid foundation of a Mission is the individual conversion of souls to Christ, that the Gospel of the grace of God is to be preached, in its fulness, and in its distinctness, by the pioneer missionary, and by the faithful pastor of 10,000 converts, in the bazaar, under the shade of a tree, in the capacious Mission Church, in the Vernacular School, and in the Training College; that a preached Gospel is ‘the power of God’ for the formation and the perfection of a Mission . . . that the preacher of the Gospel is the true leader of a Mission till a spiritual church is raised, and the external organization of constituted authorities becomes expedient. . . .

Venn's
summary
of C. M. S.
principles
of work.

“These principles your Committee now transmit to their successors, uncompromised and unimpaired, to be the guiding star, in a shifting age, of every successive Committee of the Church Missionary Society.”

CHAPTER XLIX.

CHINA: IN TIME OF WAR AND TUMULTS.


The Missions in the 'Fifties—St. Paul's College—Romanized Transliteration—Fuh-chow—First Converts at Ningpo and Shanghai—Bishop Smith's Visitation—The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion: Its Hopeful Aspects; Its Christian Publications; How Viewed in England—Burdon and Hudson Taylor—The Lorch "Arrow"—Palmerston's Triumph—Treaty of Tien-tsin—War Renewed—Capture of Peking—H. Venn on Politics—Medical Men on Opium—Russell and the "Intelligencer" on Opium—Missionary Progress—Opium Hospital—Fuh-chow: the Long Waiting; the First Converts—Bishop Smith—The T'ai-p'ings again—Gordon suppresses the Rebellion—A Lost Opportunity.

"*The glorious land.*"—Dan. xi. 16, 41.

"*They feared the Lord, and served their own gods.*"—2 Kings xvii. 33.

"*As we have . . . opportunity.*"—Gal. vi. 10.

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"ING of all kings, and Governour of all things, Whose power no creature is able to resist, to Whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to them that truly repent." So the English Church teaches the English Nation to approach the Almighty God "in Time of War and Tumults." China knows not "the King of all kings and Governour of all things"; but in that "Time of War and Tumults" which we are now to review, there seemed for a while a real prospect of His being worshipped throughout the "Glorious Land"—as Archdeacon Moule calls it.* The story of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, which must presently be told, is a most extraordinary one. Promising at first to establish Christianity in China, it destroyed millions of the people, and ended in bloodshed and misery. "The Yellow River," says Moule,†

China's
history
typified by
its great
river.

"may be regarded as a native type of the nation's history. That great waterway possesses vast capacities for blessing; its very name suggests the rich deposit which it leaves all down its tortuous course. But though destined to be a fertilizer and reviver of the land, it continually bursts its bounds and runs riot over the lower level of the surrounding country. . . . Similar has been the chequered course of the nation. With boundless capacities for joy . . . the Chinese nation has closed chapter after chapter of its long history in blood, in desolation, and in woe."

* *The Glorious Land.* By Arthur E. Moule, B.D. London, C.M.S., 1891.

† *Ibid.*, p. 13.

But before we take a survey of the astonishing movement that attracted all eyes to China in the early 'fifties, let us glance at the position of the Missions at that period. They were of course confined to the Treaty Ports. The London Missionary Society was at Hong Kong, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai; and its men bore names which we all, then or in after years, learned to honour, Medhurst, Legge, Chalmers, Lockhart, Wylie, Edkins, Muirhead; and Griffith John went out a little later. The Wesleyans were at Canton, and the Baptists at Ningpo. The English Presbyterians were at Amoy and Swatow, and had that devoted missionary W. C. Burns on their staff, while Carstairs Douglas, one of the most accomplished of China missionaries, went out in 1855. The American Baptists were at Hong Kong and Ningpo; at the latter city Dr. Macgowan doing important medical work. The American Board (Congregationalist) occupied Canton, Amoy, and Fuh-chow, and among its men were Elijah Bridgman, S. Wells Williams, and C. C. Baldwin. The American Presbyterians were at Canton, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and the American Episcopal Methodists at Fuh-chow, R. S. Maclay being one of their men. The American Protestant Episcopal Church had at Shanghai Bishop Boone and E. W. Syle. The Basle and Rhenish Societies had small Missions at Hong Kong.* At this time a notable enterprise was undertaken by the Bible Society. This was to distribute in China one million of Chinese New Testaments. The effort had been suggested by that excellent Congregationalist minister at Birmingham, John Angell James, as a memorial of the Bible Society's Jubilee; and it was taken up in England with such enthusiasm that no less than £37,000 was subscribed in two years for the purpose, enough to supply two million copies. There was also a small non-denominational association called the Chinese Evangelization Society, which was supported in England by (among others) Robert Bickersteth (afterwards Bishop of Ripon) and Colonel Rowlandson. It did one memorable thing. It sent, in 1853 Mr. Hudson Taylor as a medical missionary to China.

Bishop George Smith and his party of C.M.S. missionaries† reached Hong Kong on Good Friday, March 27th, 1850. On Easter Day, the first English Bishop in China preached to a large European congregation in the new church built by the Rev. V. J. Stanton,‡ and administered the Holy Communion to seventy merchants, Government officials, and naval and military officers. Of the new missionaries, Hobson had already joined McClatchie at Shanghai; Gough soon joined Cobbold and Russell at Ningpo; Welton and Jackson proceeded to occupy Fuh-chow; and Moncrieff remained at Hong Kong, where, under the Bishop's superintendence, he opened the school which was to develop into St. Paul's College. The college buildings, erected through the

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Position
of the
Missions
in the early
'fifties.

A million
of New
Testa-
ments for
China.

Hudson
Taylor.

Bishop
Smith
enters
China.

St. Paul's
College,
Hong
Kong.

* In 1854, the Basle Society, being pressed for funds, applied to the C.M.S. to take over its Mission; but the Committee made a grant of £300 instead.

† See Vol. I., p. 474.

‡ See Vol. I., p. 471.

PART VI. energy and liberality of Mr. Stanton, and of the "Brother and
1849-51. Sister" who had endowed the Bishopric, together with a grant
Chap. 49. from the S.P.C.K., were soon afterwards finished and opened.
Mr. Moncrieff only stayed a year or two. He afterwards became
a chaplain in India, and fell in the massacre at Cawnpore in 1857.
The College was not very successful in training Chinese Christian
boys; but it did excellent publication work. Among other things,
the English Liturgy, translated by Dr. Medhurst of the L.M.S.
(Cobbold having made the first draft), was printed by thousands,
and large quantities were sent in the emigrant-ships which took
crowds of Chinamen to the Californian and Australian goldfields.

Romanized
system of
printing.

It was at this time that the Romanized system of transliterating
and printing Chinese was adopted. It was found that the written
language (Wen-li) was only known to the educated few; that
the masses could not be reached by it; and that it was easier for
an illiterate Chinaman to learn the Roman alphabet. Hence was
undertaken the difficult task of transliteration; or rather—for this
term is not strictly applicable—of reducing the spoken languages
to writing with Roman letters. This has proved in some districts
a very successful method of instructing the humbler classes. In
the Ningpo colloquial dialect large portions of Scripture, the
Prayer-book, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Peep of Day*, &c., &c.,
were in after years, mainly by Mr. Russell's efforts, printed in
Roman characters.

Fuh-chow
Mission
begun.

Fuh-chow, the great black tea port, was entered by Welton and
Jackson in May, 1850. The American Methodists and Presby-
terians had been there four years, but they were living in the
European quarter of Nantai, two or three miles from the city
proper. The British Consul, who himself was established within
the walls, obtained leave for the two Englishmen to live there
also; and part of a temple was assigned to them on the Wu-shih-
shan or Black Stone Hill. Their presence there was, however,
greatly resented by the literati, whose clubs were on the same
hill; some small riots ensued; and twice the quarters occupied
had to be changed. But at length a piece of ground was peaceably
secured, and mission-houses built; and or twenty-seven years
these premises were occupied without molestation. How they
had ultimately to be abandoned will appear hereafter. Mr.
Welton was personally popular, being a medical man,* and using
his professional skill with great effect. His colleague was very
soon transferred to Ningpo, and he laboured quite alone till 1855.
Two new men, McCaw and Fearnley, then came out; but
Welton's health broke down in the following year, and he went
home to die. He entered into rest in March, 1857, leaving a
touching testimony of his love for the work in the shape of a
legacy of £1500 to the Society.

Welton.

The first five converts of the C.M.S. China Mission were

* See p. 62.

baptized in 1851; two at Ningpo on Easter Day (April 20th), and three (all blind men) at Shanghai, the first of them on September 28th. The sister Church of America was ahead of the Church of England; for just before the first Shanghai baptism, one of Bishop Boone's converts there was ordained deacon, and this man, at McClatchie's request, examined the catechumen. Of the two Ningpo converts, one was a tailor, and the other a servant of Mr. Russell's. Both lived about twenty-five years as Christians, and ultimately died within a year or two of each other. The former, whose name was Bao, and who was christened Yuoh-yi (learner of righteousness), became a zealous evangelist, and very clever in dealing with objectors; but a quick temper and other failings prevented his ever being ordained, as at one time was hoped. Archdeacon Moule gives a most interesting account of him in *The Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission*.^{*} By the end of 1855, sixty converts had been enrolled at Ningpo. From the beginning, the Fourth Commandment proved a great stumbling-block. The candidates always felt that they ought to cease work on the Lord's Day; but it was hard to close shops or suspend this and that occupation, especially as the Romanist converts did not; and probably the first shop ever closed on Sunday in Ningpo was that of a needlemaker, in 1851.

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Ningpo
and
Shanghai:
first con-
verts.

Bao
Yuoh-yi.

A domestic event of 1852 at Ningpo must not be passed over. Mention was before made of Miss Aldersey, who for some years laboured devotedly at her own charges. With her was a ward of hers, Miss Mary Ann Leisk, who had come out to China with her at the age of fourteen, and to whom the Ningpo dialect was now almost a vernacular. In September, 1852, Miss Leisk became Mrs. Russell; and for a quarter of a century she was one of the noblest missionaries in China—a "mother in Israel indeed."

Mrs.
Russell.

In October, 1853, Bishop Smith held his Primary Visitation, at Shanghai. The American Church had at first objected to the English Bishop of Victoria exercising his jurisdiction in that part of China; but after some correspondence and negotiation it was agreed that each bishop should superintend the clergy and congregations of his own Church.[†] Among the English clergymen who listened to Bishop Smith's primary charge, and assembled for conference under his presidency, were two new C.M.S. missionaries just come out, John Shaw Burdon and Henry Reeve, both from Islington College. Also an interesting man, Mr. G. H. Moreton, formerly a London City missionary, who had come out to go as a missionary to the Loochoo Islands, under the auspices of some Christian naval officers, who had applied to the C.M.S. to undertake a Mission there, and, this not being practicable, had written to England and engaged Moreton for the purpose. He was ordained by Bishop Smith on this

English
and
American
bishops.

Loochoo
Islands:
G. H.
Moreton.

* Published by the C.M.S. Fourth Edition, 1891, pp. 17-31.

† This difficult ecclesiastical question was dealt with long afterwards, at the second Lambeth Conference, in 1878. See Chapter LXIX.

PART VI. occasion.* While the Bishop was delivering his charge, serious
1849-61. fighting was going on outside, and a cannon-ball actually struck
Chap. 49. the church,—which brings us to the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion.

T'ai-p'ing
Rebellion.

Its leader.

In 1833, a young Chinaman, named Hung-su-tsuen, descended from a distinguished family,—one of whom had been the commander-in-chief of the army under the last of the Ming dynasty, before the reigning Manchu Tartars came into power,—a clever young man who had done well in the elaborate examinations of China, but believed he had been excluded from his degrees by favouritism and bribery, met an English missionary at Canton. Probably this was Robert Morrison himself; and Morrison's faithful convert and helper, Liang-a-fa, gave him some books. In 1837, he had a long illness, and believed he had visions from heaven, commanding him to destroy "the idols and the imps"—the latter being the Manchu Tartars who ruled the empire. When, in 1842, the British invasion of China took place, Hung was struck by the power of the foreigners, and turned to the foreigners' books given him nine years before. The result of his studies was the formation of a "Society of Worshipers of God," whose members discarded idolatry and banded themselves together to obey the precepts of those books. Hung went to Mr. Roberts, of the American Baptist Mission at Canton, and applied for Christian baptism; but as his knowledge was imperfect and his motive doubtful, it was deferred.

Rapid
spread of
the revolt.

Meanwhile the new society grew, and its iconoclastic zeal brought upon its members some persecution. At length the authorities sent soldiers to arrest them; but Hung successfully resisted, and then raised the standard of revolt against the Tartar usurpers. The news spread like wild-fire; crowds joined the insurrection; the native Chinese dynasty of T'ai-p'ing (Great Peace) was proclaimed; and in three years the insurgents fought their way northwards through the great provinces of Kwang-si, Hunan, Hupeh, and Ngan-hwei. On March 19th, 1853, they stormed the great city of Nanking, and established themselves there, Hung assuming the title of T'ai-p'ing Wang, King of Great Peace. They did, indeed, design peace for the Chinese; but not for "the imps," for thousands of the Manchus were mercilessly slaughtered; nor yet for the idols, for everywhere they were utterly destroyed. And there was a third object of T'ai-p'ing condemnation—Opium. Opium-smoking was included among the sins against the Seventh Commandment; and the T'ai-p'ings based all their moral teaching on "the Ten Words" of Moses.

T'ai-p'ings
condemn
idols and
opium.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the British consuls, naval officers, and missionaries, when they found that the rebels who were being denounced by the officials of the Government of

* Mr. Moreton's health failed in the Loochoo Islands, and he subsequently went to Australia. In 1892 I found him the devoted and respected Canon Moreton, Incumbent of St. Luke's, Burwood, near Sydney.—E. S.

Peking professed to be in a sort of sense a body of Christians; a Christian *party* at least, led by men avowing their belief in the True God, though supported, no doubt, by tens of thousands of adventurers, by "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented." They called God "the Heavenly Father," and Christ "the Celestial Elder Brother." They printed and distributed thousands of copies of Gutzlaff's versions of Genesis, Exodus, and St. Matthew. They published devotional books fairly sound in doctrine. They observed the Lord's Day, and had issued a new almanack recognizing it. When the British Plenipotentiary, Sir George Bonham, went up to Nanking in H.M.S. *Hermes*, commanded by that excellent Christian officer Captain Fishbourne, they met hundreds of colossal images of Buddha and various gods and goddesses, broken and defaced, floating down the river. "Not to the moles and to the bats," exclaimed a speaker at the May Meetings of 1854, "but to the gulls and to the fishes, are the idols of China being cast." The T'ai-p'ings eagerly fraternized with the sailors, gave them their own Christian books, and announced their intention, when they had finally driven out the Tartars and restored peace, to admit European missionaries and traders freely—on one condition, that they brought in no opium. This policy was remarkable in two respects. First, if they sought popularity with the people generally, why did they welcome the "foreign devils" and adopt the "foreign doctrine"? Secondly, if they wanted to win the favour of England, why did they denounce opium? Such a policy certainly augured sincerity.

Remarkable indeed were the books written and issued by the T'ai-p'ings. Let us take a few brief extracts.* First regarding the One True God. In the *Book of Celestial Decrees* occurs this passage:—

"Our heavenly Father and supreme Lord, is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent; the Supreme over all. There is not an individual who is not produced and nourished by Him. He is *Shang*, Supreme, He is the *Te*, Ruler. Besides the great God, our heavenly Father and Supreme Lord, there is no one who can be called *Shang*, and no one who can be called *Te*."

And in the *Imperial Declaration of T'ai-p'ing*:—

"It is your duty every morning to adore, and every evening to worship Him:

Reason demands that you should praise Him for His goodness, and sing of His doings.

He created the elements of nature and all material things.

No other spiritual being interferes with His arrangements.

Let us then depend on God alone for assistance,

And never ascribe to idols the honour of creation.

* From the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1853, and July, 1854. The translations were by Dr. Medhurst of the L.M.S.

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Seeming
Christian
character
of the
T'ai-p'ing
movement.

T'ai-p'ing
books.

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If any should say that creation depends on idols,
We would just inquire how things went on before they were set up.
He warms us by His sun; He moistens us by His rain;
He moves the thunderbolt; He scatters the wind:
All these are the wondrous operations of God alone.
Those who acknowledge heaven's favour will obtain a glorious reward."

T'ai-p'ing
doxology.

In a doxology for use on the Lord's Day, the doctrine of the Trinity is strikingly stated:—

"We praise God our holy and heavenly Father.
We praise Jesus, the holy Lord and Saviour of the World.
We praise the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Intelligence.
We praise the Three Persons, who united constitute one true Spirit (God)."

T'ai-p'ing
account of
Christ's
work.

From among several references to the work of Christ, take this from the *Trimetrical Classic*:—

<p>"But the great God, Out of pity to mankind, Sent His first-born Son To come down into the world. His name is Jesus. The Lord and Saviour of men, Who redeems them from sin By the endurance of extreme misery. Upon the cross They nailed His body, Where He shed His precious blood To save all mankind.</p>	<p>Three days after His death He rose from the dead, And, during forty days, He discoursed on heavenly things. When He was about to ascend He commanded His disciples To communicate His Gospel, And proclaim His revealed will. Those who believe will be saved, And ascend up to heaven; But those who do not believe Will be the first to be condemned."</p>
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T'ai-p'ing
comments
on the
decatalogue.

In a Commentary on the Ten Words, there were many true things as to the wide reach of the Commandments. Thus, on the Sixth,—

"The whole world is one family, and all men are brethren.
How can they be permitted to kill and destroy one another?"

And, on the Seventh, we find what seems to be a paraphrase of Matt. vi. 22, 23:—

"The various corruptions first delude the eye;
But if the eye be correct, all evil will be avoided.
Let the pupil of the eye be sternly fixed,
And the light of the body will shine up to heaven."

Once more, from the Book of Religious Precepts, take the following Prayer:—

T'ai-p'ing
prayer.

"A Prayer for a Penitent Sinner.

"I, Thine unworthy son or daughter, kneeling down upon the ground, with a true heart repent of my sins, and pray Thee, the great God our heavenly Father, of Thine infinite goodness and mercy, to forgive my former ignorance and frequent transgressions of the divine commands; earnestly beseech Thee, of Thy great favour, to pardon all my former sins, and enable me to repent, and lead a new life, so that my soul may ascend to heaven: may I from henceforth sincerely repent and forsake my evil ways, not worshipping corrupt spirits (gods), nor practising per-

verse things, but obey the divine commands. I also earnestly pray Thee, the great God our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me Thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart: never more allow me to be deceived by malignant demons, but, perpetually regarding me with favour, for ever deliver me from the evil one; and, every day bestowing upon me food and clothing, exempt me from calamity and woe, granting me tranquillity in the present world, and the enjoyment of endless happiness in heaven: through the merits of our Saviour and heavenly Brother, the Lord Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray the great God, our Father who is in heaven, that His will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. That Thou wouldst look down and grant this my request is my heart's sincere desire. . . ."

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—

But with all this, there were strange statements regarding Hung's visions. He claimed to have received a divine commission, "together with the Celestial Elder Brother, Jesus," to extirpate the Tartar usurpers. And some of the books contained much fanaticism mixed up with what was good. Moreover, after a time the leaders not only imagined themselves to be Joshuas slaying the Canaanites or Sauls exterminating the Amalekites, but further followed customs "suffered" in Old Testament times "for the hardness of men's hearts," such as polygamy; and it need scarcely be added that their followers were quite ready to imitate them, without any reference to imaginary Scriptural authority.

T'ai'ping
fanaticism.

Nevertheless, the Movement excited great interest and sympathy in England. A long letter from Bishop Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury* in 1853 first drew the attention of the C.M.S. circle to it. At the May Meetings of 1854, speech after speech referred to it. The C.M.S. Annual Report said:—

"It is not for the Committee to pronounce upon the political or military aspect of the movement; but they mark the fact that the possession of a mere fragment of Divine truth has given to the Chinese mind a force and independence of which it had been thought incapable, and has created a bond of union and a spirit of patriotism which bid fair to secure a successful revolution. . . . No parallel can be found, except among the leaders of our glorious Reformation, of a successful general, at the head of a powerful army, in the very hour of struggle putting forward, by special effort, the Word of God as the great instrument of national regeneration."

How
C.M.S.
viewed the
movement.

Up to 1850, the whole expense of the Society's China Mission had been borne by the Special China Fund; but in that year the Committee had put aside the balance of that Fund then in hand, about £10,000, for future extension, and had charged the current expenses to the General Fund. Now, in 1854, the Committee announced that they wished to spend that £10,000 in taking advantage of the new openings; but, they added, in the words so often used in similar circumstances, "Where are the men?" Great Britain was at that moment entering on the Crimean War. "Military ardour," said the Committee, in the closing sentences of the Report, "is working in the breasts of thousands. How

Money for
China, but
no men.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1853.

PART VI. light the dangers of the sea and the battle appear! How willingly
 1849-61. parents part with their sons! 'Now they do it to obtain a
 Chap. 49. corruptible crown': shall the children of light hesitate and shrink
 back, and yield to the soft remonstrances of friends, when the
 commission of the King of kings is in their hands?" It is a
 humbling fact indeed that in the next seven years only seven new
 C.M.S. missionaries went to China, and that this number only
 just filled up the vacancies by deaths and retirements, leaving the
 whole staff in 1861 exactly what it was in 1854. Can we be
 surprised if missionary progress is slow?

The civil
 war.

Meanwhile, the civil war in China was being waged by the
 Imperialists and the T'ai-p'ings with varying fortunes. The latter
 captured the great ports of Amoy and Shanghai, but attacked
 Canton unsuccessfully. It was while fighting was going on at
 Shanghai that the Bishop's visitation was held, as before men-
 tioned; and one convert was killed by a cannon-ball. At length
 the Imperialists reconquered the city, and drove out the T'ai-p'ings
 with dreadful slaughter. When the district was fairly cleared
 of the insurgents, efforts were made by the missionaries to visit
 neighbouring towns and villages; but this was at the peril of their
 lives, and they were repeatedly beaten, turned outside the walls,
 and otherwise ill-treated,—sometimes, however, experiencing the
 curious courtesy and fairness of many mandarins. Mr. Burdon
 was indefatigable in these journeys. He actually gave up his
 quarters in the city altogether, and took up permanent residence
 in a Chinese boat. One most graphic account is given of a tour
 made together by him and Mr. Hudson Taylor, in which visits
 were paid to the city of Tung-chow, and to islands in the Yangtse-
 Kiang, with many strange adventures.* Ningpo was more quiet
 at this time. The work there was going on favourably, and
 Cobbold and Russell itinerated a great deal. The former, in 1855,
 paid an interesting visit to Tai-chow, a city which in recent days
 has become the scene of an established and growing work.

Burdon
 and
 Hudson
 Taylor.

England
 again at
 war with
 China.

China was now to suffer, not only from the civil war which was
 devastating whole provinces and slaying its tens of thousands, but
 from foreign war also. In 1856, England was for the second time
 an invader of the Celestial Empire. In this case a very small
 affair was big with important results. The Chinese Governor of
 Canton, Yeh, seized a boat, the famous "lorcha" *Arrow*,† affirm-
 ing (truly, as it proved) that it was a Chinese smuggling boat wrong-
 fully flying the English flag. Sir John Bowring, the British
 Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong, contended that the vessel was
 English (which it was not), and demanded satisfaction; and, on
 this being refused, ordered the British fleet then in Chinese waters
 to bombard Canton. In reality, the affair of the lorcha was the
 occasion, not the cause, of the war. The Chinese authorities

The
 lorcha
 "Arrow."

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, November and December, 1855.

† "Lorcha" is a Portuguese word applied to small vessels on the China coast.

were doing their best, despite the Treaty of 1842, to keep opium out of their country; and the British were constantly fretting at the hindrances placed in the way of the traffic.

At the opening of Parliament, February 3rd, 1857, the Queen's Speech complained of "insults to the British flag and infraction of treaty rights"; and it appeared that Lord Palmerston, who was then in office, intended to take strong measures to bring China to her knees. Lord Derby moved a vote of censure in the House of Lords, but was beaten. Mr. Cobden moved one in the House of Commons, and, after a long and brilliant debate, Palmerston was defeated by a combination of the Conservatives under Mr. Disraeli, the Peelites under Mr. Gladstone, and the Radicals under Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. He at once dissolved the House and appealed to the country; England rang with outcries against the "insolent pig-tailed barbarian"; and the General Election sent Palmerston back with a triumphant majority. The Evangelicals, led by the *Record*, mostly supported the Government. They believed in Palmerston; and they dreaded Gladstone's Tractarianism, Disraeli's lack of principle, and Bright's republicanism—so they expressed it.* But the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* was not to be turned by party feeling from its consistent course of denouncing our selfish opium policy; and while admitting that the Canton authorities had been insolent, and ought to be punished, it deprecated warlike measures against the innocent people in other parts of China. "We hesitate not," wrote Mr. Ridgeway, "to avow our deep commiseration for the Chinese, and shudder at the thought of those formidable munitions of war, which are being shipped eastward, being employed against the densely-populated cities of the empire." In a series of important articles, full of official facts gathered from the blue-books, he exposed the injustice and illegality of much that England was doing in respect of the opium traffic. "We first wrong them, contravene their fiscal regulations, grow opium for contraband purposes, and smuggle a large revenue out of China. They grow savage, and retaliate, and then we flog them." And he asked indignantly,—

"Is there in this no provocation? The Chinese are truculent, overbearing. Be it so: but if a man wantonly disturbs a hornet's nest, and gets stung in consequence, has he not brought it on himself? Our bearing on the Chinese coast has not been throughout just and conciliatory. Let it be remembered, then, that we share the guilt of the present complications. 'Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.'"

The Government now sent Lord Elgin out as Plenipotentiary, with an adequate naval and military force. In one aspect, the expedition starting just at this time was most providential. The

* Lord Shaftesbury, however, despite his intimate connexion with Palmerston, lamented the party spirit shown on both sides, and even in the very midst of the crisis, brought forward a motion in the House of Lords against the Opium Trade. See *Life*, vol. iii. pp. 38-46.

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Debates in
Parliament

General
Election:
triumph of
Palmer-
ston.

C.M.S.
denounces
opium
trade.

Lord
Elgin's
expedition.

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Sepoy Mutiny broke out in India, and Lord Canning, intercepting Lord Elgin on his voyage eastward, appealed to him to divert its course and come to the aid of the handful of British in Bengal. No telegraph girdled the earth then; no request for leave could be flashed home to Downing Street; but Lord Elgin had the wisdom and courage to let the Chinese imbroglio wait, and sent his troops to fight the Sepoys. In the following year, however, when the Mutiny was suppressed, the expedition went on to China, and it was now accompanied by a French force, sent to take vengeance for the murder of some Roman Catholic missionaries, notwithstanding that the relations between France and England were a good deal strained at the time. Canton was taken; Yeh was made prisoner; and after much pressure Lord Elgin and the French Envoy extorted from China new and important treaties. Europeans were permitted to travel in the interior; nine more ports were thrown open to foreign trade; the Western nations were to have resident Ministers at Peking, and China was to be represented at London and Paris. The British treaty, known as the Treaty of Tien-tsin, provided for the freer entrance of opium into China, unrestricted except by limited duties. It also contained the following article:—

Treaty of
Tien-tsin.

“Art. 8.—The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities.”

The French treaty gave certain additional privileges to Roman Catholic missionaries, in regard to the purchase of land and the building of houses; of which, under the favoured-nation clauses, England has also taken advantage. Lord Elgin himself was a high-minded statesman. He responded sympathetically to an address presented to him by the missionaries at Shanghai; and in reply to a memorial from the merchants he used these memorable words:—

“Christian civilization will have to win its way among a sceptical and ingenious people, by making it manifest that a faith which reaches to heaven furnishes *better guarantees for public and private morality* than one which does not rise above earth.”*

Renewal of
war.

But peace lasted only just a year. The treaty was to be finally ratified at Peking itself; but this the Chinese Government had consented to unwillingly, and when, in May, 1859, Mr. Bruce (Lord Elgin's brother) was on his way to the capital, his passage up the Peiho river was disputed, and the British ships suffered a serious repulse. Fresh excitement arose in England, and new preparations were made against China. Curiously enough, Mr. Gladstone had now, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to find the money for them. Palmerston had been turned out in 1858; but

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1858, p. 149.

Lord Derby's second Ministry had only lasted a year, and Palmerston was now again Premier, but this time with Gladstone and some other of his old opponents in the Cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, did not conceal his continued disapproval of the old policy which had rendered the new expedition necessary. "I trust," he said, "we shall listen to the lesson taught us by these transactions"; and Sir John Pakington, for the Conservative Opposition, said, "Beyond all question serious doubts have long been entertained, and are at this moment entertained, with regard to the whole justice and propriety of our policy." Fortunately the war did not last long. The Anglo-French forces captured the forts at the mouth of the Peiho, and proceeded towards Peking. To prevent their desecrating the capital by their presence, the Chinese invited negotiations with a view to peace; but by an inexcusable act of treachery they seized a party of English and shockingly ill-treated them, including two high British officials and the *Times* correspondent. Lord Elgin now marched on Peking, took the city, and finding that several of the unhappy captives had died under the tortures inflicted upon them, punished China by the destruction of the magnificent Summer Palace, with its unique treasures of art and archæology—an act that was much criticized, but which Lord Elgin considered the humanest form of chastisement. Of the treaty now finally ratified, Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Russell wrote:—

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Capture of
Peking.

"By the treaty now ratified and coming into operation, the whole of China is opened up to the preaching of the Gospel. . . . But while we recognize in it the hand of God, and bless Him for what He has accomplished for China by means of it, we recognize in it at the same time the hand of man, of cruel, covetous, God-less man, and cannot help from our inmost souls deploring the issue we have been brought to. By the very instrument by which China is declared to have thrown open her gates to the free and unrestricted preaching of the Gospel, and the voluntary reception of it on the part of her people,—by the same instrument it is equally declared, though somewhat more covertly, that she has been forced by Christian England, at the very point of the bayonet, to throw open her gates to the free and unrestricted introduction of opium, and to the reception of it on the part of her people. Before the ratification of the Elgin treaty, when the missionary of the Cross went about preaching the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified and risen Saviour, and was upbraided by a Chinese audience with bringing them life in one hand and death in another—the Gospel and opium,—he was enabled to deny altogether his own complicity with it, and partially the complicity of his country. But how different is the case now! In all honesty, he is now forced to admit that Christian England, her rulers and people generally, have really forced open the gates of Peking, and burned down the imperial palace, in order to secure legal access to all parts of China, as well for the merchant with his opium as for the missionary with the precious Gospel of the Saviour. The inconsistency is but too transparent: the thought of it is most awful. Where shall we find relief, except in Him who is wont to educe the greatest good out of the direst evil?"

Russell on
British
policy.

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Ridgeway
claims
right to
discuss
politics.

Throughout this period, the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* ceased not to lift up its voice against a high-handed policy in China. The natural result followed: it was charged with "unduly intruding into political matters." Energetically did Mr. Ridgeway repel this charge, and justify his course. If, he argued, the Society were merely to publish details of missionary information, then the ordinary Reports and smaller periodicals sufficed, and there was no *raison d'être* for the *Intelligencer*.

"But we have also to do with all questions touching the welfare of nationalities, and to observe upon all points which have a tendency to recommend the Christian religion to the Heathen or prejudice them against it. . . . The Heathen look to our national actions as the true exponents of our national faith; and as jealous for the honour of the truth as for the honour of our country, we cannot but be solicitous that those actions should be such as shall commend and not misrepresent the truth. Tender points must at times be touched if good is to be done."*

Venn's In-
structions
on Mis-
sions and
Politics.

It was at this time also (September, 1860) that Henry Venn penned his masterly Instructions to Missionaries on the subject of Missions and Politics, which were published—a very unusual thing—as an appendix to the next Annual Report. This great manifesto, while warning the younger missionaries against the "political spirit," against "taking up supposed grievances too hastily," against any lack of due respect for the powers that be in any country, emphatically claimed the right to discuss questions "at the root of which lie the great principles of justice, humanity, and Christian duty":—

"'Political affairs' is a wide term. There are worldly politicians who would desire to include in their exclusive province national education, the State support of idolatry, the social institution (as it is called) of slavery, the treatment of the aborigines, the private religious action of Government officers. As soon as a minister of religion touches these questions, an outcry is apt to be raised, as if he were meddling with politics. But such subjects as these are not simply 'political affairs.' . . .

Mission-
aries not to
be silent.

"However earnestly, therefore, the faithful missionary may strive to confine himself to his one great work, the ministry of the Gospel of salvation, he is liable to be involved in many questions of a social and political kind; and he cannot always escape the reproach cast upon His Divine Master and upon His Apostle, of being the enemy of Cæsar, and of turning the world upside down."

The particular difficulties that led to the delivery of these Instructions had occurred in West Africa, Turkey, India, and New Zealand. Why was not the Opium Question referred to? For a very simple reason, that it was not regarded as on the border-line at all. No one in those days dreamed of questioning the right of missionaries and missionary societies to condemn the opium traffic, or expected them for one moment to do anything else. And the *Intelligencer* went on piling up its evidence of the iniquity of the trade and of the misery it was bringing

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1860, p. 209.

upon China. The evidence adduced it would be impossible even to summarize in a limited space. But it is worth mentioning that a statement by Sir Benjamin Brodie is quoted, in which that distinguished physician strongly condemned the use of opium except for medicinal purposes, and said, "I cannot but regard those who promote the use of opium as an article of luxury as inflicting a most serious injury on the human race"; and this statement is signed by twenty-four other medical men of the first rank, fourteen of them Fellows of the Royal Society, and including Sir H. Holland, Sir H. Halford, Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, Mr. R. Liston, Sir C. Locock, Dr. R. Bright, Dr. Williams, &c., &c. Let us also take two extracts from Ridgeway's articles:—

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Condemnation of opium by high medical authorities

"Our whole course upon the coast of China has been one of injustice and of unsound policy, in which, for the sake of present gain, we have sacrificed our future prospects, prejudicing against us a vast multitude of people, and, so far as their sympathies and goodwill are concerned, closing against ourselves a boundless field of operation, which will eventually prove to be one of the finest openings for philanthropic efforts and commercial intercourse which the world has ever known. Of nations, as well as of individuals, is it true, that whatsoever each soweth, that shall he also reap. On the coast of Africa, England has sown good seed, but on the coast of China she has sown evil seed, and her harvest on either continent must be accordingly. . . .

Ridgeway on the Opium Trade.

"How have we distinguished ourselves upon the coast of China? We are the great opium-producers, the great poison-vendors of the East. It is not merely a matter of private speculation—a few private individuals, who, lost to all sense of honour, have sacrificed their own character, and the character of their country, for the sake of gain: it is in our national capacity we have acted. We have raised a large revenue on the opium, and that, not by placing a heavy export duty on the sale of a drug, whose liability to be abused renders the increase of it beyond the limited quantity needful for medical purposes prejudicial to the interests of humanity, but by becoming ourselves, in our governmental capacity, opium-farmers. The ryots who grow it are the employés of our Government; to this, as the great factor, they bring the harvest which they gather in; and other agents, skilled in the manufacture of it, prepare and flavour it so as to adapt it to the purpose of vicious indulgence. . . .

"China exports to England articles which are promotive of the health, comfort, and convenience of European life. Her teas promote amongst us temperate habits, and a large proportion of our population preferring this, distaste stimulating fluids; but we vend that to the Chinese which exercises a most dissipating influence on the physical and mental system, and destroys the *morale* of the man. We have nursed the morbid appetite, and developed it into large dimensions; we have advantaged ourselves of their weakness to vend our poison.

"This heathen people, devoid of Christian truth, and destitute of any conservative principle or power which would enable them to offer effectual resistance to so dangerous a temptation, we nevertheless classify as free agents, unnecessitated, unless they choose to do so, to become the purchasers of our opium; and thus adroitly evading our just responsibility, we perpetuate the wrong, pocket the money, and then wipe our mouth and say we have done no wickedness."*

* C.M. *Intelligencer*, 1860, p. 98.

PART VI. "It is said that 'Lord Elgin's credentials, as Plenipotentiary to China, 1849-61. are literally stained with opium. They went down with the *Ara* when she foundered at Ceylon; and, when recovered by the divers, it was Chap. 49. found that they were damaged by the drug which formed part of the cargo.' This, if true, is indeed a significant fact. England's diplomacy British policy "stained with opium."

The Treaty of Tien-tsin, in 1858, was recognized at once as constituting a loud call to Christian England to do more for the evangelization of China. Bishop Smith wrote an earnest appeal for men, and sent it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He rejoiced in the increasing number of missionaries of other societies, but he longed to see the Church of England being represented by more than six men, which was literally all it had when he wrote, viz., Russell, Gough, and G. E. Moule, at Ningpo; Burdon and W. H. Collins at Shanghai; Fearnley alone at Fuh-chow; no one at Hong Kong. The S.P.G. now proposed to send out a Mission, and the C.M.S. Committee (March 1st, 1859) passed a resolution expressing their satisfaction at this prospect, and encouraging the sister Society to occupy Hang-chow. Four years, however, elapsed before the first two men were sent out in 1863, and then they went to Peking, whither Mr. Burdon had preceded them. They did not stay long; and the S.P.G. did not resume operations in China until 1874.

Meanwhile the little band of C.M.S. men did what they could; and besides the regular work at the stations, Burdon's intrepid journeys took him to city after city not before visited. In 1859, in company with Dr. Nevius, the American Presbyterian missionary, he got as far as Hang-chow, with a view to opening a station there; but just then the news came of the repulse of the British fleet on the Peiho, and the Chinese authorities turned them out. Attempts were made a year or two later to occupy Shao-hing and Yu-yaou; but another irruption of the T'ai-p'ings prevented it. Ningpo all this time was bearing fruit. In 1859 there were sixteen adult baptisms, and the Mission was joined by a very interesting man, a physician of standing and education named Dzing, who, finding no peace in Confucianism or Buddhism, had become a Roman Catholic Christian, but now, influenced mainly by the skilful arguments of the catechist Bao, publicly united himself to the Church of England. He became a zealous evangelist, and it was intended one day to present him to the Bishop for holy orders; but he died in 1862.† Meanwhile the Ningpo Mission branched out into the surrounding country, especially to the north, on the San-poh plain; and in 1860 the city of Tsz'k'i or

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1861, p. 73.

† His story, compiled by the Rev. H. Moule, father of Bishop and Arch-deacon Moule, was published under the title of *Narrative of the Conversion of a Chinese Physician* (London, 1868).

Z-ky'i (Mercy Stream) was occupied. In the same year the veteran lady worker, Miss Aldersey, retired after many years of earnest work, and handed over to the Society a station she had founded in the town of Tsong-gyiao.*

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Miss
Aldersey.

Another interesting incident occurred at Ningpo in 1860. In the second week of January, the missionaries and Native Christians connected with the different Missions were responding to the Ludhiana Invitation to United Prayer before mentioned, and observing, like the rest of the Christian world, the Week of Prayer for the first time. In the middle of it, Mr. Gough received a letter from Bishop Smith, enclosing one to him from C. W. Isenberg, the C.M.S. German missionary at Bombay. A Government official in India, an Inspector of the Opium Manufacture at Malwa, pricked in his conscience, had resolved to cleanse himself from all share in the traffic; had resigned his office; and had dedicated the savings of his official career, more than £3000, for the relief of opium victims in China. A first instalment of this sum was remitted by Isenberg; and just at that very time, an unexpected opportunity occurred of doing good to opium-smokers. One or two had been cured at a Mission hospital which was just then being worked by Mr. Hudson Taylor; and they had gone to their home, some two hundred miles off, and told of the benefit they had received. Others came to Ningpo in consequence, but Mr. Taylor had no room for them, and Mr. Gough took them in, and within three months he tended one hundred and thirty-three patients. The work was most trying and difficult. The poor fellows, anxious as they were to be cured, could not resist the craving, and used all sorts of devices to get the drug brought in to them. Many gave up the idea of cure, and went back to their degradation, but some were much benefited. All had the Gospel preached to them, and one was baptized before he left. This little effort was but the forerunner of the C.M.S. Opium Refuge opened ten years later at Hang-chow by means of that money from Bombay, the bulk of which was in due course entrusted to the Society; and that Refuge has since expanded into Dr. Duncan Main's splendid hospital.

Anglo-
Indian
official
washes his
hands of
opium.

Gough re-
ceives
opium
patients.

The work at Shanghai did not prosper like that at Ningpo, and the adult converts were but a handful. Nevertheless Shanghai was the first station to produce a Chinese clergyman of the Church of England. This was Dzaw Tsang-lae, who was ordained by Bishop Smith in 1862. Mr. Collins carried on an Anglo-Chinese school which had been established by Mr. Hobson, who had gone out as a C.M.S. missionary, but with the Society's cordial goodwill had become chaplain to the English community, and who died at his post in the same year, 1862.†

Shanghai

First
Chinese
ordained.

* She went to Australia, where she named the house she lived in Tsong-gyiao. She died in 1866.

† He was the father of the Rev. J. P. Hobson, now Tract Editor of the R.T.S., and a member of the C.M.S. Committee.

PART VI. Of all the C.M.S. stations in China, the most barren, so far, was
 1849-61. Fuh-chow. For ten years, 1850 to 1860, the Gospel had been
 Chap. 49. preached there, first by Welton and Jackson, then by Fearnley
 and McCaw, then by a young missionary who had married
 Fearnley's niece, George Smith.* After Fearnley's retirement
 from broken health at the close of 1859, Smith was left quite
 alone to struggle with an unknown language in a strange foreign
 city. The C.M.S. Committee thought the providential leadings
 were now in favour of abandoning Fuh-chow, and that the finger
 of God pointed to their forces being concentrated upon the more
 promising field of Ningpo. But Smith earnestly appealed against
 their proposal to withdraw, piling up arguments for perseverance.
 Where would New Zealand be to-day, he urged, if ten years' work
 had been followed by withdrawal? Besides, the American
 missionaries at Fuh-chow had a hundred converts. Let but the
 C.M.S. Mission be reinforced, and worked as theirs was, and
 God's word would be proved faithful. He begged, like the vine-
 dresser in the parable, for one year more; and this the Committee
 granted. In that very year God began to give the blessing. On
 December 22nd, 1860, Smith wrote, "I hope that a brighter day is
 about to dawn upon us. There are three men whom I really look
 upon as honest inquirers."

Shall it be
 abandoned?

G. Smith
 begs for
 one year
 more.

Converts
 at last.

This brighter prospect was due to medical work. In the earliest
 days of the Fuh-chow Mission, Welton's professional skill had
 conciliated the people, and secured the right of residence within
 the city. And now another qualified surgeon, Mr. Collins of
 Shanghai, being at Fuh-chow on a visit, had opened a temporary
 dispensary; and there Smith's inquirers had heard of Christ.
 Two of the men were baptized on March 31st, 1861, and the third,
 with another, on July 4th. Smith wrote, "With only these few
 converts, I begin to feel something of the anxieties and fears and
 doubts, but something also of the joys, of which St. Paul speaks."
 Thus was reaped the first-fruits of what has since come to be so
 abundant a harvest. But the first-fruits did not prove to be a
 typical sample. In after years three of the four fell away from
 the faith, though one of the three, after years of sin and misery,
 was by the abounding grace of God brought to repentance and
 died resting on the Saviour.

J. R. Wolfe
 to Fuh-
 chow.

Death of
 G. Smith.

In 1862, John R. Wolfe joined the Fuh-chow Mission; but not
 for long did he retain the companionship of his senior. In the
 following year George Smith was taken to an early reward. His
 name is not a famous one among missionary heroes; but he
 "finished the work given him to do," and that work was to save
 for the one year the tree that had been so barren, but which has
 since rejoiced the hearts of God's people all round the world by
 the fruit it has borne to His glory.†

* Not to be confounded with Bishop George Smith.

† A bright and graphic account of the short career of this excellent young

George Smith's namesake, the Bishop of Victoria, was all this time "in labours more abundant." The College at Hong Kong was not a success; but as a travelling bishop, moving from station to station to advise and encourage the few workers under him, Bishop George Smith was untiring, and his influence was highly valued. He twice journeyed to India, where we met him in our Forty-third Chapter; and in 1859 he went to Australia, and appealed to the Church there to care for the souls of the thousands of Chinese immigrants. He was a bad sailor, and suffered much on his voyages; yet no less than three whole years of his life, in the aggregate, were spent at sea. His letters and journals were always most interesting; and his visit to England in 1856-7 gave him an opportunity of pleading for China, of which he made full use. His speech at Exeter Hall in May, 1857, was singularly effective. He dwelt upon the China question as illustrating "a great law of Divine Providence":—

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Bishop
Smith's
journeys.

Bishop
Smith at
Exeter
Hall.

"It appears to be an inevitable condition of the tenure of British rule throughout the world, that we are impelled forward in spite of ourselves, and the friends of Christian Missions and every truly Christian statesman may well view with alarm, may well be appalled, at the prospect, unless every new accession of territory is made an opportunity of advancing the Redeemer's kingdom, and every new addition to the territory of Britain is laid as a humble additional contribution at the foot of the Redeemer's cross."

His doubtful view of the motives of France in joining with England in coercing China is worth noting even in the present day:—

On French
policy.

"I view with considerable apprehension the future course of British and French diplomacy in the East. . . . It is obvious to my own mind that the French have a large fleet in the East, that they have no commercial interests to watch over and foster in the Eastern seas, that their fleet has too often served as a kind of roving squadron of missionary police over the broad waters of the Pacific, being employed to abet, as at Tahiti, the disputed claims, and to assist in redressing the imaginary grievances of the Jesuit propagandists throughout the East. And when I remember that the Romish propagandists in China have always viewed the T'ai-p'ing Revolution with peculiar odium and dislike, when I remember that in the early stages of the rebellion those Native reformers, just emerging from idolatry, and not yet being skilled in the art of making a distinction without a difference, did confound Buddhist images with Romish images, and did deface and mutilate the shrine of some Roman Catholic chapel,—I see in this sufficient to account for the hostility of the Roman Catholic missionaries in China to the movement."

We must now return to the T'ai-p'ings. They had failed to capture Canton. They had been driven out of Amoy and Shanghai. They never succeeded in their main object of reaching Peking and dethroning the Emperor. And although for ten

T'ai-p'ing
War
going on.

missionary is given in Miss Headland's *Brief Sketches of C.M.S. Workers*. (Nisbet, 1897; now published by C.M.S.)

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years they held the great city of Nanking, dissensions among their leaders, and consequent desperate fighting and terrible bloodshed, undermined their strength and influence; while the Imperialist forces constantly harassed them, though never able to suppress them. But early in 1860 their energy revived: they defeated the Imperialists who were beleaguering Nanking, and captured the great and wealthy cities of Hang-chow and Su-chow. Tens of thousands perished: immense numbers of the upper classes putting an end to their own lives rather than fall into the hands of the insurgents. But these conquests brought the T'ai-p'ings nearer to the Mission stations; and some of the missionaries, disregarding the objections raised by English officials and merchants who could think no good of the movement, succeeded in getting to Su-chow, with a view to finding out more accurately what sort of Christianity theirs was.

The chief
minister
of the
T'ai-p'ings.

Visits to
T'ai-p'ing
leaders.

Much interest was aroused when it was found that the Kan-wang ("Shield King"), or chief minister, of the "Kingdom of Great Peace," was a man named Hung-jin, a cousin of Hung-su-tuen, who had actually in former years been a catechist of the L.M.S. at Hong Kong under Dr. Legge. To him the L.M.S. missionaries sent a friendly letter, and the reply was an invitation to them to go and see him at Su-chow. Mr. Edkins and Mr. Griffith John accordingly went, accompanied by Mr. Burdon and two others. Graphic accounts of the journey, and of their conversations with Hung-jin, were sent home by Burdon and Griffith John.* The Kan-wang frankly acknowledged the defects in both the faith and the practice of the T'ai-p'ings, and was apparently using his own influence to correct them, though in one matter, polygamy, he had yielded to the general custom. He himself proposed prayer with his visitors, himself started one of Dr. Medhurst's hymns, and then himself offered what Mr. Griffith John calls "an appropriate, fervent, scriptural prayer," "that all the idols might perish, that the temples might be converted into chapels, and that pure Christianity might speedily become the religion of China." Burdon's account is less favourable. He dwells more on the errors of the T'ai-p'ing creed. But it was clear that Hung-jin sincerely desired the presence of missionaries to teach the people; and he issued a proclamation, which said, "Missionaries are to travel and live and preach everywhere. Railroads and steamboats, fire and life insurance companies, and newspapers, are to be freely introduced for the good of China." Several of the missionaries paid visits to Nanking itself, and Mr. Muirhead, of the L.M.S. (the veteran still spared to us), was one of those who preached in the streets of the T'ai-p'ing capital.

But the T'ai-p'ings were still too much engaged in fighting to pay much real attention to religion. They were anxious to come into friendly relations with the Western Powers. France and England

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1860.

had been fighting the Peking Government: why then should they not side with the "Kingdom of Great Peace"? Twice, however, the foreigners at Shanghai had resisted any such approaches; and the T'ai-p'ings, therefore, invaded the Cheh-kiang Province, hoping to get a more favourable reception at Ningpo. They defeated the Imperialist army, and stormed the city on December 9th, 1861. The leaders assured the Consul, Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes, that foreigners' houses would be respected; and for a fortnight the missionaries, among whom the C.M.S. men were Russell, Burdon, Fleming, and G. E. and A. E. Moule (the last-named only just arrived in China), with Mrs. Russell, remained in the city, while the other ladies and the children were in the foreign settlement across the river, protected by gunboats. The insurgents, however, were so little under control, and the perils of the city became so serious, that the Consul ordered the missionaries to retire also to the settlement.

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T'ai-p'ings
capture
Ningpo.

Very graphic are Archdeacon A. E. Moule's narratives of the period.* Burdon and G. E. Moule went about the country in search of the Native Christians in the villages, at considerable personal risk, although the T'ai-p'ing leaders showed them much courtesy. In the house which, shortly before, Burdon had occupied at Shao-hing, an opium-smoker was found lying with his head on Alford's Greek Testament. For six months the T'ai-p'ings occupied Ningpo; but then, in consequence of constant outrages, the Consul informed them that British neutrality must cease. The rebels then threatened the foreign settlement itself; whereupon the British and French gunboats opened fire, and after a severe struggle, on May 10th, 1862, the T'ai-p'ings were driven out of the city. Mr. Russell had left for England invalided; Fleming soon afterwards followed; Burdon had gone with Bishop Smith to Peking; and for more than a year the brothers Moule alone represented the C.M.S. at Ningpo. Further alarms from the T'ai-p'ings troubled the Mission for the next two years; but their power was now nearly at an end. For Major Charles George Gordon had appeared upon the scene.

British
drive them
out.

The story of Gordon and his "Ever-Victorious Army" does not belong to this History. Suffice it to say that the brilliant young Englishman, entering the service of the Chinese Government, organized a kind of irregular "foreign legion" officered by Europeans of all nations, and with it practically destroyed the T'ai-p'ing power within little more than a year, and returned to England to be wondered at as the heroic "Chinese Gordon." A controversy then arose, which led to a Parliamentary debate, as to how far he was responsible for the terrible and treacherous massacres of the unfortunate T'ai-p'ings perpetrated by the Imperialist troops—massacres in which, of course, he had no share, and which he did his best to prevent, but which certainly

Gordon
finally de-
feats the
T'ai-p'ings.

* In *The Story of the Che-Kiang Mission*, pp. 61-77.

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Final
verdict
on the
T'aip'ings.

were the work of the armies he had led to victory. Several of the missionaries, headed by Bishop Smith, wrote home indignantly on the subject; but by this time the general public opinion had completely veered round, and the T'aip'ings were regarded no longer as imperfect Christians fighting for liberty, but rather as inhuman monsters using religion as a cloke for their evil deeds. The universal admiration with which Gordon's memory is now cherished by Englishmen has undoubtedly tended to perpetuate the later feeling; and his biographers usually either discredit or ignore what was good in the T'aip'ings. The truth probably lies between the two extremes; and Hung-su-tsuen, who killed himself when Nanking fell, was neither the earnest Christian that some thought him, nor the cruel voluptuary described by others. The T'aip'ings were as merciless as their opponents, and their profession of Christianity shocks us by the blasphemies that too often characterized it. On the other hand, they were vehemently opposed to two things, *image-worship* and *opium*; which, as Archdeacon Moule significantly observes, suggests "abundant reasons for the malignant hatred with which the movement was regarded by many critics, *both ecclesiastical and mercantile*." *

But let us rather judge ourselves. "When the earthquake of the Rebellion was over," says Archdeacon Moule,

"conspicuous among the ruins were to be seen—as I saw with my own eyes—'the idols utterly abolished' by Chinese hands. The temples were burnt and thrown down, and not a whole image was to be seen in city or country for hundreds of miles. No tongue was raised in defence of idolatry and in praise of idols; and it was admitted with a sad smile of perplexity and despair that gods which could not keep their own heads on their shoulders could not be expected to preserve their worshippers from murder and rapine." †

A golden
opportu-
nity lost.

Did ever Christendom have so golden an opportunity of winning a great Heathen nation for Christ? The reason why America, which had already taken the lead in the work of evangelization, could not seize it was a sufficient one: the Civil War between North and South was paralyzing its efforts. But England? And especially, the Church of England? The opportunity was absolutely lost. And when in after years missionaries began to multiply—when, in particular, the men and women of the China Inland Mission spread themselves over the vast interior provinces—they found the temples rebuilt, the idols on their pedestals again, and the great Enemy more strongly than ever in possession.

* *The Glorious Land*, p. 25.

† *Ibid.*, p. 25.

CHAPTER L.

THE GREAT LONE LAND.

Bishop Anderson—The N.-W. America Mission in 1849—Anderson at Red River—H. Budd ordained—Anderson on his Travels—Hunt at English River—Extensions—Horden to Hudson's Bay—Bishop Anderson at Exeter Hall—Hunter to the Far North—Kirkby to the Yukon—French Roman Catholic Missions—Linguistic Work: the Syllabic System—Rupert's Land Opening-up: Fire-water; a Railway Route—The Church "self-supplying"—The Mission in 1864—China v. North-West America.

"We are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ."—2 Cor. x. 14.

"The barbarous people . . . kindled a fire, . . . because of the cold."—Acts xxviii. 2.



FROM the crowded cities and innumerable towns and villages of China, we pass to the vast solitudes of North-West Canada. It is a wilderness indeed; but the lost sheep—even if they be relatively but as one—are there, and after the lost sheep the Great Shepherd sends His under-shepherds.

On Whit Tuesday, May 29th, 1849, Canterbury Cathedral witnessed the consecration of a bishop for the first time since the days of Queen Elizabeth. Of two bishops, indeed; and both for Mission-fields of the Church Missionary Society. One was to go to the Far East, and the other to the Far West; one to the countless millions of China, and the other to the scattered tribes of the Hudson's Bay territories. George Smith and David Anderson were consecrated together, the first Bishop of Victoria and the first Bishop of Rupert's Land.

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Consecra-
tion of
Bishop
Anderson.

Anderson was an Oxford man of high promise, whose health had failed just at the critical moment when he was about to win an honourable place in the schools. He had been Vice-Principal of St. Bees' College, and then Vicar of All Saints', Derby, and was highly esteemed as an Evangelical clergyman. "The Bishop of London" (Blomfield), wrote Henry Venn after the consecration, "expressed himself to me in the warmest terms of admiration at his heartiness and practical good sense." For sixteen years, in the forests and over the snow-fields of Rupert's Land, that "heartiness" and that "practical good sense" were conspicuously manifest.

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The new
Diocese of
Rupert's
Land.

The Indian
population.

The C. M. S.
Mission in
1849.

On a small
scale,

but en-
couraging
fruits.

Rupert's Land was not one of the new dioceses projected when the Colonial Bishoprics Fund was started eight years before. But the Church Missionary Society had long desired its establishment; and when at length their desire was fulfilled, they expressed their "unfeigned satisfaction" that "after many years of expectation" a bishop had been appointed. An endowment was provided by a bequest from Mr. Leith, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that Company, which then ruled, and exclusively traded in, the North-West Territories, added a yearly grant of £300. The population of the new diocese could not compare with that of even one moderate-sized city in China. Out of 140,000 Natives in all British North America, 13,000 were in Canada proper, and within the jurisdiction of a Canadian bishop; 80,000 were on the further or western side of the Rocky Mountains, and were not as yet accessible; leaving 47,000 scattered over the vast area of the new diocese. Of these, 4000 were Eskimo, and 25,000 were Plain Indians, on the great Saskatchewan prairies, not yet reached; leaving 18,000 among whom the missionaries, Anglican, Wesleyan, and Roman, were gradually extending their work.

The "North-West America Mission" of the C.M.S.—as it was then, and for many years afterwards, called—was at this time twenty-seven years old. We have already seen its foundation in 1822,* and traced its history down to the first episcopal visit paid to it, by Bishop Mountain of Montreal, in 1844.† When the Society celebrated its Jubilee, the Mission was still on a small scale. There were four stations on Red River, within a few miles of each other, viz., the Upper Settlement (now the city of Winnipeg), the Middle Settlement, Grand Rapids, and the Indian Settlement. The veteran William Cockran was chaplain of the Upper Settlement, where the population consisted of settlers and half-breeds. The other three stations were under the charge of J. Smithurst and R. James. Then there were three distant stations, one (afterwards called Fairford) two hundred miles to the north-west, on Manitoba Lake, where Abraham Cowley was at work; one five hundred miles off in the same direction, at Cumberland on the Saskatchewan River, where James Hunter was carrying on a successful Mission started by the Indian teacher Henry Budd; and one four hundred miles further, or about nine hundred from Red River, at Lac la Ronge, at which advance post there was another Indian teacher, James Settee. At these different stations there were about 1650 Indian adherents in attendance on Christian worship, about half of whom were baptized and 464 were communicants. And in the burying-ground at Red River lay 400 "who had been committed to the dust in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life." So wrote Cockran; and the results of Missions all over the world would appear very different if the number of converts who have died in the Lord had been kept, instead of

* Chapter XVIII.

† Chapter XXIV.

merely counting heads at particular dates. The Society's Jubilee Statement said that the Mission,—

"though conducted on a small scale," had, "by the blessing of God, produced results of a singularly interesting and encouraging character. . . . Many Indians have given up their wandering habits and their heathen superstitions, and have become settled agriculturists and devout Christians. In several instances Native teachers have been the honoured instruments of the conversion of many of their countrymen. Two of the most distant stations were established by their sole agency. At one of them, on the first visit of an European missionary, 107 individuals were received into the Church by baptism; and every member of the tribe had forsaken Heathenism. The reports of the manner in which the Lord's Day is honoured, and of the regularity and devotion which characterize public worship, have often served to excite admiration and praise in the minds of Christians at home."

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1849-51.
Chap. 50.

There was no Cunard "greyhound" to convey the new Bishop across the Atlantic at a rate of twenty-two knots an hour. There was no Canadian Pacific express to carry him across the wilds to Red River in three days and three nights. Bishop Anderson had to sail by the one annual ship to York Factory, Hudson's Bay. He sailed from Gravesend a few days after his consecration, on June 6th, accompanied by Robert Hunt, an Islington man recently ordained, who had previously been in Patagonia with Captain Allen Gardiner. Hunt was now to exchange the inhospitable shores of Tierra del Fuego for the still severer climate of Rupert's Land. The voyage was a fairly favourable one, and the ship reached York Factory on August 16th. "It was a bright and beautiful day," wrote the Bishop. "Before landing I asked the captain to allow us to sing the Doxology once more together; when he at once assembled all hands on deck, and we sang, under the open canopy of heaven, 'Praise God from Whom all blessings flow'; after which I offered up a few words of prayer, and pronounced the Blessing." While stopping a few days at York, the Bishop received an unlooked-for testimony to the character of the Indians who had become Christians. Five or six men belonging to Sir J. Richardson's unsuccessful expedition in search of Sir John Franklin arrived in a boat, the crew of which consisted of fifteen baptized Indians. "The voluntary and explicit testimony of these men was to the effect that they had never seen a better behaved or a happier boat's crew than were these Indians: they never omitted singing and prayer morning and evening, and they were in every respect examples of good moral conduct."

Bishop
Anderson's voy-
age.

Arrival of
York,

The further journey from York to Red River was by canoe, up Nelson River, and across Lake Winnipeg. This occupied nearly a month; and on October 3rd the Bishop reached the Indian Settlement, the first station approached ascending the Red River from the north. There he was welcomed, not only by Mr. Smithurst, but also by Major Caldwell, the Governor of Rupert's Land, who had come down from the Upper Settlement to meet him. Caldwell's grand physique and benevolent countenance,

And at
Red River.

PART VI. when in later days he was a valued member of the C.M.S. Com-
 1849-51. mittee, will be remembered by the older readers of this History.
 Chap. 50.

His first
 sermon.

On his first Sunday at Red River, October 7th, Bishop Anderson preached at the Grand Rapids, from 2 Cor. x. 14, "We are come as far as to you also in preaching the Gospel of Christ," and administered the Holy Communion to 167 communicants. The church was an old wooden one, and much too small for the growing congregation. Four years before, the people had resolved to build a stone one. "Silver and gold," wrote Cockran, "they had none; but stones, lime, shingles, boards, timber, and labour, were cheerfully promised, to an extent that perfectly astonished me. The shingle-makers proposed to give ten thousand shingles *each*, the lime-burners *each* four hundred bushels." One man rose in the meeting, and to the surprise of all said he would "help to the amount of £10." "It is true," he said, "that I cannot square a stone, nor lay one; but there will be the floor and the roof: turn me to them, and you will see, if God gives me life and health, if I will not work out the value." This church, St. Andrew's (familiar afterwards in C.M.S. periodicals and on C.M.S. diagrams), was almost finished, but not quite, when the Bishop arrived. He consecrated it on December 19th. On Christmas Day he was at the Indian Settlement, where eighty-six communicated. On January 10th a meeting was held at the Upper Settlement to form a Church Missionary Association for Rupert's Land, Major Caldwell presiding, and heading the subscription list with £50. Confirmation classes were begun, and in the following May four hundred persons renewed their baptismal vows. A good English school, which had been conducted for the sons of the settlers by a Company's chaplain recently dead, had been left by his will to the Bishop; and that school became the nucleus of St. John's College, which in after years became so great a blessing to the whole Colony. Thus brightly began the sixteen years' episcopate of Bishop David Anderson.

New St.
 Andrew's
 Church.

Henry
 Budd or-
 dained.

But the happiest event in this early year or two was the ordination of the first Red Indian clergyman. Henry Budd, one of the two boys whom John West had taken to Red River with him in 1822, and who had, as a lay catechist, been the pioneer missionary at Cumberland, was ordained by the Bishop on December 22nd, 1850, having read with him several standard English theological works, and passed a satisfactory examination. More than 1100 people assembled at St. Andrew's, Grand Rapids, on the occasion, and there were over 300 communicants. On Christmas Day, Budd preached his first sermon, in Cree, on St. Luke i. 78, "The dayspring from on high hath visited us."

Bishop
 Anderson
 travels by
 dog-train
 to Fairford.

From the first, Anderson showed his "heartiness and practical good sense" in his long and tiring, and yet untiring journeys. In the summer following his arrival he visited Cumberland; in the next winter, Fairford; and then, in turn, a new station on Hudson's Bay, and a new station on English River, to be noticed

presently; and subsequently all these over and over again, and many others also. An extract from the Bishop's narrative of his first winter journey, to Fairford, will serve as a specimen description of the mode of travelling by what we may call "first-class"—for the missionaries did not often ride in the carriages, but walked, while the dogs dragged their belongings:—

"My own dress was a large beaver-skin cap, with ears of fur meeting under the chin, and a heavy coat, not strictly episcopal in form. These things I wore of necessity, and had the buffalo coat by my side in case of requiring it. Thus equipped, I seated myself, or rather reclined, in the carriage, which is made very light, and only large enough to hold the body, with a few blankets and buffalo robes wrapped closely round. On a projecting board behind was the box containing my robes and a few necessary articles, and following us was a sledge, with our food and that for the dogs, and a few presents which I was taking with me. We had thus two teams, and they were the best the country afforded, kindly placed at my disposal by the Company, and in charge of Monkman, the best driver. The animals, '*les coursiers du nord*,' as they are often called, were very gaily caparisoned, their trappings, saddle-cloths, and collars of scarlet and blue. The driver, on whose skill and tact much depends, runs by the side, or, when the track is narrow, jumps on the runner behind; and, to prevent the upsetting of the carriage, he has a leather rein fastened to either side, by which he can lift and balance it at pleasure. From the lightness of the carriage I had at first many a capsize: but as I got accustomed to the motion, I could balance myself, so as to throw my weight in the opposite direction when I saw it inclining to one side. At times, over it went without any such warning, or, if I might be nodding a little towards evening, the first intimation I received of my situation was to find that I was dragging along, with my elbow in the snow.

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The dogs
and the
carriage.

"We had a long distance to run in order to reach the Bay. Many had dissuaded me from attempting so much that day; but, as the dogs were fresh and the evening fine, I started about four o'clock, in good hopes of crossing the Plain. It is divided into three parts, which are nearly equal—a bare level plain, a higher ridge of woodland, and then, descending, a level plain which stretches towards the Bay. We made very good running for a long time: the dogs were in full vigour, but the track, from recent snow, was not well marked out, and rather uneven, so as often to plunge us in the deep snow by the side. The whip was but seldom necessary for the dogs, and a knock on the side of the carriage was sufficient to stimulate them to press on.

"Once only we rested, in the middle of the woody ridge; it was to light a fire, to melt some snow for the men and dogs. This is done by holding the snow in a pan over the flame: the water thus produced is very good, and free from any smoky flavour if well done: when taken for a continuance it is said to have a prejudicial effect, and to reduce the system: but in such a journey it is very refreshing to man and beast.

"We then proceeded with fresh energy. I amused myself by ascertaining the names of the dogs, which I heard uttered very often in some abbreviated form. The leader had the appropriate name of Papillon, or Butterfly—from his speed rather than his beauty,—and a very trusty creature he was, very sure to select for himself the best footing where there was any choice. The other two were named Fox and Blucher: a fourth we were to pick up by the way. As the night closed in the appearance was very singular, as we threaded our way along. The ornaments

PART VI. on the dogs' necks, from which the bells were suspended, were often the
 1849-61. only things visible: they looked exactly like the usual symbol for the
 Chap. 50. constellation Aries.

— "When within a few miles of the houses at the Bay the wind suddenly changed, and blew right in our faces. For half an hour it was colder than during any other part of the journey: the cutting sensation in passing rapidly through the air can scarcely be imagined. It has a scorching feel on the face, the only part exposed, enabling one to realize the *torridus gelu* which Livy applies to Hannibal and his men in crossing the Alps."

Mr. and
 Mrs. Hunt
 go out into
 the wilder-
 ness.

Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, who had come out with the Bishop, now proceeded to the station of Lac la Ronge, which had been opened by James Settee. When they started on their nine hundred miles journey from Red River, the large boat which was to take them across Lake Winnipeg was loaded with provisions for fifteen months, flour, pemmican, &c., with tools, locks, hinges, window frames, glass, &c., and with blankets and warm clothing. The St. Andrew's congregation presented them with 50 cwt. of flour to give to the destitute Indians; and the gifts of individuals were very touching, one poor woman bringing two dozen eggs, another a pair of fowls, and one man a basket of salt. The journey occupied seven weeks; and on arriving at Lac la Ronge they found "nothing to be seen but rocks and water, except that here and there a little soil had drifted into the chasms, and afforded a precarious nourishment to a few trees." Yet only a year later we read of "Mr. Hunt's farm"; but—

Their
 labours

"It needed to have much labour bestowed upon it. The heavy wet clay and swampy mossy ground has had to be dried and warmed by draining; the surface of the stony, rocky ground to be cleared of the thickly-crowded stumps of fir-trees; the different kinds of earth and soil to be blended with each other—the sand from a more distant part being boated across the lake to lighten the heavy clay, while the rushy margin of the waters has contributed its plants for manure:—all this has been necessary before crops of potatoes, oats, and barley could be raised; but when raised, most glad some in the barren region of Lac la Ronge."

and suffer-
 ings.

After two years more, the station proved unsuitable, not merely as regards external things, but as a centre for the Indians; and Hunt moved on fifty miles further to the banks of English River, and founded a station afterwards called Stanley. This removal involved severe hardships. They tried to get settled in before winter; but on December 6th they were still living and sleeping "in a calico tent, of course without a fire." "I could not believe it possible," wrote Hunt, "to live in such cold comfort." On the 21st they moved into "an enclosed space which was called a room, but having no ceiling, and one of its walls a blanket." A few days later, things were a little better, but on January 12th the spirit thermometer registered 70° of frost, and on the 19th Hunt wrote:—

"We are obliged to confine the dear children to the bedroom, the only part of the house we can keep at a temperature that they can support,

without roasting their faces before the fire while their backs freeze. At breakfast, with a good fire, the temperature on the table was 25° of frost; and at dinner the water froze in our glasses so quickly that we broke the ice again and again in order to drink. If the plates were not taken hot from the fire, anything put on them in a semi-fluid state quickly congeals, as mustard. The knives and forks, also, must be put to the fire before they can be used with comfort."

"January 20th. Still colder: 47° frost in the breakfast-room. The young calf frozen in the cow-house."

This will suffice as a little illustration of the life at English River, and indeed at all the remoter stations. But there was no intermission by Mr. Hunt of daily service in the schoolroom, daily school for the Indian children, and five distinct functions on Sunday. On Bishop Anderson's first visit there were forty baptized Christians to be confirmed; and after three years two hundred and thirty had been baptized.

Results of
their work.

Extension was now the order of the day. In 1851-54, Native teachers began work at Moose Lake, two days' journey from Cumberland; at Fort Alexander, to the east; at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, where the Mission station was named Lansdowne; at White Dog, one hundred miles up the same river; at Fort Pelly, 300 miles to the west of Red River; and at Nepowewin, on the Saskatchewan, 100 miles above Cumberland. Nepowewin was occupied by Henry Budd, who was much blessed in his work there. One of the first converts baptized was a chief whose ferocity had made him the terror of the country. The White Dog station received the name of Islington, from a curious circumstance. An old lady from Bath, Mrs. Landon, was staying at the Church Missionary College on a visit to Mr. Childe, and had the misfortune to fall downstairs. She was picked up by Tamihana, the Maori chieftain from New Zealand, who was then in the College; and, though somewhat hurt, she recovered after a fortnight in bed. On leaving for her home, she put a cheque for £1000 into Mr. Childe's hands as a thank-offering, desiring that it should be used to establish a new station in Rupert's Land, to be called Islington.†

Curious
origin of
new sta-
tion.

Wherever the missionaries went, they found the solitary trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, at which the Indian hunters gathered from time to time to sell the furs of the animals they had killed. The "factors" or agents in charge of these posts were often Scotchmen, and sometimes half-breeds, the offspring of white men and Indian women. For the most part they welcomed the missionaries, who rightly regarded it as part of their work to minister to them. They "sowed unto them spiritual things," and "reaped their carnal things" in assistance of all

Hudson's
Bay posts.

* See pp. 74, 638.

† This circumstance was related by Mr. Childe in a lecture at the College many years after. The gift is mentioned in the Society's Reports, but not the origin of it.

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French
Roman
Missions.

kinds. On the other hand, one of the gravest difficulties of the Mission arose from the rival efforts of Roman Catholic missionaries, mostly French, who set an example of courage and self-denial, but whose work was chiefly carried on by the free use of beads, images, and charms. One who came to Red River caused no little excitement by informing the people that forty Protestant clergymen in England had joined the true Church. It was the period of the Tractarian secessions, the echoes of which thus reached even to the wilderness of Rupert's Land.

New men.

Encouraged by the animating reports received year by year from Bishop Anderson, the Society sent several men to reinforce the Mission. In 1851, went out John Horden and C. Hillyer; in 1852, W. W. Kirkby and E. A. Watkins; in 1853, W. Stagg; in 1854, H. George; in 1856, C. B. Mayhew; in 1857, T. H. Fleming and J. P. Gardiner; in 1860, T. T. Smith; in 1864, R. Phair. Some of these went as lay schoolmasters, and were ordained by Bishop Anderson. Besides them, several men were engaged in the country. In 1854, an excellent Wesleyan missionary, W. Mason, who had been in Rupert's Land since 1840, joined the Church of England and the C.M.S. Mission, and received Anglican orders. Some were "country born," that is, the children of settlers but of mixed race. Such were Robert McDonald, ordained in 1852; T. Vincent and T. Cook, in 1860; J. A. Mackay, in 1862. And of pure (or almost pure) Indians, James Settee was ordained in 1853, Henry Cochrane in 1858, Henry Budd, junior, in 1860. The younger Budd we have before met at Islington College. He died, deeply lamented, after four years' faithful labour.

Clergy of
mixed race.

Hudson's
Bay Mis-
sion.

John Hor-
den.

The most important extension of the work during Bishop Anderson's earlier years in Rupert's Land was the opening of the Mission at Moose Factory, at the southernmost point of Hudson's Bay, eight hundred miles east of Red River; and the missionary sent out to this post proved to be one of the most efficient for his special work, and one of the most honoured in our home circles, in the whole list of C.M.S. missionaries. This was John Horden, a young schoolmaster at Exeter, who had taught himself Latin and Greek. He had been accepted by the Committee, but advised to continue his school until a suitable post offered for him. On May 10th, 1851, he received a letter from Mr. Venn, telling him that he was appointed to a new station on the shores of Hudson's Bay; that he must start within a month; and that it was desirable that he should go out married. The lady was already provided, so the marriage took place on May 25th. Three days afterwards they went to London, and on June 8th they sailed in the usual annual ship for Moose Factory, a companion vessel to the one that went each year to York Factory.

Moose
Factory.

There had been a Wesleyan Mission at Moose, but it had been relinquished a few years before; and the Hudson's Bay Company's employes, who were numerous at so central and important a

depôt, had applied to Bishop Anderson for a minister. Hence his request to the Society. Horden was unordained, and was sent out as a schoolmaster; and the Committee promised to send a clergyman soon, which they did in the following year, when the Rev. E. A. Watkins went out by the ship. When he arrived at Moose, the Bishop was there, having accomplished the long journey by lakes and rivers from Red River, and intending to take Horden back with him with a view to his reading for ordination. The Bishop, however, was so charmed with the work the young schoolmaster had done in eleven months, with his mental and spiritual qualifications and theological attainments, with his grip already of the Cree language, and with the love and devotion he had inspired among the people, that he ordained him then and there, first deacon and then presbyter; and arranged for Mr. Watkins to go to Fort George, a remote post on the eastern side of Hudson's Bay, where he would find not only Indians, but also a good many Eskimo.

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Horden
ordained.

Three years later, the Bishop again made the tedious journey to Moose, and Mr. and Mrs. Watkins came down to meet him. They had suffered much from scanty food and other privations, and had had access to but few Indians; while the Eskimo did not come so far south in any number. Watkins had appointed to see them at Little Whale River, the *ultima Thule* on the east side of Hudson's Bay; but when the time came to go thither, he could get no means of transport, either by land or by water. Encouraged, however, by the Bishop's sympathy and counsels he went back to his solitary post for two years more; after which, the Hudson's Bay Company abandoning the place, he was compelled to leave, and was afterwards transferred to Cumberland. Another attempt to reach the Eskimo was made by T. H. Fleming in 1859. He walked on snow-shoes five hundred miles in twenty days, sleeping in the snow every night. This walk brought him to Great Whale River, and from thence a sledge drawn by nine Eskimo dogs took him to Little Whale River. There he met 350 Eskimo, in small companies as they came and went; taught some of them to read the syllabic character, and left with them little rolls containing the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and some texts like St. John iii. 16.

Watkins
and the
Eskimo.

Fleming
and the
Eskimo.

Meanwhile, Horden had repeatedly travelled over the whole of his great district, extending two and three hundred miles eastward and southward and westward, and had brought many hundreds of Indians into the visible Church of Christ. He wrote home enthusiastically of the spiritual blessing that accompanied the Bishop's visits; while the Bishop wrote not less enthusiastically of him and his work. Horden's graphic letters, published in the C.M.S. periodicals, soon made his name familiar to their readers; and for many years there were no contributions more eagerly looked for.

Horden's
success.

In 1854, another Hudson's Bay station was opened. This was

PART VI. York Factory, the chief port of the whole vast territories of
 1849-61. Rupert's Land, where West had landed in 1822, and the Bishop
 Chap. 50. in 1849. Here was stationed William Mason, the Wesleyan
 York Fac- missionary just admitted to English orders. From York it was
 tory. possible to reach Severn and Trout Lake in the interior of the
 country, and Churchill, two hundred miles to the north, the
 furthest post on the western side of Hudson's Bay. In 1862,
 Albany. Churchill was proposed as a regular station, and J. P. Gardiner
 was sent there; but he only stayed a short time. Albany, another
 station on Hudson's Bay, a hundred miles from Moose, was
 begun by the native clergyman, the Rev. T. Vincent.

In 1854, the Bishop appointed the veteran William Cockran,
 and James Hunter, Archdeacons; and no two missionaries have
 better deserved the distinction. In the same year Hunter took
 his furlough to England, and spoke at the Annual Meeting of
 1855, the first representative of the North-West America Mission
 who had thus appeared. Two years later, in 1857, it had another
 representative, in the person of the Bishop himself. In our Forty-
 fifth Chapter it was mentioned that in that memorable year, when
 no one dreamed that on the very Sunday following the Anniversary
 the great Indian Mutiny would break out, China and North-West
 America were the leading topics. Both mission-fields were repre-
 sented by their bishops. George Smith and David Anderson, who
 together had been consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral in May,
 1849, stood together on the Exeter Hall platform in May, 1857.
 Let us read two fragments of Anderson's speech:—

Bishop
 Anderson
 at Exeter
 Hall.

“Our spheres of labour are very different. China is a country scarcely
 opened, just being broken up. Ours is a country which has been opened
 so far that, though we cannot penetrate into the thousands and thou-
 sands of miles that are opened to our view, yet a certain distance has
 been traversed, and it is well for us to guard the lines, as in military
 affairs is often the custom. I think our lines of defence are growing.
 There is one line along the shores of James's Bay and Hudson's Bay, in
 which there is a fringe of light. It happens that two bells are going out
 by different ships, to be placed in churches there, and there will be
 Sabbath-bells along the shore; which will be, as it were, beacon lights,
 not to warn the mariner from earthly danger, but to remind the soul of
 the promise from above. They are for two remarkable stations, Moose
 and York, each of which is the centre of many others, which are in the
 hands of good and faithful men. There is another line of defence along
 the British frontier, between us and the United States, and we desire to
 strengthen that line more and more. Our noble President has spoken of
 the highway of the East. That to which I have referred I sometimes
 call the highway of the West: for if there is to be a communication
 between Canada and the British Pacific, it will go exactly along that line.
 That line is being gradually strengthened, not with bulwarks of earth,
 but with church after church, so as to mark the British boundary from
 the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, stretching westwards as far as we are
 permitted to go; and I trust we shall advance until we penetrate
 towards the Rocky Mountains, and gain the sea beyond. . . .

A prophecy

“I am happy in the possession of an excellent band of clergy. I have the
 paternal, the daily and hourly care for the Indians, of Archdeacon

Cockran—a name known to all of you who are conversant with the missionary records for more than thirty years. I have the translationary power and abilities of Archdeacon Hunter. I have the faithful simplicity of Cowley and Mason. I have the affectionate tenderness for the orphan, of Mr. and Mrs. Stagg. I have the versatility, and self-reliance and ready resources of Mr. Horden.”

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Within a month of delivering this speech, Bishop Anderson started on his return journey, and reached Red River in October. Archdeacon Cockran had now retired to Portage la Prairie, a small settlement sixty miles west of Red River, on the Assiniboine, where he lived until, in 1865, he finished his course of forty years' unbroken service. Archdeacon Hunter, soon after the Bishop's return, planned a new and important extension. Hitherto the Mission had only touched the great Algonquin nation of Indians, comprising the Crées, Sotos, &c., inhabiting the vast basin of the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay. Beyond the northern boundary of that basin lay the still vaster basin of the mighty Mackenzie River, which flows into the Polar Sea; and that immense territory is the home of another great nation or family of Indians, the Tinné, comprising the Chipewyans,* the Tukudh, and other tribes. Chipewyans had been met by Mr. Hunt at English River, which almost marks the boundary line, the watershed being only a little north of it; but hitherto no Mission had been established among them. The Roman Catholics were already preparing to advance, and had obtained leave from the Hudson's Bay Company to settle at two important centres, Athabasca Lake and Great Slave Lake, with liberty to travel thither by the Company's "brigades," i.e. canoes and dog-trains. Bishop Anderson did not want to interfere with them, but to occupy other centres not yet bespoken; so it was proposed to pass on beyond these, and carry the pure Gospel to the Mackenzie River. To do this, Archdeacon Hunter now set his face towards the North.†

New ex-
tension
northward.

Tinné
tribes.

On June 6th in the year 1858—that *annus mirabilis* before spoken of, which saw so many events that have affected all subsequent missionary history—Hunter started from Red River by one of the Company's "brigades," having secured the Governor's sanction. The travelling party comprised forty-four men; and among them were five French priests going to occupy the posts bespoken by them, while the crews of the five boats were chiefly Romanist. But the Company's agents at the various "forts" or "factories" passed proved to be Protestants, who gave Hunter a hearty welcome. In due course the brigade reached the

Hunter
starts for
the North.

* Not to be confounded with the Chippeways or Ojibbeways, who belong to the Algonquin nation.

† It was about this time that a Select Committee of the House of Commons collected important evidence regarding the Hudson's Bay Company and its territories. Sir George Simpson, the Governor, stated that there were thirty-six mission stations in them, viz., nineteen of the Church of England, twelve Roman Catholic, four Wesleyan, and one Presbyterian. (*C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1858.)

PART VI. watershed at Portage la Loche, and there handed over passengers
1849-61. and goods to another brigade. A descent was now made to the
Chap. 50. Athabasca River, down which they went to Athabasca Lake, on
which stands Fort Chipewyan. There the Peace River flows in
from the west, and the united streams form the Slave River, down
which they proceeded to Great Slave Lake. Crossing that vast
sheet of water, they entered the mighty Mackenzie itself, and
following its course reached Fort Simpson, the capital of the Far
North (if a village of log-houses may be so called), more than
2000 miles travelling distance from Red River, on August 16th,
two months and ten days from the date of starting.*

A journey
of 2000
miles.

Hunter on
the Mac-
kenzie.

Hunter remained in the Far North through the following winter, generally at Fort Simpson; but he paid visits to Fort Liard, on the Liard River, and to Forts Norman and Good Hope, lower down the Mackenzie. He had much promising intercourse with the Slavi Indians, to whom the Gospel was news indeed, and nine of whom were baptized; and he saw some of the Tukudh tribe, who in after years were to present so striking an illustration of the simple reception of the truth of God. He also solemnly received into the Church of England the only one of the Company's agents in those territories who up to that time had been a Roman Catholic. This gentleman came spontaneously to Hunter, his faith in the Roman system having been shaken by what he had seen of Roman Missions. In the following summer the Archdeacon returned to Red River, and Mr. Kirkby, having been selected to go and occupy the Mackenzie District permanently, proceeded thither with his wife and family. Although Fort Simpson is in a much higher latitude than the Hudson's Bay stations, it is less severe in climate. The masses of ice that come from the Polar Regions down Davis's Strait produce a low temperature in and around Hudson's Bay which is not exceeded much further north in more westerly longitudes. While at Churchill or the Whale Rivers all is desolation, barley grows well at Fort Simpson. Moose Fort is in nearly the same latitude as London, but the isothermal line which passes Moose is in Europe some distance north of North Cape.

Kirkby
within the
Arctic
Circle.

Kirkby's journeys were much more extensive. By him the Gospel was carried for the first time within the Arctic Circle. He descended the Mackenzie nearly to the Polar Sea, seeing the sun shining (it was June) all through the twenty-four hours, and describing a complete circle in the heavens, which made him glad of the shade afforded by the enormous masses of ice. Then he ascended the northernmost western tributary of the Mackenzie, the Peel River, to Fort McPherson; and thence crossed the Rocky Mountains to La Pierre's House. At this remote station he was in the midst of the interesting Tukudh or Loucheux or Kutchin

Tukudh
Indians.

* Archdeacon Hunter's very graphic diary of this journey appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, October, and November, 1859.

Indians (all three names are used), who received him with a warmth that was unexpected, for their reputation was not good. The chief medicine-man renounced his "curious arts" in the presence of all; and murder, infanticide (a very common crime), and polygamy, were publicly confessed and solemnly abandoned. From La Pierre's House Kirkby descended the West Rat River into the Porcupine River, and the Porcupine River, past Rampart House, into the mighty Yukon, the great river of Alaska, which falls into Behring's Straits. He arrived at Fort Yukon, then the furthest outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, on July 6th, 1861. Not till seven years later did more accurate observations show that this Fort was over the boundary line of 141° west longitude, and therefore within the United States territory of Alaska.

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On the
Yukon.

On these journeys Kirkby found many evidences of the influence previously gained by the French Roman missionaries. Little crucifixes, beads, amulets, medals, pictures, abounded. Let us just read the inscription under a widely-distributed picture of the Lord's Mother, accompanying instructions to pray to her for pardon and grace:—

Romish
methods.

"Véritable portrait de la très Vierge Marie, mère de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, d'après le portrait peint par St. Luc Evangeliste. Des grâces sans nombre sont attachées à cette image."

But the power of the Holy Ghost accompanied the simple words of Divine Truth spoken by Mr. Kirkby: consciences were touched, sins forsaken, and faith expressed in the one, only, and all-sufficient Saviour. The encouragement thus afforded led him to make the long journey a second time in the following year, 1862; and on his return to Fort Simpson after this journey he found that a colleague had arrived from the south. This was Robert McDonald, a country-born missionary trained at Bishop Anderson's collegiate school at Red River, and a highly-distinguished student there. He was ordained by Anderson in 1852, and had been in charge of Islington station for nine years. Thus appeared on the scene the future Archdeacon of Mackenzie River, and the translator of the Scriptures and the Prayer-book into the Tukudh language.

Robert
McDonald.

At this point we may conveniently pause to glance at the important translational work which had been done in the Red Indian languages. Archdeacon Hunter had been especially zealous in this essential department of missionary operations, and he had been much assisted by Henry Budd when the two were together at Cumberland. Before Bishop Anderson came they had translated parts of the New Testament into Cree, and also considerable portions of the Prayer-book, including the Services for Baptism, Confirmation, Communion, Marriage, Churching, and Burial,—services which were found of the greatest practical use in teaching the people the true meaning of these various rites. When Hunter

Work of
translation

failed, and a few days after the last sheet was corrected she entered into rest. PART VI.
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This syllabic system, however, was not adopted by the missionaries further west. They admitted its suitability to some languages, but not to all. Mr. Hunt invented a different and much more elaborate and complete system, and his subsequent years at home were largely devoted to the promotion of it; but it never secured wide adoption. Hunter always advocated the use of the Roman alphabet with all its disadvantages; and the majority of the Indian languages have been reduced to writing in that form. But there is no doubt of the success of the Syllabic Bible in the Hudson's Bay district.

Hunt's
system.

On January 6th, 1860, Bishop Anderson delivered a most interesting and inspiring charge to such of the clergy as could, by a reasonable amount of travelling, gather at Red River. He referred to the deep interest of his visit to England, where he again and again (he says) spoke at the same meetings as Bishop Smith, and where he assisted at the consecration of a companion of his early youth, A. C. Tait, to the Bishopric of London. He noticed sympathetically the revivals in America and Ireland, and welcomed the invitation to world-wide united prayer—which was duly observed at Red River in the following week. He called attention to the fact that Church organization was spreading over the American Continent. His own diocese of Rupert's Land had now the new diocese of Huron on the east, the new diocese of Columbia on the west, and the new diocese of Minnesota, just over the United States boundary, on the south. Yet these had not diminished the enormous area of Rupert's Land; and the Church within it had not yet extended to the borders of the diocese. Moose, 800 miles to the east, and Fort Simpson, 2000 miles to the north, were occupied; but Ungava Bay (Hudson's Strait), the Arctic Ocean, and the Rocky Mountains were still "limits rather for the eye and the imagination to rest upon, than possible to be overtaken by any amount of personal labour." "At the heart and centre," continued the Bishop, "we remain very isolated; we are still the oasis in the wilderness. After repeated efforts, the difficulty is found to be great to bridge over the intervening distance on each side—to throw out branches which may connect us with our neighbours in Canada and Columbia, and make us to be, in something more than name, the highway of the west."

Charge of
Bishop
Anderson.

New dioc-
eses
around,
but Ru-
pert's Land
still
isolated.

This last sentence may well turn our attention to the external and political circumstances of Rupert's Land at this time. There were already signs that the "oasis in the wilderness" would not long remain one. From the days of Charles II. the Hudson's Bay Company had had exclusive rights of trading over the vast territories watered by all streams flowing into Hudson's Bay, which gave them command of the whole country from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, and from the United States boundary to English River; while the more northern basin of the Mackenzie,

Political
circum-
stances of
Rupert's
Land.

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A closed
country
about to
open.

being only accessible through their territory, was practically theirs also. There were no ordinary colonists; and the Red River Settlement, formed by the Earl of Selkirk in 1811, was the only place with any white population other than their own employés. And as the only effective access into this vast domain was by their annual ships to York and Moose Forts, and this by a navigation only open for three months in the summer, it was not difficult to keep the country to themselves. But there was now a tendency to enter the land by two new routes. First, the Canadians, tired of clearing their dense forests, looked enviously at the open prairies of the Saskatchewan plains, and were beginning to consider the possibility of making a road to Red River from Lake Superior, through a country then scarcely touched. Secondly, the population of the United States was extending in a north-westerly direction, and Minnesota was receiving many settlers; and some of these settlers, who wanted to reach the newly-discovered goldfields of British Columbia, perceived that their easiest way was northward down the Red River and then westward across the Plains.

In view of the latter channel of migration, it was becoming important that the Hudson's Bay territories should be brought in closer touch with England and with Canada; otherwise colonists pouring in from the States by the Minnesota route might presently annex themselves and their new country to the States. The Canadian Government organized an expedition to explore the whole territory in 1857-8, and the geologist of the expedition, Professor Hind, published a valuable narrative of their travels and inquiries. The Pacific coast of British America had already been made a Crown Colony, by the name of British Columbia; why should not the same be done with Rupert's Land, or it be annexed to Canada? Bishop Anderson, in his Charge, expressed the hope that as the Conservative Colonial Secretary, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, had done the former, the new Liberal Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, would do the latter. This, however, was not to be yet; the Hudson's Bay Company not unnaturally objecting to being absorbed. Moreover, the Company's Governor, Sir George Simpson, declared that to make a road from Lake Superior to Red River, though only 400 miles, was impossible "unless the Bank of England were expended." But meanwhile, the Company's charter was modified, and free trade introduced. Moreover, men who could look into the future perceived that one day there must and would be railway communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific; and all expert opinion said that a trans-continental railway on the United States side of the boundary was almost impracticable from the nature of the country, or if made would attract no passengers, while such a line could easily be made across the fertile Saskatchewan Plains, and would draw to them a large population. In the event, as we know, the American Pacific line was made long before the Canadian one; but it is

Free trade.

Future
railways.

interesting to see how Mr. Ridgeway in the *C.M. Intelligencer* cited the researches and opinions of Professor Hind's expedition to show the urgent importance of evangelizing the Indians before the expected tide of emigration flowed in :*—

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"There must," he said, "be an influx of population from some quarter. It will be fraught with danger to the Indian; but we cannot prevent it if we would. We must endeavour to prepare him as we best can for the changes that await him. By the invigorating action of Christianity, he may be strengthened and sustained, so as to be enabled to hold his ground in the presence of the white man. To endue the Indian tribes with this conservative element, we must labour diligently, and with increasing effort, for the time is short."

Reach the
Indians
while there
is time.

The time was indeed short. In the next year or two, traders and settlers from the United States began to come in, and Fort Garry, the Upper Settlement on Red River (now the city of Winnipeg), became an emporium for the "fire-water" which the Company had hitherto kept from the Red Man. A service of huge wooden carts was organized between the rising city of St. Paul's in Minnesota and Fort Garry, and on one journey they brought in 8000 gallons of whiskey. From all the nearer stations came sad news of the rum and whiskey sellers visiting them, and tempting the Indians to drunkenness. The Christian chiefs, however, for the most part stood firm; and at Cumberland they all signed a mutual agreement not to sell their furs for drink. Here and there total abstinence societies were formed; but despite all efforts, the drink habits increased, and threatened the ruin of the whole nation. Some years had to pass before, as we shall see hereafter, wise measures arrested the curse.

Whiskey
comes in
from the
United
States.

But while the Church Missionary Society was eager to evangelize the still Heathen Indians, and also to provide pastoral ministrations at those remoter stations where they could be provided in no other way, the Committee now wished a beginning to be made, at the older centres, in the direction of self-support—that is, of course, support of religious ordinances. It was the period of Henry Venn's strenuous efforts to promote Native Church organizations in Africa and India; and in colonized countries like New Zealand and Rupert's Land the work, it was felt, must gradually be thrown on to the Colonial Church. The Red River congregations, except at the Indian Settlement, were almost entirely half-breed; and these it was proposed to throw upon their own resources, and to exhort them also to take a share in providing for the Indian Mission. In view of the perils attaching to the advancing tide of emigration, the Committee, after full consideration, in 1862, determined "to maintain the North-West America Mission upon its present scale; but," they continued, "they respectfully urge upon the Bishop and clergy of the diocese, and upon all their missionaries, the duty of placing

C.M.S.
proposes
self-sup-
port on
Red River.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1858, May, 1860, May, 1861.

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the Native Church upon a footing which may secure its permanency with the smallest possible amount of contributions from abroad." In that very year, a missionary meeting at St. Andrew's was so stirred by the news of Kirkby's journey to the Yukon above referred to, that a young half-breed catechist offered to go to his aid, and the congregation proposed to raise the funds to send him. The young man was Robert McDonald, already mentioned, the future Archdeacon of Mackenzie. And in the next year the Bishop ordained another of the same class of men, J. A. Mackay. "If," wrote the Bishop to the Society, "it will be a long time before we are self-supporting, are we not beginning to be *self-supplying*?"

Although we have now come to the date at which the present section of our History ends, we must bring Bishop Anderson home after his fifteen years' episcopate. He left for England in 1864. At the beginning of that year he had sent the Society an encouraging report, speaking thankfully and appreciatively of the work at all the stations. Archdeacon Hunter was at St. Andrew's (but he came home the following year), and Cowley at the Indian Settlement, with an Indian clergyman, Henry Cochrane, assisting him. A new missionary, Robert Phair, was in charge of Lansdowne and Islington. The old veteran, Archdeacon Cockran, was still at Portage la Prairie, but he died soon after the Bishop left; and close by, at Westbourne, was H. George. At Fort Pelly, the excellent Native clergyman, James Settee, was stationed; and at Fairford, W. Stagg. These two, Indian and Englishman, had made an important journey to the Western Plains to see if a Mission were practicable; but the incessant fighting between the Crees and the Blackfeet had driven them back. The important chief station of Cumberland was now under the charge of the Native (Indian half-breed) clergyman, J. A. Mackay; Watkins having returned to England in ill-health, through the great privations he had endured on the Hudson's Bay coast, and the almost starved condition in which he had passed one winter at Cumberland, owing to the loss of the annual ship depriving him of two things—gunpowder and twine!—without which he could neither shoot birds nor catch fish. At Nepowewin was Henry Budd, senior, mourning over the deaths, within a few weeks, of his wife, his daughter, and the son whose brief ministry had been so promising. From English River Robert Hunt had returned to England, broken down by the hard life he had lived uninterruptedly for more than twelve years; and T. T. Smith was now in charge, and finding his knowledge of the Welsh language a help in mastering that of the Chipewyans. Kirkby and McDonald were in the Far North; and on the Hudson's Bay coast there were Mason at York, Horden at Moose, and the Native clergyman, T. Vincent, at Albany. Altogether there were over 5000 Indian Christians, of whom 1000 were communicants. "I have no hesitation," wrote the Bishop, "in stating that the

Bishop
Anderson
returns to
England.

The mis-
sionaries
in 1864.

And the
Native
Christians.

accounts from the distant parts are more favourable than I have ever yet received at one time. Oh for the Spirit of the living God in richer effusion to rule the tongue, the heart, and the life!"

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More than once in this chapter the North-West America Mission has been contrasted with the China Mission. The contrast was often drawn, not to the advantage of North-West America, in the period we have been reviewing. In those days the Rupert's Land missionaries were more numerous than the China missionaries, and the expenditure on the former work was double that on the latter work. And yet the whole Red Indian race would scarcely people a large Chinese city. Not unnaturally, the China missionaries complained; and so did some friends at home. In the Report of 1859 Henry Venn replied to these complaints. Besides noticing the fact that the Rupert's Land Mission had been undertaken long before China was open, he dwelt upon the significant use which the Lord Himself had made of it. Nowhere had the Gospel had a harder test of its power. Wandering tribes and families scattered over an enormous area—how were they to be reached? how taught? how watched over? And yet nowhere had the power of the Gospel been more strikingly illustrated. "The fruits of the Spirit," said Venn, "have been very brightly exhibited in many of the Red Indian converts." As ignorant as the most degraded of Africans, as cruel by nature as the fiercest New Zealanders, they had been led by Divine grace to "receive with meekness the engrafted word," and their simple faith had again and again been touchingly manifested. And God had used these cases, just because of their simplicity, to touch hearts at home. They, and similar cases in New Zealand, "had been, under God, *the chief materials in kindling that flame of missionary zeal which now happily takes a wider range.*" Exactly so; and so it has been over and over again in later days. No stories have interested missionary meetings like Red Indian stories. No deputations have been so attractive as the missionaries from the Far North. And then the great dark world reaps the benefit.

Rupert's
Land r.
China.

Venn de-
fends the
N. W. A.
Missions

Then, in the following year, Venn submitted another consideration:—"The Indians are now only the *remains* of nations; but they are *living remains*; and if it has been justly esteemed an enterprise worth much sacrifice of treasure and life to search through these very regions for the unburied bones of Franklin and his brave companions, surely the Church of Christ cannot refuse to send forth its messengers to search out, and to bring to life everlasting, remnants of tribes dead in trespasses and sins, yet inviting us by a living voice to go over and help them."

"Living
remains."

It is certainly remarkable that the "Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East" should have found one of its most interesting and fruitful fields in the Far North-West. When the Society was started, British America was avowedly excluded from

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its purview because the S.P.G. had its principal work there ; but the founders never thought of the vast territories two thousand miles beyond the S.P.G. sphere (as it was then) in Canada Proper. The C.M.S. was led thither, not by its own choice, but, as to every other field it has occupied, by what seemed plain indications of the leading of Divine Providence. But no one dreamed a century ago, or even half a century ago, that the day would come when the Society would be spending £20,000 a year in British America ; while the S.P.G., so far from being interfered with, would also be rendering substantial help in the Great Lone Land. The result is that the one "lost sheep" (as the Red Indians are in comparison with the vast populations of Asia and Africa) has again and again been brought home by the shepherd "on his shoulders, rejoicing"; and Asia and Africa are the richer for the sympathy of those who "rejoice with him."

part VII.

VENN'S LAST DECADE:
1862-1872.

NOTE ON PART VII.

THE remark made in the Note prefixed to Part VI. applies to this Part also. It would have been better if a somewhat shorter period had been included in it. The fact, little known but very important, that the years 1865-72 were a time, not only of depression, but actually of retrogression, would have come out more clearly. Let it be emphasized here, however, that in 1872 the Society had actually twelve men *less* on the roll than in 1865. The careful reader of these chapters will find why it was so.

The first two chapters of this Part also are devoted to the Environment. The "High" and "Low" movements are not taken separately, however, as they were in Part VI. One chapter is occupied with the controversies of the period, and the other with Church and Home Mission developments. Then Chaps. LIII. and LIV. give us, as in previous parts, the *personnel* and inner history of the Society; the account of the candidates in Chap. LIV. leading up to the establishment of the Day of Intercession. The story of Mr. Knott in this chapter is one of the most important episodes in the whole History.

Chap. LV., on Native Church Organization, is complementary to Chap. XXXVIII. in the preceding Part. The next twelve chapters again take us round the Mission-field. First, West Africa, telling, on the one hand, of the discouragements and repulses everywhere (LVI.), and, on the other hand, of Bishop Crowther's work on the Niger (LVII.); then Mauritius, and the short-lived Mission in Madagascar (LVIII.); then five chapters on India. Of these five, four are arranged neither geographically nor chronologically, but topically, introducing us to the great Anglo-Indians of the period (LIX.), to the Brahmo Samaj and similar movements (LX.), and to the varied missionary methods and agencies (LXI.), and commemorating the noble missionaries who died in the period (LXII.); while the fifth (LXIII.), on the Punjab, is notable for its narratives of converts from Islam. In China (LXIV.) we have advances, and the advent of the China Inland Mission, amid exceptional trials and difficulties. Then the opening of Japan (LXV.), extension in Rupert's Land, the establishment of Metlakahla (LXVI.), follow in succession; and, lastly, comes a full account (LXVII.) of the dark period of war in New Zealand. Some controversies about bishoprics occur in the China and Madagascar chapters.

The last chapter of the Part, LXVIII., winds up the history of the period with a sketch of Henry Venn's latter days, closing with his death.

CHAPTER LI.

AN ANXIOUS PERIOD : IN THE SOCIETY, AND IN THE CHURCH.

Contrast between the last Period and this one—Discouragements in the Missions—Deaths—"A Failing Treasury and a Scanty Supply of Men"—Where were the Fruits of the Revival Movement of 1856-60?—Controversies of the Period—Church and Dissent—Public Calamities—The Rationalistic Controversy: "Essays and Reviews"; Tait's Unpopularity; Shaftesbury and Pusey—Attitude of C.M.S.: Ryle and Boyd at St. Bride's; McNeile and Tait at Exeter Hall—Other Broad Church Books—Evangelical Mistrust—"Intelligencer" Articles—Bishop Temple—The Ritual Controversy—Ritual and Doctrine—E.C.U. and Church Association—Convocation and Parliament—The Ritual Commission—Attitude of C.M.S.: Mee and Venn—The Bennett Judgment—How is it that C.M.S. has survived?

"Perilous times."—2 Tim. iii. 1.

"Behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed."—Exod. iii. 2.

"Behold, an host compassed the city. . . . Alas, my master, how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them."—2 Kings vi. 15, 16.



N passing from our last period, 1849—1861, to the period now to be reviewed, and taking a general survey of the two periods, we cannot but be struck with the contrast between them. The former period we have seen to be one of remarkable progress and promise. The latter we shall find to be one of comparatively slow advance, of much anxiety and apprehension, of not a little disappointment. The former period was marked by the commencement of certainly fourteen new Missions: in the latter we shall have only to record the opening of four, viz., Madagascar, Kashmir, Peking, and Japan; and two of these were not persevered in. Moreover, we find in this period the Yoruba Mission almost broken up; the bright hopes at Constantinople blighted; the East African slave-trade rampant, while the Mission is neglected; some Missions in India and China almost standing still for lack of men; and the New Zealand Church nearly destroyed by war and apostasy. On the other hand, the Fuh-kien Mission and Metlakahtla are new stars in the missionary firmament; the Santal Mission is rising above the horizon; Tinnevely continues to shine brightly; and above all, a successful start is made in the independent life of Native Churches and Native Missions, at Sierra Leone and on the Niger.

Further, we shall find the period marked by the deaths of several of the greatest missionaries and of other valued leaders.

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 51.

Why an
anxious
period for
C.M.S.

Missions
discouraging.

Deaths.

PART VII. A decade in which such missionaries were taken from us as 1862-72. Bishop George Smith, Archdeacons Cockran and Kissling and Henry Williams, Dr. Pfander, Robert Noble, Joseph Peet, Chap. 51.

John Thomas, J. T. Tucker, P. P. Schaffter, Andrews, Hawksworth, Henry Baker, sen., George Parsons, T. Sandys, J. W. Knott, and Dr. Elmslie, is a marked period indeed; and going outside the C.M.S. roll, we have to add Bishops Cotton and Patteson, and Archdeacon Pratt, all falling at their posts. And at home the Society lost two Vice-Patrons, Archbishops Sumner and Longley; four Lay Secretaries, General Browne, Major Straith, Colonel Dawes, and Mr. Holl; such advocates and fellow-workers as Bishop Villiers, Dean Goode, Hugh Stowell, H. V. Elliott, Charles Hodgson, and Sir Herbert Edwardes; and such supporters through long years as Sir T. Dyke Acland, and Dr. MacBride, Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford; while the period closed with the death of Henry Venn himself.

Failing
supply of
men.

Again, the period was notable for a serious falling-off in the supply of men. We have seen that in the previous period, 246 new names came on to the roll, and that of these no less than 62 were of University graduates. In the period now before us, the new names only numbered 159, and only 23 of these were of University men; and although it is true that this period only comprises eleven years, as against thirteen years, the falling-off is but to a slight extent thus accounted for. Viewing the figures in another way, and taking the actual number on the roll at the beginning and end of the two periods, we find that while in the first period the total number of missionaries, clergymen, laymen, and women (not including wives), rose from 168 to 237, in the second period it actually receded to 230. The Society had ceased to send out Basle men; and the only increases were that Islington supplied 88 Englishmen against 72 in the former period, and that 18 women were sent out as against 17. Of University men, Oxford sent 6, against 12 in the former period; Cambridge, 14 against 35; Dublin, 3 against 14; and even such names as Knott and Vines, Arden and Gordon, Jukes and Ensor, and the brothers Squires (to mention only such as are not still in the field), make up but a little band alongside the long list of first-class men belonging to the former period; while of the whole twenty-two, only three, J. H. Bishop, R. Bateman, and M. G. Goldsmith, are still labouring. In the Report of 1872, the Committee had the painful duty of stating, for the first time for many years, that not one single University man had offered for missionary service; while at the same time Islington College was only half full. It was indeed high time for a Day of Intercession for Men; and it was in that very year that the Day was instituted.

Slow in-
crease of
funds.

Then as regards funds, the contrast between the two periods is equally marked. The average Ordinary Income rose during the former period from £94,000 to £127,000, an increase of £33,000; while in the latter period it rose to £150,000, an increase of only

£23,000. Moreover, in the former, there were the Jubilee Fund, the Special India Fund (after the Mutiny), and one Deficiency Fund, amounting together to £133,000; while in the latter there was one Deficiency Fund of £14,000, and nothing else of this kind except gifts from two individuals for Japan. The now numerous Appropriated and Special Contributions were almost unknown in those days.

In the face of all these striking facts, can we wonder that in the Report of 1872 the Committee were constrained to say openly that they had "to deplore a failing treasury and a scanty supply of candidates"?—and to add these ominous words, "Will the English Church listen to God's voice? If not, must not its candlestick be removed, and its light quenched in darkness?" Even earlier than this, in 1865, Henry Venn told the Islington Clerical Meeting that while "the extent and influence of Evangelical Truth in the Church had very largely increased," missionary zeal had distinctly "retrograded." Missionary Meetings, he said, "were less well-attended, and less interesting"; and the "warm sympathy and self-denying exertions" of earlier years had become "more rare of late."

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Diminished interest.

The question may naturally be asked, If there really was, in 1856-60, the commencement of a new Evangelical Movement in the country, as described in our Thirty-fourth Chapter, why is it that the results were not seen in the period now before us? What could have been the worth of such a movement if it was so soon succeeded by the Church Missionary Society having to report "a failing treasury and a scanty supply of candidates" for missionary work? In the highest places in the Church there were now, for the first time in two or three centuries, several representatives of Evangelical views and interests. In much less conspicuous quarters, fresh and active evangelistic and home mission agencies of every kind were now on foot; and a spirit of prayer, and of seeking to know more of the word and will of God, was abroad among extensive circles of unknown and unnoticed men and women. Yet where were the fruits?

Why was not the movement of 1856-60 more fruitful?

The answer to these questions is probably threefold. In the first place, the Evangelistic and Revival Movement was not heartily supported by the Evangelical clergy. Although a large proportion of the workers in it were Church people, they were not exclusively so, and therefore it was not generally worked "on Church lines." It might, unquestionably, have been guided and directed by the Evangelical clergy if they had thrown themselves into it; but this they failed to do, as a body. The Parochial Mission Movement, with which they did identify themselves to some extent, was later. That Movement, however, was, on its Evangelical side at least, a fruit of the seed sown by the earlier Revival Movement; and the men who were the most effective Parochial Missioners were men who had been connected with the Revival. But this does not belong to our present period.

Because not taken up by clergy.

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1862-72.
Chap. 51.

Because
occupied
with Home
Missions.

In the second place, the Evangelistic and Revival Movement did not at that time, nor for many years after, connect itself at all with the Foreign Missionary Enterprise. It was so absorbed with the ungodly masses of our home population, that the great dark Heathen World was forgotten; so much so that, for a time, it actually drew away the sympathies and energies of Christian people who had been ardent supporters of Missions, and though they did not cease to contribute money, their hearts were now rather in the urgent and overwhelming work close at hand. This was further fostered by the multiplication of all sorts of home agencies, of which the next chapter will speak. Nevertheless, it is the fact that the Revival Movement of 1859-61 did send up a large proportion of the candidates who did appear; and it sowed the seeds that sprang up long after in the enlarged missionary activity of recent years.

Because a
period of
contro-
versy.

In the third place, the period was one of passionate and bitter controversy; and such a time is never a time of missionary advance. Evangelical Churchmen, and in particular the Evangelical Bishops and other leaders, were engaged all through our period in incessant struggles with foes which for convenience may be shortly described as Rationalism, Ritualism, and Radicalism.

Contro-
versies
with Dis-
senter.

This last word is used for alliteration's sake, and without any desire to trench upon politics. It stands for movements which Evangelical Churchmen as a body undoubtedly regarded as inimical to true religion. Not Household Suffrage—though they did dread that, even when conferred by a Conservative Ministry in 1867; but the Liberation Society and the Birmingham Education League. The former body triumphed in the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Ireland in 1869, and fondly hoped to see the Church of England similarly dealt with within ten years at furthest. The latter body advocated secular education, and the exclusion of the Bible from State-aided schools; and after failing to mould Mr. Forster's great Education Bill of 1870 so as to give effect to this policy, it set to work to influence the School Boards, and actually succeeded in getting all religious teaching excluded from the Board Schools of Birmingham for several years.

Now these semi-political controversies created a great gulf between Evangelical Churchmen and Dissenters. The Bible Society, and other agencies similar in constitution, felt their effects immediately, and have felt them ever since; and so, to some extent, did the Evangelistic and Revival Movement. Lord Shaftesbury found, at the numerous meetings of non-denominational or inter-denominational agencies and institutions over which he was continually presiding, that it was dangerous to refer to the Bible, for fear of irritating some good Nonconformist minister who was going to speak, and who was probably identified with the Birmingham platform. Some loosening of the old ties, indeed, between Evangelical Churchmen and Dissenters had taken place earlier in our period, before the Disestablishment and Education

controversies. St. Bartholomew's Day, 1862, had been kept by the Nonconformist bodies as the bi-centenary of the exclusion of Baxter and other clergy from the National Church in the days of Charles II.; and the Evangelicals considered that the commemoration was marked by unfair attacks upon the Church. Two years later, Mr. Spurgeon had openly charged the Evangelical clergy with perjury, for subscribing to the Prayer-book, which, in his opinion, plainly taught the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

But it is more important to dwell upon the other controversies, with Rationalism and Ritualism, which became acute in the earlier years of our period.

Before turning to them, however, it may be well to note in passing that the period was one of much gloom in the outer world. It opened to find England in mourning for the Prince Consort, whose untold services to the nation only began to be realized when he was dead. It opened, too, to find England in deepest anxiety whether war with the United States could be avoided; and it was not till after the danger had passed away that the Prince Consort's share in averting it—the last exercise of his tranquillizing influence—was known to the country. But the Civil War within the States, which had already broken out, brought calamity to us as well as to them; and the Cotton Famine went near to ruining Lancashire. Then, in one year, 1866, came the political agitation that ensued on the death of Palmerston, the first outbreaks of Fenianism, the fall of Overend, Gurney, and Co., with the widespread financial distress that followed it, and the cholera visitation, which called forth so much heroic service among the stricken East Londoners—the service in which “the three Catherines” were conspicuous, Mrs. Tait, Mrs. Gladstone, and Miss Marsh. On the Continent, war after war brought havoc in its train: first Prussia and Denmark, then Prussia and Austria, and then the terrible Franco-German conflict and the overthrow of Napoleon III.; while the Œcumenical Council at Rome only committed the Papal Church to one more development of false doctrine by declaring the Infallibility of the Pope. The only great public events of the period that can be looked back upon with satisfaction are the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the opening of Rome to the Bible, the abolition of American slavery, and the growth of the material prosperity of England—generally, and justly, attributed to Mr. Gladstone's budgets.

Gloom in
public
affairs.

We now turn to the two great controversies within the Church. It was in 1860 that the Rationalistic controversy came to the front. Broad Church views, indeed, of one kind or another, were not new. Arnold of Rugby had represented one type; F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley represented another; and Maurice had been dismissed some years previously from his professorship at King's College on account of his published views regarding the

Rational-
istic Con-
troversy.

PART VII. eternity of future punishment. The sermons of F. W. Robertson
1862-72. of Brighton, again, represented another phase of the movement.
Chap. 51. Breadth, said John Cunningham in the *Christian Observer*,

"Essays
and
Reviews."

reviewing some works of Maurice and Jowett in 1855, was all very well; but what sort of breadth? "There is such a thing as the breadth of the bright, deep, flowing river, and there is the breadth of the shallow and corrupted marsh. We welcome the river, but we are afraid of the marsh." We have already seen how Dr. J. C. Miller, in his great C.M.S. Sermon in 1857, had denounced the teachings of this school as "another gospel—a gospel which must fail to enrich man, and which will bring no glory to God." But in 1860 appeared the famous volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*.

In that volume, seven prominent men, professors and others, while writing independently of one another, seemed virtually to have combined to throw doubts upon what everybody understood to be the teachings of the Bible and the Church of England. One writer attacked miracles, and another the first chapter of Genesis, while a third reproduced in an offensive form some of the most reckless of German criticisms on the Old Testament, and a fourth, no less a person than Professor Jowett, argued that the Bible should be interpreted "like any other book." The opening Essay, by Dr. F. Temple, Head Master of Rugby, was not regarded as seriously objectionable in itself; but he was gravely blamed for appearing in such company. One of the first journals to notice the book was the *Christian Observer*, which pointed out the serious questions involved in its publication. The article sent the number of that periodical for June, 1860, into the unwonted honour of a second edition; and in the following January a weighty indictment of the volume, written by Bishop Wilberforce, appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, while the rising flame of indignation in the Church was fanned by a singularly audacious defence of the Essayists by Dean Stanley in the *Edinburgh*. The Bishops issued a letter strongly condemning the work, Bishop Tait signing it as well as all the rest, although he incurred some obloquy by doing so, Temple and Jowett being his intimate personal friends, as also was Stanley. In due course two of the Essayists, Dr. Rowland Williams and the Rev. H. B. Wilson, were prosecuted in the Court of Arches, the former by the Bishop of Salisbury and the latter by a brother clergyman; and they were adjudged by the Dean of Arches, Dr. Lushington, to be guilty of heresy in denying the inspiration of Scripture and the eternity of future punishment. They appealed, however, to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which reversed the decision, and acquitted the two Essayists. This tribunal consisted of four law Lords, the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of London; and the two Archbishops (Longley of Canterbury and Thomson of York) declined to concur in the Judgment. Bishop Tait, therefore, stood before the Church as the one ecclesiastic

Action of
the bishops

Trial of
two Essay-
ists.

who refrained from judicially condemning the *Septem contra Christum*, as the seven Essayists were called by the less dignified of the religious newspapers; and a tremendous outcry instantly arose against him. High and Low Church united in expressions of indignant protest. Seven distinguished Oxford men, including Dr. Pusey and Archdeacon Denison on one side, and W. R. Fremantle and Dr. J. C. Miller on the other, drew up a declaration, to the effect that "the whole Catholic Church maintains without reserve or qualification the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as *not only containing, but being*, the Word of God, and further teaches, in the words of our blessed Lord, that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed,' equally with the 'life' of the 'righteous,' is 'everlasting.'"^{*} In a few weeks this declaration was signed by 11,000 clergymen; and another was signed by 137,000 laymen. The Convocation of Canterbury, which had deferred a formal decision pending the legal trial, now by large majorities, and despite the strenuous opposition of Dean Stanley—he had just become Dean of Westminster,—promulgated a "synodical condemnation" of "the book called *Essays and Reviews*."

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Protests of
clergy and
laity.

The temporary alliance between the two Church parties that had been so strongly opposed to each other was initiated by a remarkable letter written by Dr. Pusey to the *Record* (February 17th, 1864) immediately after the acquittal of the two Essayists—"an admirable and faithful letter," the editor called it. On seeing this, Lord Shaftesbury wrote to Pusey, who was his cousin, in warm response:—

Pusey and
the Evan-
gelicals.

"We have to struggle," he said, "not for Apostolical Succession or Baptismal Regeneration, but for the very Atonement itself, for the sole hope of fallen man, the vicarious sacrifice of the Cross. For God's sake let all who love our blessed Lord and His perfect Word be of one heart, one mind, one action on this great issue, and show that, despite our wanderings, our doubts, our contentions, we may yet be one in Him."

Pusey replied as warmly:—

"I have ever loved the (to use the term) Evangelical party (even while they blamed me), because I believed that they loved our Redeeming Lord with their whole hearts. So now I am one heart and one mind with those who will contend for our common faith against this tide of unbelief."[†]

^{*} A curious and interesting account of the framing of this Declaration is given in the *Life of Dr. Pusey*, vol. iv. p. 54.

[†] *Life of Dr. Pusey*, vol. iv. p. 51; also *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. p. 167. A few years later, in 1871, Lord Shaftesbury, stirred up by the shocking murder of the Roman Archbishop of Paris in the days of the Commune, approached Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Manning with words of sympathy and of a desire for "combination to withstand the torrent of blasphemy and crime." "Can we not," he said, "go thus far together, to press on the minds of all our people in London that there is a Creator, a Redeemer, and a judgment to come?" Dr. Manning replied with effusive warmth; but the illness of Lord Shaftesbury's daughter, and his absence from England with her, prevented any practical action being taken. (*Life*, p. 288.)

PART VII. It is noteworthy, however, that Henry Venn, who usually was
 1862-72. so much more ready to unite with opponents, when necessary,
 Chap. 51. than were many of his friends, did not approve this alliance, and
 would not sign the combined declaration. "Surely," he said, "a
 joint signature implies that the difference between the signers is as
 nothing compared with the difference between the other party
 and themselves. This I cannot allow."*

Venn
stands
aloof.

"C.M.
Intelli-
gencer" on
the Essays.

J. C. Ryle's
Sermon.

Boyd's
Sermon.

Not that Venn was at all disposed to minimize the errors of the Essayists. Indeed, the C.M.S. leaders generally were not slow to perceive that the teaching of the Essays struck at the root of the missionary enterprise. At the very commencement of the agitation, in the *Intelligencer* of December, 1860, Mr. Ridgeway, taking the Parable of the Sower for his text, pointed out that, however varied the soil might be in Heathen lands all round the world, the seed must always be the same, "the Word of God"; and that this divine "seed" the Essayists would take from us. It is observable that the Essay which he specially singled out for animadversion was Dr. Temple's, because it seemed to give "natural religions" a place alongside the Bible in "the Education of the World," and thus appeared to render Missions almost superfluous. No one then dreamed that the writer of that Essay would one day, as Archbishop of Canterbury, prove to be one of the most ardent and cogent of missionary advocates! Naturally, too, the preachers at St. Bride's at this time were constrained to refer to the great current controversy. In 1862, J. C. Ryle occupied the pulpit; and his sermon is one of those perfectly plain, terse, incisive addresses with which the whole Church of England has since become so familiar. St. Paul at Athens was his subject; his heads were (1) "What St. Paul saw," (2) "felt," (3) "did, at Athens"; and it is needless to say how easy the application was to the "broad" views that were becoming fashionable. If the most learned and cultured city in the world was "full of idols," what a proof of the absolute need of a Divine revelation! If St. Paul's spirit was "stirred within him," not with admiration for the beauty of temples and statues, but with compassion for the idolaters and zeal for their conversion, what should be our attitude towards the non-Christian world? And if the Apostle—so far from confining his teaching at Athens to "natural theology"—("an impudent assertion," said Mr. Ryle, and a very common one to this day)—"preached unto them *Jesus and the Resurrection*," should not our message to Heathendom be the same? Then again, in 1864, Archibald Boyd, Incumbent of Paddington (afterwards Dean of Exeter), who was at that time one of the most impressive of London preachers, delivered a really great sermon, from 2 Tim. i. 10, on the Insufficiency of Nature and the Necessity and Sufficiency of Revelation; adducing evidence from classical authors of the helplessness of ancient Paganism to make

* *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 331.

men virtuous and happy, and, from Government Reports, of the like incompetence of modern Heathenism, and then dwelling on the triumphs of the Word of God as illustrated by Missions.

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The speeches at the Annual Meetings at this time were not so much occupied with the controversy as might have been expected, though Archbishop Thomson, in 1864, spoke impressively on the subject. It was at the Bible Society meetings that the Neologian School was most vigorously denounced, though Dr. Miller on one occasion excited the anger of the Nonconformists by affirming that they too were not without representatives of the same school. The assertion was perhaps all the more bitterly resented because it was strictly true; and in after years, as will be well remembered, Mr. Spurgeon's lament over the "downgrade theology" of Dissenters gave still greater offence. Spurgeon himself, in a characteristic speech at one Bible Society Anniversary, drew from the current attacks on the Bible a plea for Bible Society work. "Defend the Bible!" he exclaimed; "how would you defend a lion? Open the cage, and *let him out!*"

Miller and
the Dis-
senter.

How to
defend the
Bible.

But there was one memorable occasion when quite a dramatic scene was enacted on the C.M.S. platform in connexion with this controversy. This was the Anniversary of 1865. After Archbishop Longley had with much graciousness moved the first resolution, Hugh McNeile rose to second it. He had been but a rare speaker at C.M.S. anniversaries: this was his fifth (and last) appearance. His speech was a fervid and most powerful protest against the whole teaching of the Broad Church School; and as he drew towards a close, he turned round to the serried ranks of clergy on the platform behind him, and with outstretched arms and intensely solemn utterance implored them not to "touch the accursed thing," but to stand firm to the old truths of Inspiration and Atonement. The meeting was thrilled to its heart's core, and hung upon the words of one who was a real orator, and who spoke from the depths of his soul, in a stillness that might be felt. When he sat down, a tempest of applause burst forth, and it was a strange anti-climax when the President announced as the next speaker—the Bishop of London! Dr. Tait was then at the height of his unpopularity, but he was a true friend of the Society, and Venn was not the man to leave him out of the programme. Never did his tact and self-control in a difficult position more conspicuously triumph. "After the stirring and solemn words," he said, "to which we have just listened, and which I trust will sink into all our hearts" (loud cheers), "it requires some courage to stand before you and avow myself a moderate man" (dead silence). "But," he continued, "St. Paul tells us to let our moderation be known unto all men." Did this bold use of the Authorized Version's imperfect rendering of τὸ ἐπιεικὲς indicate a low estimate on the Bishop's part of the scholarship of a C.M.S. meeting? At all events it caused some of those present to shake their heads, half in murmur, half in amusement. But the Bishop

Hugh
McNeile
and Bishop
Tait at
Exeter
Hall.

PART VII. went on to deliver an admirable speech, and sat down amid warm applause.

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Other
Rational-
istic books.

Evan-
gelical
opinionson
them.

And on
orthodox
books.

A false po-
sition.

Present-
day views.

It was not the *Essays and Reviews* only that excited the Church at this time. Following close upon them came Bishop Colenso's works on the *Pentateuch*, which naturally caused a greater outcry than ever; and, about the same time, Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, in which a singularly-attractive literary style was employed in setting forth the life of Christ as of one who was merely a young Jew of dreamy and emotional temperament.* The Evangelicals, and the more orthodox of High Churchmen, were also troubled concerning other works that appeared about this time, which, though not objectionable like Colenso's, were regarded as unsound and perilous. Such were Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, many of the articles in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and, above all, Professor Seeley's *Ecce Homo*. The *Christian Observer*, in very able articles, denounced all these and several other similar works; and it even criticized with some severity so conservative a Commentary (as it is now considered) as that *On the Psalms*, by Dr. J. J. S. Perowne (now Bishop of Worcester); but it refused to follow the *Record* in its violent attack upon Dr. Norman Macleod's new magazine, *Good Words*, and rather defended that clever and (upon the whole) excellent publication. Many Evangelicals were not even satisfied with such standard works as Alford's *Greek Testament* and Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*; nor with the *Speaker's Commentary*, which was designed to fortify Churchmen against Rationalistic criticism of Scripture; nor with Dr. Pusey's magnificent *Commentary on Daniel*, the most learned and complete defence of that inspired book ever written, which Lord Shaftesbury was blamed by some of his friends for recommending; nor with *Aids to Faith*, the admirable volume of Essays in direct reply to the *Essays and Reviews*, which led to the promotion to the Episcopate of three of its leading writers, Dr. Thomson,† Dr. Ellicott, and Dr. Harold Browne. Liddon's great Bampton Lectures, in 1866, on the *Divinity of Christ*, received a heartier welcome.

It is impossible, indeed, to read the periodical literature of that day without feeling that, under the influence of not unnatural panic, the Evangelical writers endeavoured, not only to hold intact the citadel of Truth, but to defend positions that were untenable. In the earlier half of the century, belief in the entire creation of the world out of nothing in six natural days was an absolute test of orthodoxy; but Christian men have learned since then to

* Renan's book was the subject of a magnificent sermon delivered at what were still only the "Special" Sunday Evening Services at St. Paul's, by H. P. Liddon. He was then little known in London, and it is believed that this was his first sermon in the cathedral in which he was afterwards to be the most distinguished canon and preacher.

† Thomson became Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol before *Aids to Faith* appeared, though after it was announced. His translation to York followed soon afterwards.

recognize and admire the works of God throughout geologic ages, and at the same time to see greater beauty than ever in the Divinely-inspired summary of them in the first chapter of Genesis. In like manner, devout and spiritually-minded Bible-readers of the present day delight in the archæological discoveries that have confirmed Scripture while modifying many of their own preconceived notions of the meaning of Scripture, and in the revisions of text or of translation which have revealed to them more of the real Word of God while correcting previous misconceptions of particular texts; yet these very Bible-readers, simple-hearted Christians as they are, and cherishing God's inspired Word with a devotion never exceeded in any age, would undoubtedly have been regarded five-and-thirty years ago as infected with Neology. But the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of that day, whatever may have been the actual views of the editor on points of the kind, proves on examination to have been guiltless of panic, and free from the extreme literalism found in some of its contemporaries. It did not ignore the rationalistic books; it did not leave them unnoticed; but it fastened upon the essentials of Rationalism that underlay them, instead of dwelling on minor matters in which criticism that seemed unsettling at the time has proved in the issue to be right; and in particular, it pointed out the bearing of the new teachings upon the work of Missions. For instance, one extremely lucid and interesting article * comments upon Stanley's account of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, and shows how the acceptance of that account would emasculate the glad tidings of redemption by a crucified Saviour which it is the Church Missionary Society's business to proclaim to the Heathen World. In another,† it exposes the fallacies of the Theory of Development as applied by Bishop Colenso to African Missions. In a third,‡ it ingeniously compares two journals of the same missionary tour sent by two C.M.S. men in Turkey, Wolters and Weakley, showing that the seeming, but not real, discrepancies between them were of the same character as those in Scripture upon which Colenso and others laid stress. In a fourth,§ it shows how the Neo-Platonism of Maurice tended to foster carelessness about missionary effort. In a fifth and sixth,|| it compares the views of *Ecce Homo* concerning Christ with those of the Brahmo Samaj in India, which will come before us in a future chapter. One cannot but be struck by the skill, and at the same time by the reasonableness and moderation, with which, under Mr. Ridgeway's guidance, the Society's leading organ dealt with these and other subjects of current thought.

On one other subject of Rationalistic controversy Mr. Ridgeway wrote well in the *Intelligencer*—a controversy not properly within the Church, but forced upon the Church from outside. Professor

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Articles in
the "In-
telligen-
cer."

Contro-
versy on
Prayer.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1863.

† *Ibid.*, July, 1866.

|| *Ibid.*, October, 1866, and January, 1867.

† *Ibid.*, September, 1865.

§ *Ibid.*, September, 1866.

PART VII. Tyndall, and some other scientific men, publicly affirmed the uselessness of Prayer, on the ground that it could not be answered without disturbing the uniformity of Nature, which was impossible. Their objection was a very natural one from their point of view, but it did not trouble those who believed in a Living God, and who quite realized that His ways are above human understanding. It is needless to notice this controversy further here; but the bare mention of it serves to illustrate the diversified work which the C.M.S. Editorial Secretary of that day had to perform.

Dr. Temple
Bishop of
Exeter.

The alliance between "High Church" and "Low Church" was a short-lived one. It appeared again, temporarily, and in a partial form, in 1869, when Mr. Gladstone appointed Dr. Temple Bishop of Exeter, and when Lord Shaftesbury became chairman and Dr. Pusey vice-chairman of a committee to protest against the appointment. But the Evangelicals were not united as to the wisdom of such a protest, although many of them condemned Temple more severely than Lord Shaftesbury thought he deserved. He considered their attitude more political and personal than spiritual. "They dislike the appointment," he wrote, "because Gladstone made it, yet they will not oppose it lest they should be found in concurrence with Pusey."* Of three influential Evangelical Deans, Law of Gloucester joined Pusey against Temple; McNeile of Ripon (he was now Dean) denounced both, and adjured Boyd of Exeter to refuse to receive the new bishop, and to "take joyfully the spoiling of his goods" if he incurred thereby the penalties of *præmunire*; while Boyd himself prepared to give Temple a respectful welcome. These differences, of which, with others, the pages of Lord Shaftesbury's *Life* present a saddening picture, are typical of the period. Is it surprising that a spiritually aggressive work like that of the Church Missionary Society did not prosper at such a time?

The Ritual
istic Con-
troversy.

But between 1864-5, when the alliance against Neology was formed, and 1869, when it was partially and temporarily renewed, the great conflict over the advance of Ritualism had begun. Touching this conflict it is necessary for the purposes of our History to say something.

Improved
Church
services.

The early Tractarians had not paid much attention to the external details of public worship and parochial organization. Their minds were set on higher things. But the general progress of taste and culture, and the rising standard of parochial efficiency, were causing gradual changes, many of which, though objected to at the time, have long since been recognized as improvements. The changes did not all come from the Tractarian side, nor did the objections all come from the Evangelicals. We have already seen† how week-day services, early Communion, hymns, lay work, Sunday-schools, open-air preaching, &c., had been intro-

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. p. 254.

† Pp. 26-32; also Vol. I. p. 274.

duced in Evangelical parishes when the more old-fashioned Churchmen were opposed to them. It was from Evangelical churches that the old "parson and clerk duet" first began to disappear. It was High Church bishops who objected to the lay readers of the Church Pastoral Aid Society. It was the "good Churchmen" who claved to Tate and Brady, while the Evangelicals were already singing the hymns of Wesley and Newton and Heber. What the Tractarian Movement did was to wake up these old-fashioned "sound Churchmen" who despised the Evangelicals; and while Dr. Hook at Leeds was showing what vigorous and successful parish work could be done on High Church lines, the new Cambridge School of J. M. Neale, Beresford Hope, and the Camden Society, took the principles which the Oxford School had expounded, and applied them to church architecture and ritual and music.*

What may be called the Ritual War began in Bishop Blomfield's time at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, as mentioned in our Thirty-third Chapter. In the early years of Bishop Tait's Episcopate, he was greatly harassed by the troubles at St. George's-in-the-East, where the innovations of the Rector, Mr. Bryan King, and his two curates, C. F. Lowder and A. H. Mackonochie, persisted in against the protests of the respectable parishioners and habitual worshippers, led to disgraceful riots in the name, sad to say, of "Protestantism." Some West End churches were adopting an increasingly ornate ritual without attracting much notice; but these riots roused the chivalrous feelings of such few of the young men of London as were being reached by the new teaching, and they went down Sunday by Sunday "to defend the priests of the Church from Puritanical persecution." It is riotous proceedings like those at St. George's, and even less serious interruptions of Divine Service, which, more than anything else, have alienated so many moderate and sensible men, and thus have really promoted, instead of checking, the advance of Ritualism. It was not, however, by the externals of worship alone, or even chiefly, that the "Catholic party," as they now called themselves, aroused the alarm of Churchmen who were loyal to the principles of the Reformation. It was rather their teaching on the subject of the Lord's Supper, their practice of auricular confession, and their introduction of manuals of devotion, borrowed from Rome, in which, *inter alia*, prayers to the saints were suggested for use. At the same time, various innovations in the conduct of Divine Service, which in themselves might have been harmless enough, were avowedly introduced as the exponents and embodiments of doctrine that made no pretence of being consistent with the Articles of the Church of England; while so startling was some of the new ritual, that even an æsthetically-minded man like

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The Ritual War.

St. George's-in-the-East riots.

More serious errors.

* See chapters vi. and ix. of Dr. Overton's *Anglican Revival* (Blackie and Son, 1897).

PART VII. Archbishop Trench—to whom (so said one of his pupils) a surpliced procession in Westminster Abbey was like being in heaven—was too shocked by a ritualistic service he attended to partake of the Holy Communion as he had intended; * and when St. Alban's, Holborn, was opened, the munificent High Church layman who had built and endowed it, Mr. Hubbard, complained bitterly to the Bishop of the practices introduced by his own nominee, Mr. Mackonochie.

In 1859, the English Church Union was established, "to defend and maintain unimpaired the doctrine, discipline, and ritual of the Church of England against Erastianism, Rationalism, and Puritanism, and to afford counsel and protection to all persons, lay and clerical, suffering unjust aggression or hindrance in spiritual matters." What was meant by "maintaining unimpaired the doctrine of the Church of England" was made more clear when the *Church Times*, started in 1863, began to brand the Thirty-Nine Articles as the "forty stripes save one" "laid on the backs of the English clergy," and when a new volume of "essays and reviews," entitled *The Church and the World*, and edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley (afterwards a pervert to Rome), revealed, in 1866, the real principles and designs of the "Catholic party." In 1865, the Church Association was established, "to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert the teaching of the Church of England on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome; and to effect these objects by publicity through lectures, meetings, and the use of the press, by appeals to the Courts of Law to ascertain what the law is, and by appeals to Parliament." Later events seem to have caused a general forgetfulness or ignorance of the original policy of the Church Association. It was really designed to combine all moderate Churchmen who were prepared to stand by Reformation principles, and efforts were made to include in the Council men not usually identified with the Evangelicals as a party. So strong was this feeling on the part of the chief promoters, that they actually abstained from asking Lord Shaftesbury to be President—his alliance with Pusey notwithstanding—in order to preserve the Association from a party character. Moreover, when an influential deputation waited on the Prime Minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was headed by Archdeacon Christopher Wordsworth (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln). For a time there was not a little painful difference of opinion as to the further course to be adopted; but after two years, at an important Conference, decisive action was resolved upon. Public meetings were held, and lectures delivered, all over the country, Miller, Ryle, Garbett, and Joseph Bardsley, being the chief speakers. The suits in the Courts of Law which the Association at once began to institute were *bonâ fide* designed to ascertain what the

English
Church
Union.

Church
Associa-
tion.

Its original
design.

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. p. 403.

law really was, and thus to assist the bishops in suppressing whatever might prove to be illegal; and this design, in itself, was by no means disapproved by High Churchmen at the time, not even by some of the clergy who had adopted the advanced ritual, and who begged Bishop Tait to obtain legal decisions, expressing their intention to obey them.* It was not until some years after, when the disobedience of the Ritualists to the judgments of the Courts, and their defiance of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in particular, led in some cases to their imprisonment, that the general feeling of the Church revolted against what had at least the appearance of persecution. It is true that such punishment is only what a layman has to undergo if he refuses to obey the Courts; but modern public opinion will not tolerate its infliction on religious grounds, and there can be little doubt that these imprisonments really helped forward the progress of Ritualism instead of checking it. As a matter of fact, one consequence of them was that gradually, in after years, the majority of the Evangelical clergy who were members of the Association ceased to support it.

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Its policy
of prosecu-
tion.

But it was not the Courts of Law only that condemned the Ritualists. The Convocation of Canterbury, in which Evangelicals were scarcely represented at all, did the same. After several full discussions, both the Upper and Lower Houses agreed, all but unanimously, in February, 1867, to a long resolution moved by Bishop Wilberforce and seconded by Bishop Tait, setting forth the dangers of extreme practices, and ending with these words, "No alteration from the long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made in our churches until the sanction of the bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto." Of this the Ritualists took not the slightest notice; and in that same year Lord Shaftesbury made his first attempt to regulate one branch of ritual—the vesture of the minister—by new legislation. His proposal was simply to give the force of statute law to the 58th Canon, which enjoins the use of the surplice in all ministrations, and thus to supersede, indirectly, the Ornaments Rubric—whatever that much-disputed rubric might really mean. The majority of the Bishops supported this; but Lord Derby's Government opposed it, promising a Royal Commission instead, and the Bill failed to pass the House of Lords. The next step, accordingly, was the appointment of the Ritual Commission. Into the history of this futile attempt to settle the controversy it is needless to enter. The Commission assisted the litigation of the Church Association by inventing that once famous (and alas! very real) personage, "the aggrieved parishioner"; and it effected one important reform by revising the Lectionary; but all its prolonged debates upon the Rubrics, and the extremely sensible suggestions made for their modification, came to nought. It is principally interesting to the readers of this

Convoca-
tion con-
demns
Ritualists.

Ritual
Commis-
sion.

* See *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. pp. 400, 419.

PART VII. History for the presence on it of Henry Venn, as the one only
1862-72. representative of the Evangelical clergy. Of his part in it we
Chap. 51. shall see more in another chapter.

"C.M. In-
telligencer" on
Ritualism.

The organs of the Church Missionary Society dealt with Ritualism in the same way as they had dealt with Rationalism. They abstained from discussing details, and from fighting for this or that particular form of service; but they gravely pointed out the fundamental errors that underlay the advanced practices—errors which, if they came to prevail in England, would undoubtedly damage and might destroy the Society. The *Intelligencer* opened that very year 1867, in which the crisis became acute, with an article on God's wonderful answer to Hezekiah's prayer, and called for united supplication for deliverance from the rising danger. In the next number, it considered an incisive essay by Dr. Littledale, the ablest of all the Ritualist writers, in the volume before referred to, *The Church and the World*, on "The Missionary Aspect of Ritualism." This essay commented on "the pitiful history of respectable Anglican Missions to the Heathen," and set forth ornate ritual as the true instrument of evangelization for an ignorant people, because it was "the object lesson of religion," and appealed to the eye rather than to the ear. "Eye-gate," indeed, is a most important way into the human heart, and Protestant missionaries are more and more using it by means of lantern-pictures, &c.; but that is a totally different thing from reversing the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and going back from the plain message of the Gospel to a religion of types and shadows and symbols, which, as the *Intelligencer* showed, Dr. Littledale in effect advocated. A few months later (December, 1867), Mr. Ridgeway returned to the charge, and dilated on "Spiritual Worship" *à propos* of our Lord's colloquy with the woman of Samaria, and on the danger of the "little leaven" leavening "the whole lump" from the story of Micah and his gods.

The C.M.S. Sermons at this time scarcely at all touched on current controversies; but there was one exception. In 1868, Bishop Waldegrave of Carlisle was the preacher, and took as his text one of the qualifications which St. Paul told Titus to look for in the Cretans he should ordain, "Holding fast the faithful word"; and on this text he expounded what that "faithful word" is—"the word of truth," "the word of peace," "the word of faith," "the word of His grace," * contrasting with it "the word scientific" and "the word ecclesiastic," which some would substitute for it. The sermon was not eloquent or powerful in the ordinary sense; but it was almost the ideal of an Evangelical sermon of the old type, "full of meat" and "full of unction." In that same year, and in that year only, one of the resolutions submitted at the Annual Meeting touched upon the dangers of the day, thus:—

"That this Meeting desire to record their unshaken adherence to

* St. James i. 18; Acts x. 36; Rom. x. 8; Acts xiv. 3.

Bishop
Walde-
grave's
Sermon.

A C.M.S.
Resolution

those Protestant and Evangelical principles upon which the Society was originally founded; and their conviction that any departure from those principles, whether in the direction of a Rationalistic theology, or of the doctrines and practices which the Church of England rejected at the Reformation, will be fatal to the cause of Missions both at home and abroad, as substituting 'another Gospel' for 'the Gospel of the grace of God.'"

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—

Henry Venn wrote the last of his Annual Reports in 1866, and up to that year they contained no allusion to the current controversies. But in 1867, 1868, and 1869, the Reports were written by John Mee, who was one of the secretaries at that time; and in the two latter of those years the concluding paragraphs made pointed reference to the errors of the day. In 1868, it was announced that special contributions had been sent to the Society "with earnest prayer that the principles of the Gospel might be maintained at home and abroad," showing that the Society's "plain outspoken maintenance of Reformation principles in days of Romish tendencies" was appreciated by its friends. Then, having summarized a few of the encouraging results of the year's work abroad:—

John Mee's
Reports.

"But the overthrow of error in Heathen lands must not induce indifference as to its presence in our Christian country. The army can never be safe or effective if its base of operations is not secured." "It was a dark day," the Report went on, "in the history of the people of Judah when the priest of the favoured Jerusalem received 'the fashion of the altar and the pattern of it' from heathen Damascus; but darker will be the day, not alone in the history of England, but in that of the world, if the altar with its 'fashion' and its 'pattern' be sought from the superstitious ages of the Church rather than from that 'pure and reformed part of it established within these realms.'"

There was, indeed, another side to the question, which Henry Venn did not fail to see, though some did. The old "High and Dry" parson of earlier times may have been orthodox if examined, but he did not preach Christ, and he did not aim at the conversion of sinners. Some at least of the clergy of the new school, though they indulged in ornate ritual and borrowed practices from Rome, did set forth Christ as a Saviour, and did seek, in their own way, to win men to Him. The dignified rector of 1830 could not tolerate such hymns as "Jesu, lover of my soul" and "There is a fountain filled with blood," but the new men rejoiced to use them. *He* read a long and dry moral essay from the pulpit; *they* gave short, straight, fervid, extempore addresses, sometimes walking up and down the aisle. The Earl of Chichester, President of C.M.S., in his reminiscences of Henry Venn, tells us that Venn one day said to him, "very solemnly and with tears of thankfulness in his eyes,"—"With all this error and superstition, there is a marked work of the Spirit going on in this country. A. B., with all the nonsensical practices observed in his church, preaches the Gospel, and souls are converted. Fifty years ago his sermons would have been called

A good
side of the
advanced
school.

PART VII. methodistical." Venn no doubt referred to men like Body and Twigg, and even like Hillyard and Lowder.

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Privy
Council
judgments.

It would be out of place for this History to notice the various prosecutions instituted by the Church Association. Most of them were successful in obtaining from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a condemnation of the practices challenged; but the Ritualists for the most part took no notice of the judgments, and went on as before. A great outcry arose against the Courts themselves, and many High Churchmen declined to acknowledge the authority of a secular Court over the Church; though when the Rev. Charles Voysey was prosecuted by Archbishop Thomson for unabashed Socinianism, the English Church Union, with strange inconsistency, voted £500 towards the Archbishop's expenses. Moreover, when not the practices but the doctrine of the "Catholic party" came before the Judicial Committee, the Ritualists chose to interpret the decision as virtually in their favour. The Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, of Frome, the same clergyman who had given Bishop Blomfield trouble twenty years before, was charged with teaching false doctrine—un-Scriptural and un-Anglican—regarding the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. The prosecution being a penal one, the defendant was entitled to have the benefit of every doubt; and the Court, while considering his language "perilously near a violation of the law," decided, "not without doubts and division of opinion," that the charge was "not so clearly made out as the rules which govern penal proceedings require." They therefore acquitted Mr. Bennett, but did not allow him his costs. This judgment, it will be seen, like the Gorham Judgment and the *Essays and Reviews* Judgment, appears to a casual onlooker to be on the side of comprehensiveness, and in effect this was so. It is often said, therefore, that the three Church parties in turn were thus "allowed" to remain in the Church. But this statement is absurdly incorrect. In all three judgments, orthodox Evangelical doctrine was referred to as plainly consistent with the teaching of the Church; and while the Essayists and Mr. Bennett, being penally prosecuted, received the benefit of doubts and escaped by the skin of their teeth, Mr. Gorham, *who was not defendant but plaintiff*, completely won his case, and his due institution to his parish was ordered by the Court, as explained in a former chapter.*

Bennett
case.

The three
judgments
not alike.

Nevertheless, the Bennett Judgment created much alarm in Evangelical circles. One clergyman, the Rev. Capel Molyneux, seceded, and some other scrupulous men began to consider whether it was possible to cling to the Church any longer. Henry Venn was now editing the *Christian Observer*, and he vigorously took the other side. He inserted a most masterly article † "from the pen of one who was both a practised lawyer

Venn de-
fends the
Bennett
Judgment.

* P. 4.

† *Christian Observer*, July, 1872.

and a zealous supporter of Evangelical Truth," in which the Judgment is vindicated as not only one that might be tolerated, but as correct and expedient in itself; and in which is urged the reasonableness of not so limiting the interpretation of the Prayer-book in an Evangelical sense as to exclude moderate Anglican teaching. In the following number Venn himself discussed the question, saying that the "practised lawyer's" article had been received with thankful appreciation by many whose opinion he valued, and encouraging his Evangelical readers to take fresh courage from the distinct statement of the Judgment that Protestant doctrine was the plain doctrine of the Church.

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Throughout our period, the annual Islington Clerical Meeting was becoming more and more influential as the principal Evangelical gathering of the year. It was no longer held in the library of the Vicarage, as of old, but in the Bishop Wilson Memorial Hall, a room seating 350 or 400 persons, which was generally full.* It was marked at this time, inevitably, by a more than usually controversial tone. In the eleven years, the majority of the meetings were occupied with the consideration of the perilous tendencies of the day; the leading speakers being Miller, Garbett, Birks, Ryle, Hoare, Cadman, Joseph Bardsley; and, once, Hugh McNeile. In 1865, the subject was quite a different one, "Is the Church of England fulfilling her duty as a Missionary Church?"—on which occasion Henry Venn read an able paper on the position of the C.M.S., in which he lamented the decay of missionary zeal in words already quoted in this chapter. But the Evangelization of the Heathen World was only allowed one-fourth of the time of the meeting. The rest was occupied with Home and Continental Missions. In the last year of our period, 1872, a very remarkable paper was read by Ryle, advocating more unity between Evangelicals and other Churchmen. This we shall have to notice hereafter.

Islington
Clerical
Meeting.

In closing this chapter, with its recital of so many causes of deep anxiety and apprehension, the question naturally arises, How is it that the Church Missionary Society exists at all at the present day? Unquestionably, if, in the 'sixties, the developments in the ensuing thirty years of the very features of religious thought and life then so much dreaded could have been foreseen, the decline and fall of any great Evangelical Society would have been confidently predicted. To what, under the gracious providence of God, is the extraordinarily different issue to be attributed?

How has
C.M.S.
survived?

First, to the changed attitude of most Evangelical Churchmen towards the developments themselves. Great injury was done to their cause by their indiscriminate opposition to all that was new in Church thought and life and organization. When the simple musical service of an average cathedral was branded as ritual-

Changed
attitude of
Evangelicals.

* This Memorial Hall was simply the old and ugly Parochial Schoolroom altered and improved. The present Memorial Hall was not built till Dr. Barlow's time.

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istic; when a clergyman keeping his surplice on when he went to the pulpit, instead of going to the vestry to change it for a gown, was regarded as betraying the interests of truth; when any united diocesan action was objected to for fear of its promoting episcopal autocracy;—the good effect of serious protest against real error was neutralized. The change in this respect in recent years is complete. The vast majority of Evangelical people have come to regard minor variations as indifferent, and a great many comparatively new things as actually good. The corresponding change of feeling as regards Biblical criticism and the like has already been noticed. The result is that while devotion to the Word of God, to the plain Gospel of Christ, to the practical work of winning souls for Him, is more manifest than ever, the mind is in a less fretful condition, and there is *time*, and inclination, to care for the Evangelization of the World. As a fighting party, the Evangelicals now seem very weak to one who remembers them thirty years ago, or reads of their doings at that period. As a body of workers in the service of Christ, they have never at any time been so strong.

An un-
noticed
stream of
blessing.

Secondly, the Evangelistic and Revival Movement, which seemed to be checked during the period of strenuous controversy, was really, so to speak, a stream flowing underground all the while; and the blessing it has brought—a blessing in very truth from the presence of the Lord—has fertilized the Church to an extent which even now is but little realized. Of this Movement we shall see more in future chapters.

But the real reason why the Church Missionary Society has survived these troublous times is—with reverence be it said—that God is in the midst of her. “Behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.”

CHAPTER LII.

THE PERIOD: MORE CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS.

Great Home Mission Developments—Diminished Zeal for Foreign Missions—The Church Congress—Attitude of Evangelicals—Church Congress Debates on Missions: Attacks on C.M.S.—Diocesan Conferences—Origin of the Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops—Bishops Gray and Colenso—Evangelicals and Bishop Gray—First Lambeth Conference—Tait Archbishop of Canterbury—Disestablishment of the Irish Church—Convocation—Proposed Board of Missions—Diocesan Missionary Boards—The True Evangelical Policy, Looking and Working for the Second Advent.

"When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be divisions among you; and I partly believe it."—1 Cor. xi. 18.

"These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."—St. Matt. xxiii. 23.



OF the Church controversies of our present period, Rationalistic and Ritualistic, in their bearing upon the Church Missionary Society, enough has been said in the preceding chapter. But there were important ecclesiastical movements during the same years, which, though they caused considerable differences of opinion, were not directly controversial; and as they have materially affected the environment in which the Society has since had to live and work, they must not be passed over in this History.

The period was one of great activity in many branches of Church work and organization. The establishment, in 1863, of the Bishop of London's Fund—on the pattern, as before related, of the older Islington Church Extension Society—was the starting-point of a great many diocesan societies and institutions for various purposes. The establishment, two years later, 1865, of the Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London, has stimulated the practical work of laymen in parishes all over the country to an extent which is little realized; and a further development was initiated after another two years, in 1867, by several of the bishops agreeing upon plans for giving episcopal sanction to definitely-appointed lay readers, to conduct services in mission-rooms, &c. At the same time, the less regular but not less really useful work of lay evangelists not having, and not seeking, any such official connexion with the Church as a

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New
Church
agencies.

Lay
Workers.

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Deacon-
esses.

body, received an impetus from the coming of Mr. Pennefather from Barnet to St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, which, again, has never been sufficiently recognized. Of his work, and all that came of it, we shall see more in a future chapter. More attention, too, was being given to Sunday-schools, especially after the passing of the Education Act in 1870; and associations of the voluntary teachers in them were formed for mutual improvement. Sisterhoods of an advanced Church type had already been started at Plymouth, Wantage, and Clewer, and also in London; but they had not yet gained the influence and recognition which they have since won, and they gave no little trouble to Bishops Tait and Wilberforce. But Deaconesses, of a more simple and moderate type, were still an almost untried novelty; and Dean Howson was pressing the importance of such organized bands of women upon an unwilling Church, and in particular, through the *Christian Observer*, in which several articles from him on the subject appeared, upon a reluctant and doubtful Evangelical party.* Here again, Mr. Pennefather's Mildmay Deaconesses did valuable service, not only directly by their work among the poor, but also indirectly by their example; and it is hard at the present day to realize the strong prejudice felt, and often loudly expressed at that time, against even the simple costume they adopted. He started them originally for foreign work; then for his own parish; and in 1866, when the great cholera visitation in East London demanded every possible effort to cope with it, he began to supply deaconesses for other parishes.

Theologi-
cal Col-
leges.

Highbury
College.

Another movement of the period was one to improve the theological education of the clergy. Diocesan Theological Colleges were multiplying, many of them of a very advanced Church type; Dr. C. J. Vaughan, on his own interesting and helpful lines, was training many good men; and the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, was established as a distinctively Evangelical institution. The buildings had been occupied by an excellent Training College for schoolmasters, under the successive principalships of Vincent Ryan and C. R. Alford (who became Bishops respectively of Mauritius and Victoria), which had supplied the Church Missionary Society with quite a band of efficient educationists. When this was given up, the place was purchased, and the buildings largely extended, by the munificence of the Rev. A. Peache and his sister; and a successful Theological College for non-University men was set on foot, under the very able and judicious principalship of Dr. T. P. Boulton, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge.

All these varied agencies gave multiplied opportunities for personal service, and necessitated multiplied appeals for money; and

* Among Henry Venn's private papers, there is a careful letter written by him to Mr. Birks, expressing an opinion that a Deaconess Institution involves the risks of the conventual system, and avowing a strong preference for lady district visitors living in their own homes. The date is 1867.

greatly as we ought to rejoice, and do rejoice, at the extraordinary development of home work, it cannot be denied that one result was to relegate the Church's primary duty of evangelizing the unevangelized world to a secondary place. The young men and women of the great town parishes, devoting their scanty leisure hours to week-night work in schools, workmen's institutes, youths' clubs, mothers' meetings, young men's and young women's associations, &c., &c., might have been warmly interested as children in Foreign Missions, but now had literally no time to attend missionary meetings and to read missionary periodicals. There can be no question that the period was one, not merely of no advance, but of some retrogression, in zeal for the conversion of the Heathen. That this was so in C.M.S. circles, our last chapter supplied striking evidence; but others felt it also. Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, who became Bishop of Lichfield in 1867, said frequently in the succeeding years that the Church's missionary energy seemed to him less than it was when he first went out; and, outside the Church, Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, expressed in 1870 his "strong and settled conviction" that missionary interest had diminished.* The effect of controversy in producing this result has been shown in the preceding chapter; but it was without doubt partly due to the multiplication of home agencies.

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Home
work ousts
Foreign
Missions.

While this absorption of interest in new philanthropic and evangelistic work at home was going on in the rank and file of Christian people, the leaders were largely occupied, not only in the controversies before reviewed, but in other Church developments now to be noticed. Among these, three stand out prominently, the Church Congress, the Diocesan Conferences, and the Pan-Anglican or Lambeth Conference. The first dates from 1861, the second from 1864, the third from 1867.

The Church Congress, which has now met for thirty-eight years in succession, owes its inception to Archdeacon Emery, who himself has attended every one of the annual gatherings. The first meeting, in the hall of King's College, Cambridge, in November, 1861, was presided over by him. The next, at Oxford, was under the presidency of Bishop Wilberforce; and ever since then the chairman has been the bishop of the diocese in which the meeting has been held. After the two University towns, the Congress met successively at Manchester, Bristol, Norwich, York, Wolverhampton, Dublin, Liverpool, Southampton, Nottingham, Leeds—which last meeting, in 1872, brings us to the end of our present period.

Church
Congress.

From the beginning, there was a good deal of hesitation on the part of the Evangelical clergy and laity about attending the Congress. In the earlier years of the century, they were so com-

Attitude of
Evangelicals.

* *Christian Observer*, August, 1870. Between 1861 and 1871, the number of missionaries of five leading Societies in India, C.M.S., S.P.G., L.M.S., B.M.S., W.M.S., declined from 262 to 234. See *Spectator*, December 5th, 1874.

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Practical
discus-
sions.

Papers by
leading
Evangelical.

pletely excluded from the Church life of the period—such as it was—that they had become accustomed to meet only by themselves; and when, in the middle of the century, their position was more recognized, they, naturally and unconsciously, continued their wonted habit. Then, when modern plans for united conference and united action in the Church began, started mainly by men more alive than themselves to the importance of external development alongside spiritual growth, they were not prepared for such combination, and doubted its expediency. Even those who felt it right and wise to attend such gatherings felt no enthusiasm regarding them; and while a certain number of leaders were present almost from the first, they never encouraged the younger men to go. On the other hand, hundreds of the younger clergy of the various grades of High Churchmanship made a point of attending year after year, and of using hands and feet and lungs to good effect in cheering their favourite speakers; and thus they gave a colour to the Congress which it has always more or less retained. Naturally, those debates that have raised burning questions, and ranged Church parties on opposite sides, have been the most popular, and have received the greatest amount of notice; but a large part of the real influence of the Congress, and certainly of its best influence, has been exercised by means of the papers and discussions on non-controversial topics. There can be no doubt that on such subjects as Parochial Work, Lay Ministrations, Women's Work, the Training of the Clergy, Education, Methods of reaching the Working Classes, Sunday Schools, Temperance, Social Questions, Church Patronage, Cathedral Reform, the Increase of the Episcopate, &c., much enlightenment has been derived from the Church Congress; while valuable instruction has been given by papers and addresses on the Relations of the Bible to Modern Science and Criticism. On not a few practical topics the earlier Congresses looked to leading Evangelicals for teaching and guidance; and those who imagine that the only business of such men there was to fight the Ritualists would be surprised if they turned up the annual Reports and examined such papers as Hugh McNeile and Joseph Bardsley read on Home Missions, Hugh Stowell and E. A. Litton on the Training of the Clergy, Stowell and Birks on Social Hindrances to the Gospel, French and Garbett and C. Marson and W. Knight on Missions, E. Hoare and E. H. Bickersteth on Preaching, Bishop R. Bickersteth on Lord's Day Observance, as well as addresses by Canons Bernard, Cadman, Ryle, Tristram, &c.—all these at the first seven Congresses. And on questions of parochial life and work, lay help, and the like, the Evangelical speakers were generally on the side of elasticity, and were by no means mere utterers of "Non possumus" to the suggestions of others. It was the bold proposals of Canon Ryle (as he then was) for Church Reform, quite as much as the *bonhomie* with which he always spoke, that made him for several years one of the most popular Congress speakers among all parties.

Almost from the first, Foreign Missions have been accorded a place in the Church Congress. The subject was considered at Oxford in 1862, and it has been included in the list at nearly every subsequent meeting. The Evangelization of the Heathen and Mohammedan World, however, has not always been so prominent as it might have been, because Colonial Church questions have often been included; naturally enough, in view of the double functions of the S.P.G., yet not to the advantage of either subject. If the two had been taken separately, both would have been gainers. It is interesting to read the discussion on the first occasion at Oxford. The Rev. (now Sir) J. Erasmus Philipps read a paper on the Training of Missionaries, and the Rev. H. C. Huxtable (afterwards Bishop of Mauritius) one on the Claims of the Colonies. Mr. Charles Raikes, one of the Anglo-Indian officials whose interest in Missions we have seen in a previous chapter, told the story of Mr. French and the Native Christians at Agra in the days of the Mutiny. Dr. (now Sir Henry) Acland urged the importance of Medical Missions, which in those days was not at all realized. A strong attack upon Societies in general, and C.M.S. in particular, was made by Dr. Baylee, Principal of St. Aidan's, who protested against the rejection, by both C.M.S. and S.P.G., of some candidates from his own college, and stated that he himself had once offered to C.M.S., but had withdrawn because he was told to come from Limerick to London to be interviewed, and that his expenses would only be paid if he was accepted. It is to the honour of Bishop Wilberforce, and of Bishop Gray, that they both defended the Societies against this attack. The former spoke strongly on the necessity of using every proper test to get the right men, and humorously expressed approval of candidates' expenses not being paid as a matter of course, "especially in a year when the Exhibition is open"!—referring to the International Exhibition of 1862 in Hyde Park.

At Bristol, in 1864, T. V. French read a most interesting paper on Missionary Colleges, dwelling on the paramount importance of training work, not only in England for missionaries, but abroad also for Native evangelists, and illustrating his theme from the lives of Raymund Lull and Dr. Chalmers. The future Lahore College was evidently in embryo in his thoughts. At the same meeting Hugh McNeile—as one reads with some surprise—lamented that the Church of England in her corporate capacity was not a missionary Church, "because membership in the Societies was in virtue of a subscription and not in virtue of Church membership"; a line commonly taken only by High Churchmen and Presbyterians. At Norwich, in 1865, J. W. Knott, French's future colleague, spoke. At Wolverhampton, an extremely bright and interesting paper was read by Charles Marson, a *quondam* C.M.S. Association Secretary, and one of the best platform speakers the Society ever had. He deprecated missionary enterprise being slackened in order to fight with

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Foreign
Missions
at the
Church
Congress.

Debate at
Oxford,

Bristol,

Wolver-
hampton,

PART VII. heresies, and quoted Richard Cecil's saying that the worst of all
 1862-72. heresies is "the dawdling heresy." But this meeting was chiefly
 Chap. 52. notable for the overwhelming reception accorded to Bishops Gray and Selwyn, who were both then in England, and who were at the height of their popularity. Selwyn, however, strong Churchman as he was, had no sympathy with the extremes of Ritualism; and he startled the crowd of young High Churchmen who were cheering him, by denouncing men who would "sacrifice the peace of the Church to retain a particular garment." "*I*," he exclaimed, "never indulged in ritualistic eccentricities; *I* never shot poisoned arrows from behind the shield of a court of law."

Dublin. It was at Dublin—of all places—that Congress speakers attacked Missionary Societies most vehemently. There had been some newspaper criticisms on their expenditure and accounts; and these were taken up and enlarged upon by three laymen of some standing, Mr. R. Warren, Attorney-General for Ireland; Mr. Thos. Turner, a wealthy philanthropist; and Mr. (now Sir) John Gorst—though the last-named spoke warmly of the C.M.S. missionaries he had met in New Zealand. The C.M.S. was defended by Canon Tristram, and by Maurice Day, Dean of Limerick (afterwards Bishop of Cashel). It was at this Congress that Magee, then Dean of Cork, preached his famous sermon on "Partners in the other ship," "beckoning" to the Church in England to come to the help of the Church in Ireland, then threatened with disestablishment.

Southamp-
 ton, Not-
 tingham,
 Leeds. The Southampton Congress discussion (1870) on Missions was notable for an address by Sir Bartle Frere. Bishop Gell of Madras, and Canon (afterwards Dean) W. R. Fremantle, were among the other speakers. Chancellor Massingberd described the Board of Missions as then proposed—touching which more by-and-by. At Nottingham, in 1871, papers were read by Dr. Kay, of Bishop's College, Calcutta, by Canon Bernard, by Colonel (afterwards General) Maclagan, and by Bishop Machray of Rupert's Land. Part of the session was devoted to the consideration of the Slave Trade in East Africa, on which Bishop Ryan of Mauritius and Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Steere spoke. At Leeds, in 1872, Missions were only referred to under the head of "Daughter Churches," and the discussion was practically confined to the question how best to link Colonial Churches with the Mother Church. The Congresses subsequent to that year will come under notice hereafter.

Almost immediately after launching the Church Congress successfully, Archdeacon Emery began to move towards the formation of more regular and representative bodies, in which the voices of the rank and file of clergy and laity in each diocese might be heard on important Church questions. Diocesan Synods or Conferences were already proving of great use in some of the Colonies; why not also in England? The cases, however, were

very different. In non-established Churches, some such bodies were indispensable, and actually had a considerable share in the administration of Church affairs; but under a venerable Establishment as in England, there seemed no room for them, and as a matter of fact, those Churchmen who looked to Parliament as the real ruler of the Church of England, and who on that account looked coldly even on a constitutional body like Convocation, were not at all favourable to the establishment of Conferences in which the influence of the bishops would necessarily be great. However, Archdeacon Emery succeeded in starting one in his own diocese of Ely, under the presidency of Bishop Harold Browne, in 1864; and Bishop Selwyn applied his New Zealand experience to the formation of one for Lichfield diocese immediately on succeeding to that see, in 1868. But the movement grew slowly; and even Bishop Wilberforce, leader as he was in so many forward Church movements, declined to start a Diocesan Conference, either at Oxford, or, when he was translated, at Winchester. "I know how it will be," he said; "when all goes well and smoothly, the laity will say, 'How well we did it!' If it should fail, they will say, 'What a mess the bishop made of it!'" What gave a real impetus to the movement was the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The English Church was threatened with like treatment; many feared that the great revolution would really come; and if it did come, would it not be well for clergy and laity to be already accustomed to meet together and discuss Church questions? This consideration did much to foster the establishment of such Conferences; and gradually all the English dioceses adopted them, London and Worcester being the last to do so. Although they are of course purely voluntary, and have no power, they have proved useful in familiarizing both clergy and laity with ecclesiastical questions of practical interest. It is easy to say, as has often been said, that only "ecclesiastically-minded laymen" belong to them; but this only means that their lay members are men interested in Church questions, and who else ought to belong to them?

It cannot be said that Diocesan Conferences have at all affected Missions, although now and again they have, rather perfunctorily, discussed the subject. They are only mentioned here, in passing, as being one of the developments of English Church life which have so greatly changed, in the last thirty years, the environment of Missionary Societies. It is otherwise with the third of the three that started in our present period, the Pan-Anglican or Lambeth Conferences. These have touched the Missionary Enterprise at several points, and therefore demand a place in our survey.

The Lambeth Conference is an indirect outcome of the case of Bishop Colenso. The publication of his books on the Pentateuch led to the Metropolitan of South Africa, the redoubtable Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, taking measures to eject him from

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Why opposed.

Their real use.

Lambeth
Pan-Angli-
can Con-
ference.

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Bishops
Gray and
Colenso.

Privy
Council
Judgment.

South
African
Contro-
versies.

Attitude of
Evangelicals.

the see of Natal. Gray summoned the heretical bishop to appear before him, and on Colenso refusing to come, he held a solemn court, examined the impugned books, and, with two other bishops supporting him, passed a sentence of condemnation and deposition. One of his fellow-judges was the Bishop of Grahamstown, Dr. Cotterill, a very learned and able man, who had been a chaplain at Madras, and while there was local C.M.S. Secretary, and who afterwards became Bishop of Edinburgh. Dr. Colenso appealed to the Crown; and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, by the mouth of Lord Westbury, declared (March 20th, 1865) that the letters patent of both the Bishops of Cape Town and Natal were null and void, owing to the fact of their having been issued after the South African Colonies had become self-governing; and therefore, that the sentence of one bishop on another was null and void. In point of fact, although Bishop Gray seemed to be beaten, it was this judgment that freed the Colonial Churches from fetters which were proving to be very galling, and were hindering their progress, as more fully explained in our Thirty-third Chapter, on New Zealand. "So," said Bishop Wilberforce, referring to Lord Westbury, "is the modern Ahithophel over-ruled." But meanwhile, Bishop Colenso treated the deposition with contempt, and continued in his diocese; and a painful division ensued between the clergy and laity who respectively accepted and declined his ministrations. Bishop Gray then proceeded solemnly to excommunicate him, and to seek for a new bishop from England. After all sorts of obstacles had been encountered, the Rev. W. K. Macrorie was consecrated at Cape Town in 1869, with the title of Bishop of Maritzburg, from the chief city of the Colony of Natal. But Dr. Colenso still maintained his ground, and the civil courts confirmed him in the possession of the churches, schools, &c.; and for some years two bishops claimed jurisdiction over the same diocese, to the great scandal of the whole Church.

In England the resulting controversies were vehement and unceasing. Of the three great parties, the High Churchmen supported Gray against Colenso; the Broad Churchmen supported Colenso against Gray; the Evangelicals opposed both. They were as strongly against Colenso as were the High Churchmen; but they dreaded what appeared to them the undue episcopal assumption of Bishop Gray, and their extreme fear of the Royal Supremacy being interfered with led them to side with the Broad Churchmen in opposing him. In Convocation, Bishop Tait, as a strong Church and State man, worked hard to prevent the Church of England being compromised, as he thought, by complicity with Bishop Gray's proceedings; and Dean Stanley did the same in the Lower House. The Evangelicals had scarcely any representatives in the Convocation of Canterbury, and they took little notice of the long and very able debates that went on there. They looked rather to Parliament; and it is humiliating

to find their organs backing a man of Lord Westbury's reputation against Bishop Wilberforce, who, however decided in his views of episcopal authority, was in this case certainly actuated, in the main, by loyalty to the inspiration of Scripture and the Deity of Christ. Men outside the Church could perhaps view the matter with less prejudice. Dr. Duff, for instance, on his voyage from India to England in 1864, visited the Cape, and, finding himself in the midst of the ecclesiastical conflict, expressed his warm sympathy, as a Free Kirk man, with Bishop Gray, for his "noble stand in behalf of true primitive apostolic teaching"; only he called upon Gray to secede from the State-ridden Church of England, as he and others had done from the Established Kirk in Scotland! *

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Duff and
Bishop
Gray.

The idea of a Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops originated in Canada, and it was Bishop (now Archbishop) Lewis of Ontario who first broached it; but when Archbishop Longley consulted by letter other Anglican Bishops throughout the world regarding the proposal, many of them eagerly endorsed it with the express object of securing a general expression of sympathy with Bishop Gray in his conflict with Bishop Colenso. At length the Archbishop, in February, 1867, issued his invitations to a Conference to be held in the ensuing September. He guarded himself by saying,—

First Lam-
beth Con-
ference.

"Such a meeting would not be competent to make declarations or lay down definitions on points of doctrine"; but, "we may consider together many practical questions, the settlement of which would tend to the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and to the maintenance of greater union in our missionary work, and to increased intercommunion among ourselves."

One hundred and forty-four bishops, English, Irish, Scotch, Indian, Colonial, Missionary, and American, were invited; and seventy-six attended. Many of those abroad were of course unable to come. There were twenty-four from the Colonies and the Missions, and nineteen from the United States. The most serious absences were those of some of the English Bishops who disapproved of the gathering, particularly because they fully expected it would be used to endorse Bishop Gray's action, which they were not prepared to do. These were the Archbishop of York (Thomson), and the Bishops of Peterborough (Jeune), Manchester (Lee), Durham (Baring), Ripon (R. Bickersteth), and Carlisle (Waldegrave), the last three decided Evangelicals. But there were other Evangelical bishops of very decided character who did attend; among them Sumner of Winchester, Pelham of Norwich, Harding of Bombay, Cronyn of Huron, Gobat of Jerusalem, George Smith (late of China), Anderson (late of Rupert's Land)—not to mention others who would have been less generally identified with the party as such; as well as McIlvaine

Bishops
absent.

Evangelical
bishops
present.

* *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 409.

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The En-
cyclical
Address.

of Ohio and Eastburn of Massachusetts, who were the leading Evangelical Bishops in the United States. Not much that was practical was done: the whole subject of the mutual relations of the Churches of the Anglican Communion was too new to be dealt with except by tentative suggestions; but the foundations were laid, almost unconsciously, for important superstructures afterwards. The South African controversy, however, overshadowed everything, and a great battle took place between Bishop Tait on one side and Bishops Wilberforce, Gray, and Selwyn on the other, which issued in a partial victory for the latter, a large majority of bishops, chiefly Colonial and American, voting for the appointment of a new bishop in Natal (as before-mentioned), and thus in effect affirming the validity of Gray's somewhat high-handed proceedings. The best thing done by the Conference was the issue of an impressive "Address to the Faithful," drafted by Bishop Wilberforce, and signed by all the bishops. This Address, and indeed the whole proceedings of the Conference, were received either with disdain or with hostility by the secular newspapers, and also by the Evangelical organs. The policy of the latter at the time seems now, on a retrospect of the thirty years that have since elapsed, to have been singularly short-sighted and lacking in Christian large-heartedness. As regards the Address, it is hard to see how even such good and holy men as Bishops Baring and Waldegrave and R. Bickersteth—who stood entirely aloof—could have much improved it. As for the Conference itself, it was but part of a movement which could not be stayed, but which might be guided. A flowing stream may be turned into useful channels and become a fertilizing power, when an attempt to stop its flow may only bring disaster.

A few other prominent events in the Church history of the period must receive brief mention.

Tait Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

One of the greatest was the appointment of Bishop Tait to the Archbishopric of Canterbury on the death of Dr. Longley. Tait was emphatically a statesman, and no Primate of the century has taken a larger part, or upon the whole a more beneficial part, in public affairs; and his personal devotion to Christ is abundantly shown by the very touching fragments of his brief daily journal entries, printed in his biography. He continued a firm and a wise friend of the Church Missionary Society; not always concurring in its proceedings, but always appreciating its motives. His appointment, in November, 1868, was one of the last acts of Mr. Disraeli, who resigned the Premiership immediately after the General Election of that month; but according to the information given by the Dean of Windsor (Dr. Wellesley) to Bishop Wilberforce,* it was really the Queen's doing, in the teeth of Disraeli's opposition. The great Conservative leader, however,

* *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 269.

during the short lifetime of his first Ministry (less than a year), was considered to have deserved well of the Evangelicals. His selection of Bishop Jackson of Lincoln to succeed Tait in London was approved by them, as also was that of Archdeacon Wordsworth to succeed Jackson at Lincoln, and that of the eloquent Dean of Cork, Dr. Magee, for the See of Peterborough; and still more warmly did they welcome the appointment of another eloquent Irishman, Hugh McNeile, to the Deanery of Ripon,* and of Canon Champneys to the Deanery of Lichfield.

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Disraeli's
Bishops
and Deans.

The Church Missionary Society, of course, approached the new Archbishop with the request that he would accept the office of Vice-Patron, reserved for the Primate of All England; and on March 1st, 1869, the Committee and several Vice-Presidents were received by him at Lambeth Palace, when, in accepting the office, he "assured them of his readiness to assist them in their great missionary work, which he considered was especially conducted in the spirit of the Lord and Master whose Gospel the Society sought to make known throughout the earth." The new Bishop of London, as the prelate who ordains the missionaries, was also approached; and Dr. Jackson paid visits to the College and the Children's Home, enjoining the students in the former institution to "maintain those principles of the Reformation with which the Society had from its commencement been identified."

Arch-
bishop
Tait Vice-
Patron of
C.M.S.

The General Election above alluded to was the one that decided the fate of the Irish Church, and 1869 was the year of its disestablishment. In November, 1868, the *C.M. Intelligencer* contained an extremely interesting article tracing the history of that Church from the Reformation downwards, showing how bright was at one time the prospect of Protestantism becoming the religion of the Irish people, and how this prospect was darkened by the unfortunate policy of Queen Elizabeth's government towards them; dwelling on the long period of dulness, and the gallant but vain attempts of good bishops now and again to reawaken life in the Church; how in the present century it had revived, and what an excellent work it was now doing; and how it was sending the C.M.S. £6000 a year:—

Disestab-
lishment of
the Irish
Church.

"The Irish Church has helped us in our Missions. She has given us of her men, and choicer missionaries are not in the field than those who have come to us from the sister Church in Ireland. She has given us of her means with a willing heart, according to her ability, and to the position which she occupies as a Church obstructed in her enterprise to win the land for Christ, by a very Jericho walled around and straitly shut up. How could we be silent when she is misrepresented? If we do nothing more, we at least express our sympathy: and if we have not helped her, we have at least relieved ourselves by the attempt."

No, none could really help; Mr. Gladstone's Bill passed both

* The Ripon vacancy was caused by the death of Dean Goode, the most learned of Evangelical controversial writers. He was a son of the Rev. W. Goode, Rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, mentioned in our early chapters as one of the founders of the Society.

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Lord
Chiches-
ter's atti-
tude.

Houses ; and the despoiled Church of Ireland started on the new career in which her vigour and devotion have astonished the world. The bitter controversies of that memorable time were in one respect particularly trying to the Church Missionary Society. The President, Lord Chichester, had been a Liberal in politics all his life ; so fully identified was he with the Liberal Party, that he was always present at Lord Granville's official dinners on the Queen's birthday ; and, both from party connexion and from personal conviction, he voted steadily with Mr. Gladstone's Ministry throughout the Disestablishment debates. The Church Missionary Society is, of course, non-political ; but the vast majority of its supporters could not but be troubled at its President voting for what they looked on as a national sin. A good deal of murmuring inevitably ensued ; but Lord Chichester went quietly, *more suo*, upon his way, and in time the deep respect and affection with which he was regarded had free course again.

Convoca-
tion.

All this while, Convocation was regularly meeting, and unquestionably growing in estimation for the interest and importance of its debates, whether men agreed with its decisions or no. Certainly, quite apart from technical and controversial questions, it did two really great and good things. First, the memorable Report of its Committee on Intemperance, inspired and drafted by Archdeacon Sandford, led to the formation of the Church of England Temperance Society, the value of whose work in the country has been simply incalculable. Secondly, it was in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, on February 10th, 1870, that Bishop Wilberforce initiated the movement for a Revision of the English Bible ; the result of which, indisputably, whatever may be thought of the Revisers' work, has been to give an immense impetus to intelligent Bible study. But another project started in Convocation, though of far less importance, more directly concerns this History. This was the proposal for a Board of Missions.

Its good
deeds.

Proposed
Board of
Missions.

As far back as 1859, the question of establishing some kind of Board or Council which should officially represent the Church of England in the direction of missionary enterprise was broached in Convocation. The thought sprang, no doubt, from a feeling on the part of some that voluntary societies did not adequately represent the Church, and that they might advantageously be superseded by a body acting for the Church in its corporate capacity. We saw in our Twenty-sixth Chapter how the early Tractarians complained of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. as being "congregational societies" and "joint-stock clubs," and called upon them to "lay their money at the feet of the Apostles," i.e. the Bishops ; and of course the C.M.S. was still more obnoxious to those who cherished feelings like these. However, it was soon apparent that support was not to be obtained for any scheme that would supersede the Societies ; and the project for an official Board of Missions,

therefore, narrowed itself down to a plan for supplementing them. Still, even this project hung fire for some years, and it was not until 1870 that a definite scheme was formulated. At the Southampton Church Congress in that year, Chancellor Massingberd's paper, before alluded to, gave a lucid account of what was proposed. The Board was to consist of all the Bishops, of clergymen and laymen appointed by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and of representatives of the Missionary Societies. The Board was not to collect, receive, or disburse funds; but it should seek in various ways to quicken missionary interest at home, and act as an adviser and referee in any questions abroad affecting Missions touching which it might be consulted. This modest proposal, however, did not meet with the approval of either S.P.G. or C.M.S.; and again for several years the project slept. How it was ultimately revived we shall see hereafter.

Meanwhile, independently of this scheme for a Central Board, some dioceses were beginning to form plans for the establishment of Diocesan Missionary Boards; and this was naturally the case in those dioceses in which Diocesan Conferences were successfully instituted. The purpose of such Boards was to foster missionary interest and disseminate missionary information in the diocese, and to report annually on all that was done in it by or for any missionary society of the Church; every parish being at full liberty to support whatever society it preferred. These proposed Diocesan Boards were not more favourably looked upon by the Church Missionary Society than the proposed Central Board. The Society feared interference with its distinctive lines and separate organization. Its objections were well formulated by the Rev. W. H. Barlow in a paper read by him at Bristol in 1871.* The S.P.G. does not appear to have felt the same difficulty about Local Boards that it did about a Central Board; nevertheless these also were not actually started until some years later, and even now not many of them have been formed.

In this chapter and the preceding one we have briefly noticed many important Church questions upon which there were grave differences between the members of the C.M.S. generally and other Churchmen. Yet all the while the work of the Lord was going on, and was being done not least effectively by those who were least absorbed in controversy. One excellent clergyman, the Rev. S. Garratt, repeatedly wrote to the *Record* urging his brethren to give themselves more entirely to spiritual work, as the surest method of both defending and promoting Evangelical Truth, and of preparing the way for the Lord's Second Coming. Lord Shaftesbury, of course, was one of those most engaged in public work, and often in conflict; but he seems, at times certainly, to have been conscious of the real need of keeping that "great Divine Event" more steadfastly in view. We have

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Proposed
Diocesan
Mission
Boards.

How the
real work
of God
went on.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1871.

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A remedy
for
disunion :
Look for
the Coming
One.

already seen him appealing for a measure of co-operation in the fight with error and with sin to Dr. Pusey, and even to Archbishop Manning. Mr. Garratt would not have joined in such combinations as those. His policy was, Work for the conversion of souls, and strengthen the Evangelical body by adding to it converted men. But he and Lord Shaftesbury alike saw what a motive power for union among true Christians was supplied by the expectation of the Lord's Coming. In the midst of the Disestablishment controversy Lord Shaftesbury appealed to the Dissenters, through the learned and eminent Baptist, Dr. Angus. "We of the Established Church," he wrote, "seem to think that all moral and spiritual virtue lies in the exclusive maintenance of it. You Nonconformists are just as headstrong in believing that all prosperity and joy lie in its overthrow." Meanwhile, he continued, neither the Church nor Dissent was really getting hold of "the dangerous and seething masses." "Can we find," he asked, "no common point, no subject of common appeal to the hearts and consciences of the whole human race? I have one, ever present in my mind—the *preaching of the Second Advent of our Blessed Lord*." That Advent, "as an all-sufficient remedy, should be prayed for, and, as a promise, should be looked for." Such a tone of preaching, he was sure, would touch the hearts of the poorest classes. Moreover, "it would pacify both Churchmen and Dissenters, as they would be labouring for an issue in which the one party would have no Establishment to uphold, and the other would find none to attack."* Is not the good Earl's counsel still needed? and is it not worth following?

* *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, vol. iii. p. 260.



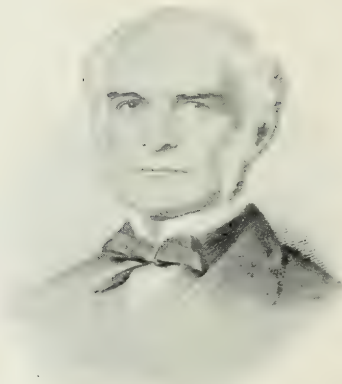
REV. J. CHAPMAN.



REV. W. KNIGHT.



CAPTAIN THE HON. F. MAUDE.



MAJOR HECTOR STRAITH.



REV. J. RIDGEWAY.

John Chapman, Missionary in Travancore, 1840-1852; Secretary of C.M.S., 1853-1862.
 William Knight, Secretary of C.M.S., 1851-1862.
 Captain the Hon. Francis Maude, R.N., Treasurer of C.M.S., 1861-1886.
 Major Hector Straith, Lay Secretary of C.M.S., 1846-1867.
 J. Ridgeway, Editorial Secretary of C.M.S., 1849-1871.

CHAPTER LIII.

SALISBURY SQUARE.

Need of a New House—Salisbury Square in the Past—Moving—Venn's Retrospect—Secretaries of the Period: Long, Mee, Straith, Dawes, Browne—Venn on the Changes—Ridgeway, Knox, Hasell—Captain Maude Treasurer—S. G. O.'s Attack—The Funds—Lancashire and Ireland fail not—Committee and V.-P.'s—Venn on the Committee Meetings—Committee Topics—The Strangers' Home for Asiatics—The Anniversaries—The Evening Meeting saved—C.M.S. and Young Men's Society—The Abbey and St. Paul's—The St. Bride's Sermons: Archbishop Longley, Canon Hoare, &c.—Magee's Great Sermon.

"Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations."—Isa. liv. 2.

"When the Lord raised them up judges, then the Lord was with the judge."—Judges ii. 18.



ON March 7th, 1862, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society formally took possession of their New House. Just half a century had passed away since the early Committee found, after thirteen years without an office, that they needed one in which to carry on their work; and forty-eight years since they first met in a small hired house in Salisbury Square. That house had at first served as office, college, and secretary's residence, all in one; but gradually the office had absorbed the whole, and soon after the Jubilee, the growing work had demanded more space than the narrow and old-fashioned building could provide. At length the Committee were convinced that they must move; but whither?

By this time, the very name of Salisbury Square had become dear to friends all over the country and all round the world. The situation was not now the most convenient, in the changed circumstances of London; but the Committee clung to the familiar spot, and to the beautiful church of St. Bride—so fine a specimen of Wren's genius—which had long been, so to speak, the Society's parish church. The Square, too, had interesting historical associations*—though perhaps these did not count for much. In the Middle Ages it was the courtyard of the London house of the Bishops of Salisbury. The neighbourhood, then just outside the City, was considered so dangerous, that the early bishops who

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Forty-eight years in the first house.

Salisbury Square.

Its historical associations.

* See an article by the Rev. James Long, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1885.

PART VII. lived there were admired for their self-denial in living in the
 1862-72. wilderness! The Black Friars lived to the east of "Salisbury
 Chap. 53. Court," and the White Friars to the west; and beyond the latter
 — were the Knights Templars, where the Temple is now. In
 Queen Elizabeth's time it became the "West End," and was
 inhabited by the nobility. A large house built by one of the
 bishops was subsequently occupied by the Cecil family, but was
 entirely destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. Its precincts then
 became "Alsatia," "a debtors' sanctuary and thieves' paradise."
 In the eighteenth century the neighbourhood improved. Richard-
 son the novelist lived in what now became Salisbury Square;
 and Goldsmith had a printing-press close by.

A new
house pro-
posed.

On December 11th, 1848, a few weeks after the Jubilee, the
 Committee recorded their opinion that their hired house, No. 14,
 Salisbury Square, was too small, and directed the Secretaries
 to look out for another. In 1852, a house in Bridge Street,
 Blackfriars, was suggested, but was "unanimously rejected
 because the Fleet Ditch ran under it." * Not until February 9th,
 1857, is the purchase of the house next door, No. 15, announced.
 No. 16 also was afterwards purchased, and the freeholds of both; †
 and on October 30th, 1860, the Committee accepted a tender from
 Messrs. Lucas Brothers for a new house to be built upon the site.
 The foundation-stone was laid by the President on February 5th,
 1861. A plan of the building, with the Society's Jubilee medal
 and some coins, in a glass bottle, were deposited under an
 enamelled slab, bearing the following inscription:—

First
stone laid.

To the Glory of God
 In the Extension of the Kingdom of
 His Dear Son, Jesus Christ.
 The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East
 Erected this House
 In the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-one,
 And in the Sixty-second Year of their Operations.
 The Foundation-stone was laid
 On the Fifth Day of February, 1861,
 In the Presence of the Committee,
 by
 The Right Honourable the Earl of Chichester,
 President.

"It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's
 house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted
 above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."—*Isaiah* ii. 2.

New house
ready.

The day of formal transfer now arrived. The Committee
 assembled in the old house, in the room in which, for forty-eight
 years, they and their predecessors had planned, and prayed, and
 persevered, and often praised the Lord. With deep feeling and

* H. Venn's Private Journal, December 13th, 1852.

† Subsequently some premises in Whitefriars Street were secured, behind
 the House, and separated from it by Hanging Sword Alley; and these
 premises, which are used as warehouses and publishing offices, are com-
 municated with by a tunnel under that narrow passage.

solemn retrospect they recalled the trials and triumphs of the past ; and God's words to Israel came to many minds :—

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"Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandments or no ; and He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know, that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years."

A solemn
retrospect.

Yes, indeed ! The Society had often been "humbled"; it had often been "suffered to hunger"; its resources had seemed to fail, and whence a supply could come it "knew not"; and the unlooked-for supplies that had come were truly as "manna," for often had the question been put, What is this ? how is this ? And the Committee had assuredly been taught "not to live by bread only," not by earthly means from earthly sources, but to rest, and to feed, upon the sure promise of the Living God. Not that they had fully *learned* it yet ; they had to learn much more in after years. Have we fully learned it now ?

Lord Chichester took the chair, in his old place. Two Secretaries, W. Knight and J. Chapman, offered prayer ; and the veteran missionary Joseph Fenn read 1 Chron. xxix. Then the Committee rose, wended their way to the handsome and substantial new building, and re-assembled in the room which we now call "the old Committee-room." Eph. ii. was then read by the Editorial Secretary, J. Ridgeway, reminding the listeners of the true House of God, His redeemed Church, "the building fitly framed together," "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone," and growing "unto an holy temple in the Lord," "an habitation of God through the Spirit." The President then addressed the gathering, referring to the past with thankfulness and to the future with hope. He told a strikingly appropriate anecdote of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Lord Bacon. "Your house is too small," said the Queen. "Large enough for me," replied Bacon ; "but your Majesty's presence has made me too large for my house." "God's blessing on our labours," remarked Lord Chichester, "has made us too large for our house."

The in-
augural
gathering.

Then Henry Venn read a remarkable paper, reviewing, not the Society's missionary work abroad—"that," he said, "we did at the Jubilee"—but its functions, difficulties, and progress at home. What an enterprise, he observed, the fathers of the Society had had before them !—

H. Venn's
review of
the past.

"To establish a Church Society within the Church, without a charter from the Crown ; in subordination to Church authority, but upon the basis of voluntary action ; a Society which, if successful, must maintain extensive relations in all parts of the world,—of which the governing

PART VII. body could exist only on the voluntary principle, and could hold together
 1862-72. its staff of missionaries by no stronger bond,—whose sustaining power
 Chap. 53. within, and protection from assaults without, could consist only in its
 — principles.”

What the
 Society has
 taught the
 Church.

“For such a work,” Venn went on, and we can now appreciate his words, “it is evident that the wisdom of political science, the acuteness of legal knowledge, together with much mercantile and financial skill, must be all combined.” Then he showed how the Society had set a pattern in methods of home organization—public meetings, provincial associations, association secretaries, finance committees, a working capital—which were unknown before the C.M.S. started them, but had since become a matter of course in all societies; how it had set a pattern in the training of missionaries, which other societies had adopted; how the older S.P.G. had followed the example of C.M.S. in undertaking Missions to the Heathen outside the British dominions; how the Society had been so successful in combining its spiritual and ecclesiastical principles that the heads of the Church, after waiting forty years, had joined it on its own terms, recognizing with cordiality its fundamental principle of *voluntary action in subordination to constituted Church authority*; and how the Committee had had to work out, and been the first to work out, such difficult problems as those of the Native Pastorate, Native Church organization, &c. Perhaps few realize the services which the Society has in these ways rendered to the Church, quite independently of its primary work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen.

This is a brief summary of the first part of Venn's paper. The rest of it is chiefly a graphic sketch of the origin and history of the Society, with notices of its leading Committee-men, Secretaries, &c.* When he sat down, several members of the Committee said a few words each, viz., Mr. J. M. Strachan, the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth—who recalled the fact that on that day, March 7th, twelve years before, they had assembled round his father's grave,—Mr. Bridges, Mr. Farish, and Mr. Beattie; and prayer was offered by the Rev. E. Auriol and Major Straith.

What was
 to become
 of No. 14?

But what became of the old house next door, No. 14, to which attached so many precious memories? At the Annual Meeting, a few weeks after, Dean Close said that many were asking this question. Might it by any possibility become a gin-palace? “No,” said he, “for I am glad to tell you that it is to be a temperance hotel!—and so temperance will be next to godliness!” This announcement was received with loud cheers. And a temperance hotel No. 14 remained for more than twenty years. After twenty years, as we shall see by-and-by, another enlargement of the Society's habitation was effected by the re-occupation of the old No. 14, its incorporation into what in 1862 was the New House, and the

* Venn's sketch has been used in the pages of this History from time to time, and sentences from it have been quoted.

opening of a still larger Committee-room on the identical spot upon which the Committee had met during the forty-eight years before the move now described.

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When the Society entered its new House, the names of six Secretaries appeared in the Report, three clerical and three lay. Of the three former, Chapman died in the same year, and Knight retired within twelve months. Both of them had been particularly effective with their pens, the former in defending the Society from attacks and criticisms, and the latter, who had charge of the candidates, in appeals for men and means; but the general administration remained principally in Venn's hands. The Rev. Robert Long, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who had been for a short time Central Association Secretary,* was appointed Secretary in succession to Chapman; and in 1864, C. C. Fenn, who had come home from Ceylon, was appointed in the place of Knight. In 1865, Long retired, on his appointment to a Chelsea parish; but being still in London, he for several years continued one of the most active and regular of the inner circle of Committee-men.† He was succeeded by a layman, General C. A. Browne, of whom more presently; but the General's sudden death, within five months of his appointment, created another vacancy, which in due course was filled by the Rev. John Mee, who had formerly been an Association Secretary of the Society, then Secretary of the Bible Society, and then Dean of Grahams-town. He, however, retired after three years, owing to his not accepting Venn's view of the Secretariat—which was also the Committee's view. Mee thought that one of the Secretaries ought distinctly to be recognized as the head, and he proposed to relinquish his salary, with a view to his succeeding Venn in that position. But Venn always disclaimed any other precedence than such as naturally attached to age and experience; and he penned an elaborate historical sketch of the Society's Secretariat, to show that the principle of joint and equal responsibility among all the Secretaries had always been recognized. This Memorandum the Committee formally accepted, whereupon Mee resigned. Another Anglo-Indian officer, General Edward Lake, came into office in 1869. At this time, for some years, Venn's second son, the Rev. Henry Venn, jun., acted as Assistant Secretary. Between 1869 and 1872, at a time when Venn's failing strength was more and more cutting him off from the work, four missionaries of standing and experience acted as secretaries for a longer or shorter period, viz., the Revs. A. H. Frost, J. Barton, E. C. Stuart, and P. S. Royston. Venn wrote the Annual Report up to 1866 inclusive; then Mee took it for three years; and from 1870 onwards C. C. Fenn was the writer.

Secretaries
of the
period.

R. Long.

C. C. Fenn.

J. Mee.

* This important office was not held by a full Secretary until Mr. Sutton's time.
† He was afterwards called by Bishop Baring to the Diocese of Durham, and became Archdeacon of Auckland, which office he still holds.

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The Lay
Secretaries

There were changes also in the Lay or Finance Secretaryships. Major Straith retired in 1863, and Colonel Dawes in 1866; and J. M. Holl, who was Assistant Lay Secretary, but whose name was included among the Secretaries in the official lists, died in 1869. Meanwhile, on the resignation of Colonel Dawes, the Committee appointed Mr. Edward Hutchinson, a gentleman in legal practice as a Parliamentary agent, who gave up good prospects in his profession to join the Society.

The three Secretaries whose term of office extended into our next period, Fenn, Hutchinson, and Lake, will appear before us more fully then. But of the three soldier-Secretaries who died in our present period, a few words must here be said.

Major
Hector
Straith.

Major Hector Straith had served in India, where he led a gay and worldly life, and lost all his small fortune in horse-racing and its accompanying betting. He was converted to God by the instrumentality of a brother officer, Major Sherer, who had been under the influence of Daniel Corrie. Being invalided home, Straith was appointed Professor of Fortification and Artillery at the East India Company's College at Addiscombe. During his twenty years' tenure of that post he sought constantly the spiritual welfare of the cadets, and several godly officers in after years attributed their conversion to his words and example.* In 1846 he became Lay Secretary of the C.M.S., and did important service for many years in that capacity. The friendly and non-official correspondence with the mission-field was at that time divided between the Secretaries, and Major Straith's part was writing to lay agents and to Native clergymen. After his retirement he continued to attend the committee-meetings, and his counsel was always valued as that of a man of prayer and of unswerving loyalty to the Word of God. He died in 1871.

Colonel
Dawes.

His successor, Colonel Michael Dawes, R.A., was still more distinguished as an officer. In the first Afghan War, and in the two Sikh Wars, he won very honourable mention; especially at the disastrous battle of Chillianwallah, where his battery saved his brigade from total destruction. In the Mutiny, he commanded the artillery accompanying Nicholson's flying column sent by John Lawrence to the siege of Delhi; and when that city at last fell, he was appointed President of the Military Commission which sat to try the rebel Moghul king.† On returning to England, he became Lay Secretary of the C.M.S., which office he held seven years, 1859 to 1866, performing its duties with ability, and with a Christian spirit that was much appreciated. He retired on account of weak health, and died in 1871, a few weeks before Major Straith.

General
Browne.

General Charles A. Browne was converted to Christ about 1826,

* One of those who attended his Bible-class was afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala.

† See the picturesque notice of this by Sir Herbert Edwardes, in this volume, p. 218, *note*.

while serving as a young officer in South India. He afterwards rose to the high and responsible post of Military Secretary to the Madras Government; and for thirty years he was a member of the C.M.S. Madras Corresponding Committee, and was greatly valued by the successive Madras Secretaries, John Tucker, Ragland, Royston, and W. Gray. His house afforded a home to a large circle of friends, especially young officers and missionaries on their first arrival in India; and the Bible-readings frequently held there proved of great spiritual help to many who attended. His natural endowments were of a high order: a powerful intellect, sound judgment, administrative skill; while his gentle and loving disposition attracted every one to him. On his final return to England, he offered his services to the Society he had long loved and supported, and was appointed an Honorary Secretary. But shortly after he took office, he suddenly fell in the street, and expired before he could be carried to a hospital. It was a blow deeply felt by the Committee, who had looked for services from him of no ordinary value. But Browne was a man who seemed to be always living in the presence of God, and they could not but feel amid their sorrow that it was but natural for him to be ushered thus in a moment into the Presence-chamber.

We have already seen in our Fifty-first Chapter that the period now under review was one of but little progress, and even in some respects of apparent retrogression; and it is difficult to resist the conviction that these frequent changes in the Secretariat, at a time, too, when Venn was gradually retiring from the work, could not but be a cause of weakness. Venn's private letters to his brother, Prebendary John Venn of Hereford, reveal his anxieties as to how the work was to be carried on. When General Browne was about to join, he wrote:—

Venn on
his col-
leagues.

"He is a widower, and no children. He has taken a house in London large enough to accommodate a married missionary and children, and hopes the rooms will never be empty. This spirit, united with a first-rate intellect and the pen of a very ready writer, fills me with hope, and almost forces me to sing *Nunc Dimittis*."

And a few weeks later:—

"Browne joins next week. C. C. Fenn is all I could wish. We shall then be strong in the Secretariat. But I rejoice with trembling, as every other occasion on which the Lord has made our mountain to stand fast, it has been a prelude to a reverse. Yet the work goes on, and shall triumph gloriously."

In December, 1866, he wrote:—

"The Sub-Committee were unanimous in recommending Hutchinson to the General Committee for our Lay Secretary. He appears to combine so many essential qualifications that I thank God and take courage. Mee is becoming every day more thoroughly a C.M.S. man; and I have determined to leave the next Report and conduct of the Anniversary to him."

PART VII. While the Committee were searching for a successor to Mee, 1862-72. Venn wrote (August, 1869):—
Chap. 53.

Looking
for Venn's
successor.

"All friends are earnestly requested to look out for a suitable man, and to pray for us. Till October we shall be able to get through the business. Missionaries now at home will help us, especially Frost. . . . Fenn has agreed to prepare the Report, and with the help of returned missionaries he will easily get through it."

In January, 1870, in view of his own early resignation—which, however, he found himself unable to insist upon for more than two years after that—he said:—

"My hope is that the Committee will find things well with Frost, Fenn, and Hutchinson. Barton has come home for a year or two, and some eyes are fixed upon him."

In May of that year, Frost was proposed as Principal of the Islington College, Green having resigned:—

"Barton comes as Secretary for a year.—then . . . to return to India. I am anxious to associate with him General Lake as Hon. Lay Sec. He is almost another General Browne . . . a capital speaker and able administrator. If I succeed in getting Frost to Islington, 'the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.'"

In December he wrote:—

"No step taken yet for another Clerical Secretary. But the foreign work is well done, and the home work getting into order by the energy of Hasell."

Venn, aged
76, still at
the helm.

Two years of temporary arrangements passed away, and Venn, though now seventy-six years of age, and physically feeble, was still in command in the spring of 1872. Henry Wright's advent had at last been settled, but meanwhile,—

"I presume Wright if accepted will come up at once; so that I have the prospect of release, though a long way off, as he will need to be assisted for some months at least. C. C. Fenn has broken down, and takes several months' absence, but will do the Report this year."

We shall see more of Venn's last years in another chapter. Meanwhile could there be a more touching picture than is sketched in these letters?

There were two other offices at headquarters which were not in those days included in the Secretariat proper, the Editorial and the Central. Mr. Ridgeway continued his great services as Editor until just before his much-lamented death in 1871. After a brief interregnum, the Rev. G. Knox became Editor of the *Intelligencer*, and the other publications were for a time distributed among the Secretaries. Mr. Knox had been for some years Association Secretary for the London district, and acted as Central Association Secretary, as Whiting and Long and Marson had done before. But in 1871 he became Vicar of Exton, in Rutland, and though this did not prevent his editing the *Intelligencer*, it vacated what was virtually, though not then in name, the

G. Knox.

“Central Secretaryship.” The Committee now created a new and definite office with that title, and appointed to it the Rev. Samuel Hasell, whom we have before met as a missionary in Bengal, and who had since been Association Secretary in Lancashire, and had there given evidence of uncommon capacity. The Association Secretary staff at that time included men who have since been distinguished in other ways; among them R. C. Billing, afterwards Bishop of Bedford; W. W. Gibbon, now Canon of Ripon; H. J. Martin, now Archdeacon of Lindisfarne; H. B. Tristram, now Canon of Durham; W. Walsh, afterwards Bishop of Mauritius, and now Suffragan Bishop of Dover.

Changes also took place in another important office, the Directorship of the Children's Home. In 1863, the Rev. John Rooker succeeded Mr. Barker. In 1867, Captain Hall, who had been Governor of Parkhurst Reformatory, succeeded Mr. Rooker. In 1869, Hall died suddenly, and was succeeded by the Rev. Isaac Durrant, whose wife was a daughter of the Society's early Secretary, Edward Bickersteth. In 1873, Mr. Durrant died, and Mr. Rooker returned to his old post, Mrs. Rooker's influence in the Home being always especially valued.

The death of the Society's Treasurer, John Thornton, in 1861, after a service in that office of forty-six years, was mentioned in a former chapter. To his post was appointed Captain the Hon. Francis Maude, R.N., who held it just a quarter of a century. During the greater part of the time Francis Maude was also Chairman of the Committee. Here let us observe the very remarkable features of his genealogy. His grandfather, Sir Robert Maude, a descendant of Edward III., was born in 1676, in the reign of Charles II. Sir Robert's youngest son, the first Viscount Hawarden, had, by three wives, nineteen children, of whom the youngest was Francis, the future C.M.S. Treasurer, born in 1798. The mother of Francis lived to her ninety-third year, and died one hundred and twenty-three years after her husband's birth. From Viscount Hawarden's nineteen children had sprung so many children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren, that when, shortly after Francis Maude became C.M.S. Treasurer, the calculations of Bishop Colenso appeared as to the impossibility of the Bible account of Israel's growth in Egypt being true, this one family history was of itself sufficient to discredit them; and Maude delighted to cite it for the purpose.* Maude entered the Navy in 1814, and in the following year he sailed for India with the despatches containing the account of the Battle of Waterloo. He became a member of the C.M.S. Committee in 1835.

Our period, as we have seen, was not a bright one for a new Treasurer. Not long before his appointment there had been a sharp and sudden attack upon the Society's financial management

* The exact figures in 1862 are not available. In 1885 there had been 513 descendants in just over a century, or, with wives or husbands born of other families, 654, of whom 520 were then living.

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S. Hasell.

Children's
Home.

Captain
Maude
Treasurer.

His re-
markable
genealogy.

PART VII. and account-keeping, in the *Times*, by its celebrated correspondent 1862-72. "S. G. O.,"* which had made a good deal of noise. Mr. Beattie Chap. 53. had answered his letters and challenged him to come and examine the books for himself; instead of which he had sent a City accountant, a Jew. Venn wrote (February 29th, 1860), "I have been all day battling with S. G. O.'s accountant, but he turns out a very respectable man." The examination proved satisfactory, though some minor suggestions were made by the accountant, some of which were in due course adopted. But meanwhile a good deal of uneasiness was manifested in the country; and one of Chapman's last acts before death removed him from the Secretariat was to prepare an able pamphlet on the Society's financial system, in which full explanations were given on all the points touching which questions had been asked. The system is essentially the same to the present day; but in recent years there has been considerable improvement in the way of presenting the accounts so as to be understood by readers of the Report.

Then, during Maude's earlier years as Treasurer, there were frequent deficits, sometimes through diminution of funds, and sometimes, even in years of increase, through excess of expenditure. In three of the later years of the decade now under review Islington men ready for ordination were kept back for want of funds, and once the number of students, already much below the average, was ordered to be reduced. In 1870, instructions were sent to the Missions, not only to add no more Native agents to the existing staff, but not even to fill up vacancies; and heavy reductions were made in some of the estimates; and in 1872, Venn's last year, eight per cent. of the foreign estimates was disallowed, in the face of what, as we have already seen, the Committee called "a failing treasury."

There had indeed been some encouraging signs of growing interest in the country in the earlier part of our period. In 1862 began to be kept the Jubilees of some of the great Associations founded in those vigorous years following 1812. Bristol, Norwich, Huddersfield, and Wakefield, are among those specially reported. At Bristol it was found that two of the men who had taken a prominent part in 1813 still survived, viz., the Rev. Fountain Elwin, the original Secretary of the Association, and Mr. J. S. Harford of Blaise Castle, whose eloquent speech at the inaugural meeting was noticed in our Eleventh Chapter. In 1866, the Rev. John Langley, who in 1816 founded the Shrewsbury Association (for which Reginald Heber did much), was present at its Jubilee; and among the speakers were E. H. Bickersteth, whose father had spoken at the inaugural meeting; Benjamin Bailey, who went

* The Rev. Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne. He wrote, not as an enemy, but as a candid friend. He had helped Selwyn (afterwards Bishop) and others to found the Windsor and Eton Church Union in 1839, which gave a share of its funds to C.M.S.; and he sometimes spoke at meetings in Berks and Bucks. See his letter to Dr. Cust, *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1889.

out to India in the year of its foundation; and a distinguished Shropshire man, Sir Herbert Edwardes. At the Cambridge Jubilee, in 1868, Henry Venn read an interesting paper of reminiscences of the fifty years, from which some facts in our Thirty-sixth Chapter were taken. During this period, too, a new system of provincial organization by Honorary District Secretaries was being introduced; and at the very committee-meeting in February, 1862, at which it was announced that the New House was ready, it was also announced that one hundred and thirty-four clergymen and laymen of influence had undertaken districts. This system will be more fully described hereafter.

Moreover, on two occasions the Committee were much encouraged by the persevering efforts of friends in circumstances of great difficulty. In the earlier years of our period, the Cotton Famine, consequent upon the American Civil War, dried up many sources of income in Lancashire; yet the people there, who, mainly through the influence of the great adult Sunday-schools, were genuinely interested in Missions, worked nobly, and with real self-denial, to continue giving out of their reduced means. And in the later years, when the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland suddenly threw that Church upon the voluntary contributions of its members, and it seemed for the time impossible to raise funds for any outside object, the energy and devotion of Irish friends kept up C.M.S. contributions in a wonderful way. They had gradually risen to £5300 in the years immediately preceding. In the year following the Disestablishment they actually touched £6000; and though in the next year they fell to £4500, the ground was quickly recovered, and steady progress has been maintained ever since.

To return to Salisbury Square. The Committee did not change much in *personnel* within our period. The principal lay members lost by death were Dugmore, Farish, Goldingham, and Prance; also John Bridges, the much-respected Honorary Solicitor, whose firm, however, continued to act, and acts to this day, to the great advantage of the Society. The chief new lay recruit was Francis N. Maltby, an Anglo-Indian civilian of high character and great ability, who had been Resident at the Court of Travancore. Towards the close of the period came Sir William Hill and Colonel Channer, both military Anglo-Indians, who will be remembered as leading members in after years. Throughout the period, General Alexander, A. Beattie, Sydney Gedge, J. Gurney Hoare and Joseph Hoare, Arthur Lang, P. F. O'Malley, Q.C., James Stuart, J. F. Thomas, and H. Carre Tucker, were prominent men. Among the clergy, Edward Auriol was *facile princeps* in council; C. R. Alford, before he went to China as Bishop, gave regular and valuable service; Dr. Miller, on coming from Birmingham to Greenwich, became an important member; and Robert Long, after ceasing to be Secretary, continued, as before mentioned, to take a leading part.

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Lancashire
funds in
the Cotton
Famine.

Irish funds
in Dis-
estab-
lishment days.

The Com-
mittee.

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New Vice-
Presidents.

Among the new Vice-Presidents were all the new Bishops. The whole English Episcopal Bench was now included, with the exception of the Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Thirlwall, who never accepted office. It is significant that in 1870, the acceptance by the new Bishops of Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Exeter, Manchester, and Oxford, was announced thus:—"Being Members of the Society, have, according to No. II. of the Fundamental Laws and Regulations, *become* Vice-Presidents of the Society." This was to indicate that the enrolment of Bishop Temple was automatic, and not the spontaneous act of the Committee. So strong was the feeling against him at that time,* that no Committee would have dared to ask him of their own accord. It is well to recall facts like these. There are lessons in them for our own day. The panics of good men are not always either wise or right. Among the new lay Vice-Presidents was the present Sir T. Fowell Buxton, who had succeeded to the baronetcy as quite a young man, on the early and lamented death of his father, Sir Edward North Buxton; and the two great Punjab heroes, Sir Herbert Edwardes and Sir Robert Montgomery. Edwardes died in 1868; but Montgomery was for several years a frequent attendant at committee-meetings, and took an active part in the work—an illustration of which we shall see in the next chapter.

H. Venn
on the
Committee
meetings.

At this point may be conveniently introduced a letter of H. Venn's to a clerical friend who had lately come to London, and who offered to attend the committee meetings. It gives a true and useful picture of what many of those meetings were, and still are; though there is this difference, that, on the one hand, the greatly increased mass of business is now to a large extent done in sub-committees,—or at least so prepared by them as to need much less attention than formerly in the larger meetings,—and, on the other hand, the great increase of missionaries and of missionary candidates has necessitated more time being occupied in interviews with them, hearing about the actual missionary work in the field, and in prayer with them and concerning their Missions:—

"My first impulse was to write at once and say, Come and give us every hour you can spare; but I was checked by the thought that you wanted something more from me; namely, to set out the nature and importance of the Committee work so as to justify you in withdrawing your valuable time from other pressing claims.

"Here, however, is the difficulty: important questions arise in our Committee at uncertain and unexpected times. One or two meetings of the Committee may pass over with only routine business which is transacted according to established practice and precedents, familiar to the Committee, but obscure and uninteresting to those who are comparatively strangers to our mode of conducting business.

"Again, when great questions do arise, they involve principles which have been to a certain extent *settled* in the Committee, but which a newcomer is very apt to enter upon afresh, till checked by some brusque man

* See pp. 340, 342, 346. Dr. Temple had subscribed to the Society from the age of ten.

of business, with the remark, 'that we cannot lose time in discussing settled principles.' From such causes as these, and through irregular attendance, several friends whom I have persuaded to come, have, after a time, drawn back and frankly told me they were not wanted, and preferred giving their attendance where they felt it to be more valued or more necessary.

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"But there is another side of the case. When a friend has been persuaded to attend and *watch* the proceedings of the Committee for a few months, and so gradually identify himself with the interior working of the Committee, he has become more and more interested even in the routine business as well as in the great questions, and has often owned that the hours spent in the Committee were most profitable to his ministry, expanding his heart and soul, his faith and hope and charity, whilst he is promoting the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, so that he has returned refreshed and strengthened for his own parish duties.

"The questions which at this time occupy the chief attention of the Committee are connected with the history of the first preaching of the Gospel, and lie at the foundation of a Native Church ;—e.g., What are the proper relations between the foreign missionary and the Native pastor? What the normal organization of a nascent Native Christian Church? How to dispose of a very limited amount of European agency over a very wide and expanding field of labour to the best advantage? How to deal with a man of great infirmities of temper or mind whom yet God has honoured to the bringing in of many souls to Christ? How to maintain our spiritual and ecclesiastical principles in their integrity and harmony? How far to meddle with political matters when they affect seriously spiritual interests? How far education is to be a branch of preaching the Gospel? I could easily enlarge the catalogue, but this will be enough to show you that our Committee requires minds of deep reflection, of competent knowledge of Church history, and of large observation of the Church of Christ at the present day. We have a considerable body of our Indian laymen who to a great extent are possessed of these qualifications, but we need a few clergymen of leading minds in our councils.

"I would therefore earnestly invite you to attend our Corresponding Committee Meetings, on the Tuesdays. From twelve to three is the usual time of greatest interest. Next Tuesday we shall have to review the wants of the whole Mission, and to apportion thirteen or fourteen men to supply the demands for 100. May the Lord enable you to see your way clear, and if you join us, may it be to our mutual advantage in the Lord!"

The judgment and experience and faithfulness of the Committee were well tested during our period. In addition to the frequent financial perplexities, the whole subject of the training of missionaries at Islington or elsewhere was under discussion; and the improvement of home organization; and the great and complicated question of Native Church organization; and all sorts of problems concerning Educational Missions in India; and various Colonial Church Bills in Parliament; and grave troubles in New Zealand, the Yoruba country, and the Turkish Empire; and the East African Slave Trade; and last but not least, two very thorny ecclesiastical topics, touching bishoprics in China and Madagascar. All these will in their proper turns come before us. The serious lack of recruits, and the many losses of valued friends and veteran missionaries, have already been referred to; and when, at one

Problems
and trials
of the
period.

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meeting, the deaths of five Vice-Presidents were reported, including such members of the inner circle as Viscount Midleton and Admiral Sir Henry Hope ; or when, in one week, news came of the deaths of three such missionaries as Cockran, Noble, and Pfander,—a real burden was laid on the hearts of the Committee ; which burden, however, they had learned to cast on their sustaining Lord. And at this time the Committee had to consider, and to refuse, many appeals for the extension of the Society's Missions to other fields, such as Egypt, Abyssinia, the Congo coast, the Diocese of Grahamstown, the Transvaal, Rajputana, Assam, Burmah, and Queensland.

C. M. S.
and other
Societies.

But the Committee were always ready to think of other Societies and Missions besides their own. For instance, in 1865, they joined with the London Missionary Society in a representation to the Foreign Office regarding French outrages on the L.M.S. Missions in the South Sea Islands ; in 1865, they rejoiced with the Basle Missionary Society upon the Jubilee of the famous Seminary ; and when, in 1872, Bishop Patteson's martyr-death—for, in the circumstances of the case, it truly was that—shocked the whole Church and nation, a warmly sympathetic resolution was communicated to the bereaved Melanesian Mission. On the other hand, it was with unfeigned pleasure that honoured labourers in other connexions were welcomed at interviews with the Committee : for instance, the Rev. E. W. Syle, of the American Church Missions in China and Japan ; Dr. Newton, the veteran American Presbyterian missionary at Lahore, through whom had come the original invitation to the C.M.S. to enter the Punjab ; Dr. George Smith, of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta ; besides such bishops as Milman of Calcutta, Claughton of Colombo, and Cowie of Auckland. And all through the period help and co-operation were being given to the Christian Vernacular Education Society, the Indian Female Instruction Society, and the Strangers' Home for Asiatics. Of this last, a word must be said.

Strangers'
Home for
Asiatics.

Only the oldest readers of this History can now remember when in the streets of London, Liverpool, Southampton, and other ports, there was no more familiar spectacle than that of Indian beggars, dancing and rapping their tom-toms under the windows. Other Orientals, and Negroes and South Sea Islanders, were also to be seen, but the great majority were from India. Many were seamen, who had been robbed of their wages in the purlieus of the docks, and turned out of the miserable lodging-houses to starve and die—as great numbers did. Others were brought from various lands by speculators, to be exhibited at shows and low theatres, and then likewise turned adrift. In the early 'fifties, some of the Christian Anglo-Indians on the C.M.S. Committee, and particularly a devoted officer who had been led to Christ in India by H. W. Fox, Colonel R. Marsh Hughes, resolved to make an effort to save these poor creatures ; and in 1855 a meeting was held under the

presidency of Sir Edward North Buxton, and a Committee formed to raise funds for a "Strangers' Home." Much interest was aroused, and in the following year Prince Albert laid the first stone of the building at Limehouse. The Home was opened on June 3rd, 1857, just as the news was arriving of the outbreak of the Mutiny in India. Out of a total cost of £15,000, £5500 was contributed by Indian princes, nobles, and merchants, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh heading the list with £500. The Queen gave £200, and the Prince Consort £100. In twelve years, five thousand Asiatics, Africans, and Polynesians, were received into the Home, and no less than £12,000 deposited by them for safe keeping. By that time, the London streets were practically cleared of the shivering waifs and strays once so common; and few Londoners at the present day are even aware that such sights were ever to be seen. This completely successful work was done by the untiring devotion of Colonel Hughes and his colleagues, and particularly by the singular tact, skill, and patience of a City missionary engaged, Mr. Salter, who, having unusual linguistic gifts, quickly became able to speak to all sorts of "strangers" in their own tongues, and who scoured the streets of London, and of Liverpool and other ports, to "rescue the perishing" and "care for the dying." To all he gave the blessed Gospel message, and not a few learned to know and love the Saviour of the lost. From the first, Henry Venn took the deepest interest in the enterprise; and the C.M.S. has each year given a grant of £100 towards this true missionary work.*

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Its great
success.

The Anniversary Meetings of our period were different in two respects from those of preceding periods. First, it was in 1863 that the hour of commencing was changed from ten o'clock to eleven, and the proceedings shortened from the six hours of former years to about four. Secondly, while in earlier days the same speakers appeared again and again, in the period before us we find them almost always different. In the eleven years, Bishop Robert Bickersteth of Ripon spoke four times; and Dr. Tait three times, in 1865 as Bishop of London, and in 1869 and 1872 as Primate—on the former of these two occasions occupying the chair, according to custom, it being his first appearance after his accession to the archiepiscopal throne. But no other speaker spoke more than twice; and those who did speak twice were only Bishop Crowther, Bishop Barker of Sydney, and the three orators, Dean Close, Canon Stowell, and Dr. Miller. The other Bishops who took part were Archbishops Longley and Thomson, Pelham of Norwich, Waldegrave of Carlisle, Gregg of Cork, Gell of Madras, Machray of Rupert's Land, Ryan of Mauritius, Claughton of Colombo; also Dr. Cowie, as Bishop-designate of Auckland.

Annual
Meetings.

The
speakers.

Bishops.

* See the whole story, with many interesting incidents, in the *Intelligencer* of May, 1870.

PART VII. Of distinguished clergymen, we find the names of Dr. Payne 1862-72. Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; J. C. Ryle (now Chap. 53. Bishop of Liverpool); W. Saumarez Smith (now Archbishop of Sydney); W. Pakenham Walsh (afterwards Bishop of Ossory); Hugh McNeile, E. Hoare, H. B. Tristram, D. Howell, and James Bardsley of Manchester; and C. E. Oakley, a devoted clergyman of great promise who died early, author of the missionary hymn, "Hills of the North, rejoice." Of laymen there were Lord Shaftesbury, who rarely appeared on a C.M.S. platform, but who spoke in 1864; Sir Herbert Edwardes, who spoke for the second time in 1866—a speech scarcely inferior to his grand one in 1860; Sir Arthur Cotton, the great irrigation engineer in India; Colonel (now General Sir John) Field, whose speech in 1870 was one of the most fervent and moving in the long succession of Anniversary addresses; Colonel (afterwards General) Lake, who spoke in 1868, the year preceding his joining the Secretariat; and, in 1872, "Mr. J. H. Kennaway, M.P.," the then baronet's son, and our future President, who inaugurated his many Exeter Hall speeches by a strong appeal for action to put down the East African Slave Trade and to care for the rescued slaves. One is surprised to find the missionaries again but meagrely represented. In earlier times there was naturally a lack of men of standing and experience on furlough, but in the 'sixties there must have been many every year. Nevertheless, only the following thirteen spoke in the eleven years: John Thomas, W. A. Russell, J. Barton, D. Fenn, J. Ireland Jones, S. Hasell, R. P. Greaves, R. Bruce, J. Welland, E. C. Stuart, G. E. Moule, and C. E. and W. T. Storrs.

The only meeting in the period that was very noticeable was in 1865, and this has been referred to in our Fifty-first Chapter. In 1867, Bishop John Gregg was the "lion" at all the May meetings, and poured forth his torrent of alliterative words and phrases in a way that completely baffled the reporters; and in the *Record* report of the C.M.S. meeting, which is always *verbatim*, his speech, the speech of the day, was perforce condensed into a short and unreadable summary. At the same meeting, a comprehensive review of Missions in the East was given by Canon Tristram, who had lately returned from a long tour in Palestine and Syria. The meeting of 1868 came in the midst of the hottest excitement about Ritualism, and Miller and Hoare spoke out with boldness; to the latter being allotted that one resolution on the great controversy, before quoted, in which the Society indulged. To the other meetings it is needless to refer more particularly.

We have before seen that the Society's Evening Meeting on the Anniversary Day was quite a subsidiary occasion; but every reader will be surprised to find that in 1866 the Committee were seriously considering its abandonment, "the attendance being so small, and the officers of the Society so tired out"—the literal language of the Minute! The man who saved it was Mr. Edward

Clerics.

Laymen.

"Mr. J. H. Kennaway."

Missionaries.

Bishop Gregg.

Proposal to drop the Evening Meeting.

Hutchinson. Coming into office early in 1867, he took the Evening Meeting into his own hands, and resolved to work it vigorously. The Society had then no constituency of younger men and women to appeal to; but it occurred to Hutchinson to draw an audience from the Sunday-schools. Tickets were sent to Sunday-schools all over London, for teachers and elder scholars; and the result was immediate success. The Hall, from 1867 onwards, was tolerably well filled in this way; and special care was taken to have popular speakers. In 1867, they were Dr. Miller, John Macgregor, John Horden, and Samuel Hasell. In 1868, the Recorder of London, Mr. Russell Gurney, presided, and spoke admirably; J. A. McCarthy of Peshawar, one of the most telling missionary speakers the Society ever had, told the stirring story of that Mission; Mr. Sydney Gedge marshalled the common objections to Missions, and triumphantly disposed of them; and Mr. Gordon Calthrop, then the most popular clergyman in London among young men, closed the meeting in his own effective way. Mr. Gedge's speech was the first ever reported at full length in the *Intelligencer*, which up to that year had never noticed the Anniversaries; and it was reprinted as a leaflet, and long used as the best popular vindication of Missions ever put forth. So the Evening Meeting was saved; but several years elapsed before it could be filled without the help of Sunday scholars; and the days of overflowing crowds were not yet.

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How
saved.

One attempt, however, to reach the young men of London must here be mentioned. There had existed for many years an organization called the Church of England Young Men's Society for Aiding Missions at Home and Abroad; but in 1857 the second half of the name had been struck out, and the Society remained a smaller Y.M.C.A. It had branches in various parts of London, and was particularly strong in Islington, where Daniel Wilson, W. B. Mackenzie, C. F. Childe, and T. Green were its active supporters. In 1870 the C.M.S. Secretaries invited the various Branches of this Society to send deputations to tea and a conference in Salisbury Square, when the claims of the Mission-field were set before the thirty or forty men who attended. The chief feature of the conference, however, was a general criticism by the visitors of the Society's publications, which they thought dry and behind the times. Three or four of the critics were invited to form, with the Society's secretaries, a small committee to consider these matters further; and among the critics selected was the Author of this History. The small committee was duly summoned, but only two members appeared, and nothing more was ever heard of it.

C.M.S.
and Young
Men.

In 1867, a new feature was added to the Anniversary. This was an Evening Sermon in Westminster Abbey, generally in the week following the Anniversary. It was started at the invitation of Dean Stanley, who desired "thus to recognize the Society as one of the two great auxiliaries in the missionary work of the Church of England." Some excellent sermons by leading

Abbey
Sermons.

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preachers were delivered at this service,—one especially by Gordon Calthrop, on the death of Livingstone, which will come before us hereafter. But the congregations were never large; the collections did not cover expenses of choir, &c., which fell on the Society; and after lasting for ten years, this annual service was dropped. In later years, Dean Bradley has given the Society a Sunday morning sermon, for which it has only to nominate a preacher. In 1870, the Dean of St. Paul's offered the Cathedral to six Societies for the Sunday evenings between Easter and Whitsuntide in turn; and the C.M.S. took May 29th, and appointed Bishop Ryan to preach the sermon. This arrangement, however, was not repeated.

St. Bride's
Sermons.

It remains to bring under brief review the St. Bride's Sermons of the period. Three of them we have already noticed. We have seen J. C. Ryle's picture, in 1862, of St. Paul's attitude at Athens as a pattern for the Church's attitude towards Heathenism; we have glanced at Archibald Boyd's masterly statement, in 1864, of the insufficiency of Nature and the need of Revelation, in direct reference to the Neology of the day; and we have seen how Bishop Waldegrave, in the face of the rising sacerdotalism of 1868, exhorted the Society to "hold fast the faithful Word." In 1863, Archbishop Longley preached, thus signaling his accession to the Primacy a few months before. The benignant old man had always been a friend to the Society. As Bishop of Ripon, he had once presided over a C.M.S. meeting at Leeds, despite Dr. Hook's protest that his influence as Vicar would be impaired by such patronage of a society he did not support. As Archbishop of York, he spent his last Sunday in that diocese in preaching twice for the Society in a Yorkshire village. And now, as Primate, he was taking almost as deep an interest in the Society's current work as Archbishop Sumner had done. Longley's Sermon, on Rom. i. 16—"I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for," &c.—might have been preached by a Simeon or a Bickersteth, and the St. Bride's congregation must have rejoiced to listen to it. Thus he introduced the words of his text:—

Arch-
bishop
Longley.

"They are the opening words of that noble argument in behalf of the doctrine of justification by faith in the blood of Jesus, which has been the stay and support of the believer throughout all ages of the Church. They are the starting-point from which the Apostle launches out into the full discussion of those great truths which must convict all men of sin, and should convince them of the need of a Saviour. They are the preface to that volume which, if every other record of St. Paul's writings had perished, would alone have been sufficient to instruct the world in the whole counsel of God for the redemption of fallen man."

It was a short sermon; but two passages were notable: one in which the Archbishop cited the L.M.S. Mission in Madagascar as an illustration of the Gospel being "the power of God unto salvation," and the other in which he deprecated the current "Broad Church" teaching of the day that we should trust to "the inner

light within us" rather than to "the Father of Light in the revelation He has granted us through His Son."

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In 1865, Bishop Anderson was the preacher, and the most interesting circumstance connected with his sermon is mentioned elsewhere.* In 1867, John Venn of Hereford expounded the same text on which Miller had based his great sermon in the days of the Indian Mutiny, Eph. iii. 8. In 1869 appeared William Harrison, Rector of Birch, an impressive preacher of the older type. His text was, "So shall He sprinkle many nations," &c. In 1870 came Archbishop Thomson of York, with a striking sermon on the certainty of both apparent failure and ultimate success in Missions, based on two texts, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" and "Lo, I am with you alway." In 1872, Canon T. D. Bernard gave one of his most thoughtful and suggestive discourses on "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" There remain two sermons to be noticed, those by Dean Magee of Cork (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough and Archbishop of York) in 1866, and by Canon Hoare in 1871. Let us take them in reverse order.

Other
preachers.

Canon Hoare took for his text a verse on which much stress had never been laid by a large section of the Society's supporters, Matt. xxiv. 14—"This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." We have before observed how Edward Bickersteth had gradually been led to see that the Second Advent is not an event necessarily to be thrown into the far-distant future while a nominal Christianity slowly covers the world, but that Christ is coming to an unconverted world, a world that has had the "witness" of the Gospel, but not a world that has received it, and that the real work of Missions is to gather out the Ecclesia, the elect Church. But only a few, comparatively, realized this; and Bishop Waldegrave's Bampton Lectures against "Millenarianism" more truly represented the general view. Of the older St. Bride's Sermons, the only one that boldly taught the possible nearness of the Advent was Francis Goode's, in 1838. It was not that the opposite side was taken, but that the subject was entirely ignored. Hoare was the first to bring it forward again. He enunciated no prophetic theory; he simply urged that the End depended on the preaching being done, not on the results of the preaching. "If the Gospel of the Kingdom were preached as a witness among all nations, even though there were no converts, this prophecy might be regarded as fulfilled, and we might begin to look out for the End." But he did not minimize the tremendous work involved in the mere preaching of the Gospel as a witness. "It appears," he said, "utterly beyond the power of the Church of England, or even of the Christianity of England":—

Canon
Hoare on
the Second
Advent.

"But let the convert Churches be aroused to a sense of their responsibility. Let them all become centres from which truth may radiate; let them

The secret
of rapid
evangeliza-
tion.

* See p. 394.

PART VII. have their Native Councils, their Native clergymen, their Native bishops; 1862-72. and let them be sending forth their Native evangelists to penetrate where Chap. 53. the European never reaches,—and where if he does reach, he dies,—in their own tongue, the mother-tongue of both preacher and hearer, to exalt the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and no one can calculate to what an extent, or with what rapidity, the great work may be extended, if only God accompany it with His blessing, or how soon the day may dawn when the last nation shall be reached, the last sermon preached, and the command given to the angels of God to go forth to reap the harvest, to ‘gather His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.’”

He concluded by dwelling on “the three great sifting or testing forces” predicted for the last days, persecution, false teaching, and lukewarmness in the Church (Matt. xxiv. 9-12); and of these he most impressively urged that the last is the worst, describing “a class of persons whose theology is correct, but whose hearts are cold.” The final great missionary efforts of the Church of Christ, then, must be wholly dependent on those, the “called, and chosen, and faithful,” who “endure unto the end.”

Dean Magee was invited to preach two years before he was able to do so:—

“I have been tantalized,” he wrote in 1864, “by a request to preach the C.M.S. Anniversary Sermon. This is the blue ribbon of the Evangelical pulpit, and it would have been an identification of myself with the best of Evangelical Churchmanship, and a kind of *testamur* from them that I should have been glad of.”*

Magee had been Secretary of the C.M.S. Association at Bath when he was Minister of the Octagon Chapel there; but in Ireland he scarcely counted as an Evangelical, nor did he afterwards as Bishop of Peterborough, though always strongly opposed to the advanced High Church party. In eloquence and power no sermon of the period—perhaps no sermon of the entire series—can be quite compared with his. Like Mr. Webb-Peploe’s and Bishop Boyd Carpenter’s in later days, it was delivered extempore†—probably it was the first ever so delivered. Yet there was not a redundant word: every sentence told. And it was not merely a splendid piece of oratory: *that* we might be sure of from the man who, three years after, delivered in the House of Lords the greatest Parliamentary speech in the memory of the oldest *habitué*; ‡ but it was emphatically a word of living power for the Church Missionary Society. Any sketch of it must be utterly inadequate. Every word of it is worth printing in these pages.

* *Life of Archbishop Magee*, vol. i., p. 108.

† Yet not quite like theirs, for it had been written out beforehand. In the vestry afterwards, Venn said to Magee, “I am so sorry we had no reporter, but I never thought you would preach extempore.” “It does not matter,” replied Magee; “I have it written out, and will send it you to-morrow.”

‡ Lord Tankerville has told me that he has heard almost all the famous speeches in both Houses for sixty years, and that not one could be compared with the Bishop of Peterborough’s defence of the Irish Church in 1869.—E. S.

Dean
Magee.

His great
sermon.

The lessons taught are always needed : perhaps never so much as when a Centenary is being celebrated. But a few lines must now suffice.

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The text was a startling one : "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." What, thought some of the hearers, could that have to do with Missions? But, "It is the awful privilege," began the Dean, "of the Church of Christ that she is called to a share in the work of her Lord." . . . "Awful privilege, *for to share the work of Christ is to share His trial and His temptation*":—

A strange text.

The Church shares Christ's temptation

"Just so far as our work is identical with His, will the nature of our trial be identical. Whatever weapon was chosen as most likely to wound the Captain of our salvation at any particular moment of His life or work, is just the weapon that will be used against His Church at any similar moment in her life or work ; and ever the nobler work, the sorer the temptation. Ever the closer the disciple draws to His Lord, ever the nearer does the Tempter draw to him. Ever the more the presence of the Lord fills His Church, the more does that presence attract the fierce and fiercer assaults of the Enemy."

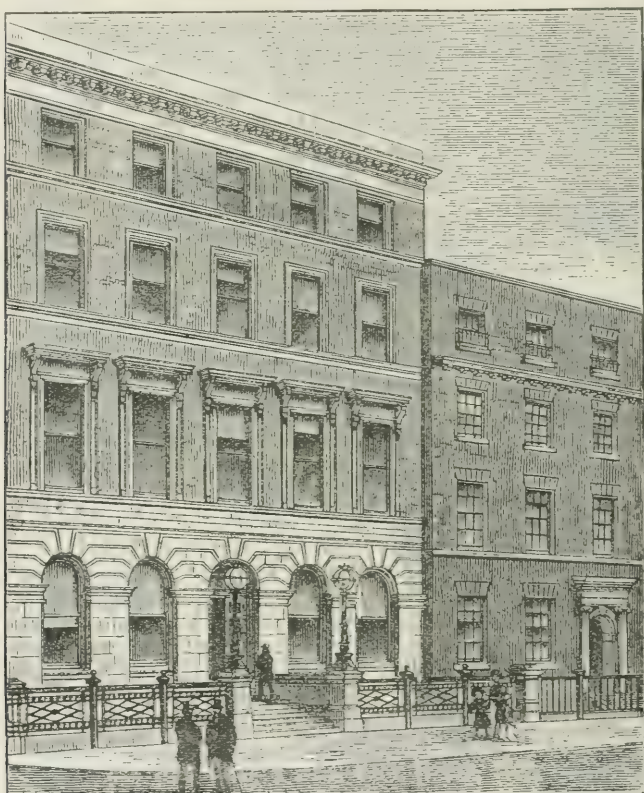
In the temptation of Christ, said the preacher, there is "a special, perhaps a primary reference to the temptations and difficulties of missionary work"; for it came at the end of His long preparation for His public work, and between His "consecration" in His baptism and His actual entrance on His ministry. And now—and the Dean looked round the densely-crowded church—"when the servants of Christ are come together . . . to gladden one another with fresh proofs that the Lord is indeed still with His Church, . . . now, when we meet to renew the vows of our dedication, . . . now, in the day when the sons of God come to present themselves especially before Him, should we remember that *the Tempter will assuredly be present too*."

The three temptations were then, with wonderful power and vividness, expounded in detail, and the parallel temptations in the life of the Christian, of the Church, of the Society. First, to maintain life by doubtful means, albeit with good motives ; and here let us note in passing that Christ's reply to the Tempter was in those pregnant words from Deuteronomy quoted at the beginning of this chapter as remembered at the opening of the New House. Secondly, "not now to save life, but to risk it." Thirdly, "to compromise with the Devil for the possession of God's world." The Dean strikingly pointed out that while all three forms of temptation are seen in all ages of the Church, the first was especially prominent in early days, when confessors and martyrs constantly answered, in effect, "Not life, but the word!"—that the second was sadly illustrated by the Mediæval Church, in her pride of ecclesiastical power, "casting herself down," and "sinking lower and lower as she corrupted her sacred deposit of truth with the errors of Judaism and the superstitions of Paganism,"—and that the third has especially come since the

The three temptations and their parallels.

PART VII. Reformation, by the Church being tempted to conquer Heathen lands by force and fraud, and then to attract the Heathen mind by ignoring the Cross. The application to the Church Missionary Society was (1) Beware of the idolatry of means; (2) Beware of self-glorification and party spirit; (3) Beware of learning, science, civilization, without the cross,—of the “new Christianity” which proposes by dropping “dogma” to “conquer the world for the new Christ,” when “all men will own the fatherhood of God and all will feel the brotherhood of man.” With one sentence from this great Sermon let this chapter conclude: “God can do without the Church Missionary Society if He choose, but not for one instant can the Church Missionary Society do without God!”

Applica-
tion to
C.M.S.



THE NEW CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE, 1862.

(The smaller house, to our right, is the old hired house occupied from 1813 to 1862, and pulled down in 1884, to be replaced by an extension of the permanent building.)

CHAPTER LIV.

CANDIDATES OF THE PERIOD.

The Failing Supply: Why?—C.M.S. Tests—Recruits from Cambridge and Oxford—Few German Names—W. C. Bompas—Islington College: Good Men—"Natives" at Islington—Valedictory Meetings: French's Address—Sir R. Montgomery's Proposals—Changes at Islington—C.M.S. refuses Women—French again a Candidate—J. W. Knott: at Oxford, at Leeds, at East Ham—French's Remarkable Testimony—Valedictory Dismissal of French and Knott—George Maxwell Gordon—The Remedy for the Failing Supply at last—The Day of Intercession—The "Times" on Missions—The Turn of the Tide.

"Have not I sent thee?"—Judg. vi. 14.

"This is the confidence that we have in Him, that, if we ask anything according to His will, He heareth us."—1 John v. 14.



THE strange and serious falling off in the supply of men for the field in the period now under review has been already mentioned. It was not so in the earlier years of the period, so far as candidates for training at Islington were concerned; and indeed the whole number of Islington men (English) sent out in the eleven years, eighty-eight, compares well with the seventy-two of the previous thirteen years. For this increase the Evangelistic and Revival Movement of 1859-61 was largely responsible, notwithstanding the coldness of the Evangelical clergy generally to that movement. But this coldness told in time; and the separation of the general C.M.S. circle from the leaders of the movement unquestionably became an obstacle to men who were influenced by it coming to C.M.S. The falling off in the latter half of the period, partly consequent on this, will appear presently. Meanwhile, the meagreness of the supply of University men marks the whole period. Taking the dates of sailing as a sufficient guide in their case—although some did spend some months at Islington between their offers and their departures,—we find that two went out in 1862, none in 1863, three in 1864, none in 1865, two in 1866, two in 1867, four in 1868, one in 1869, three in 1870, two in 1871, four in 1872.*

It was in the later of these years that the Society was constantly on its defence against all sorts of attacks. One of the grounds of

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Diminished supply of candidates.

Complaints against the Society.

* The six of 1871-2 had all offered before May, 1871; and none offered between May, 1871, and May, 1872, as lamented in the Report before quoted.

PART VII. criticism was the care of the Committee in the selection of men.
 1862-72. On one side it was asked, What business had a lay Committee*
 Chap. 54. to be so much more particular about a man's theological views
 than the Bishops? On the other side it was complained that
 fervid open-air preachers were refused because they knew nothing
 of the Prayer-book. At this time the former was the complaint
 uttered the more loudly; and at the Annual Meeting of 1868,
 Edward Hoare dealt with it boldly. Bishop Wilberforce had
 lately referred to the C.M.S. as a Society which, unlike the S.P.G.,
 sent out men of only one colour. "I thank him," said Hoare,
 "for bearing testimony that during the sixty-nine years of its
 existence, there has been no change of colour with the change of
 seasons." "But," he went on, "the question is, What is the
 colour? There is such a thing as a false colouring. We hear of
 some who wish to have a variety of colours in their dresses and in
 their altar-cloths; but the worst thing of all is to have a variety
 of colouring in Missions to the Heathen." He proceeded
 powerfully to vindicate the Society's true Church character. Here
 is one brief passage:—

"Only one
 colour."

Who are
 the true
 Church-
 men?

"When a man faithfully takes the Thirty-Nine Articles, and preaches the very truths found there, is he to be taunted and told he is not a Churchman? I think the man who is not a Churchman is the man who calls the Articles the 'forty stripes save one.' When a Society has decided that, God helping it, it will never send out a man who does not hold the blessed doctrine of justification by faith, who has not felt the value of it for himself,—I say, when we compare that with the Eleventh Article, are we to be told that we are not a Church Society? I say it is they who teach a sacramental justification, or a justification by moral atonement, or any other justification than by the faith which cometh of the grace of God, who are not in harmony with the Church of England."

Not very unnaturally, the failing supply of men, especially of graduates, was by some critics attributed to the Society's "narrowness"; but Bishop R. Bickersteth, in 1872, laid the fault on the spirit abroad in the Universities, "which," he said,

"no one can contemplate without pain and sorrow. There is a relaxation of discipline, an amount of luxury and self-indulgence, a disposition to countenance freethought, which is nothing better than a license for unbelief; and these things are more than sufficient to explain the decay of that Christian life and zeal which underlie the missionary enterprise."

The Report of 1871 (drafted by C. C. Fenn) spoke on the same subject in terms which the speakers of that year referred to with marked approval:—

The Com-
 mittee's
 resolve.

"The Committee have stood firm to the principle of selecting for the mission-field, so far as human judgment enables them, none of whose missionary spirit they do not feel fully assured, none whom they do not believe to have personally experienced that salvation which they are to

* A clerical Sub-Committee deals with candidates, but this was ignored.

make known to others, none that have not clear and decided views of the Divine authority of Holy Scripture, of propitiation through faith in Christ's blood, and of the new birth and the new life as formed and maintained by the power of the Holy Ghost using the Word as His instrument. Not for a moment would they claim absolute freedom from error in selection; but if error must be made, they would rather occasionally lose the services of an efficient workman than send forth an agent of whose spiritual qualifications they feel a doubt."

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But although the supply of University men was so scanty, the men who did come forward were good men. Cambridge sent C. E. Vines, who was for fourteen years Principal of St. John's College, Agra; Albert H. Arden,—a member of the ancient Arden family, one of whom was the mother of Shakespeare,—who for thirty-three years laboured faithfully in C.M.S. service both in India and at home; George Maxwell Gordon, the "Pilgrim Missionary," of whom more presently; J. Hunter Bishop, still labouring in Travancore after thirty-one years' service; George Ensor, the first missionary of the Church of England to Japan; R. F. Trench, a nephew of the Archbishop, who died in India, deeply lamented, within a few months of his landing there; E. K. Blumhardt and S. T. Leupolt, sons of veteran and honoured fathers; Francis H. Baring, son of the Bishop of Durham and cousin of Lord Northbrook, who by his combined munificence and self-repression has done so much and yet so unobtrusively for the Punjab Mission; Worthington Jukes, the able missionary at Peshawar for fifteen years; Malcolm G. Goldsmith, the untiring witness for Christ among the Mohammedans of South India for already over a quarter of a century. Oxford sent Joseph W. Bardsley, one of the seven clerical sons of James Bardsley of Manchester, and Frederick Wathen, whose early deaths in India, after three years' service in each case, were blows deeply felt,—but Mrs. Bardsley's long and still-continued services to the C.E.Z.M.S. must be thankfully recorded on the other side; Rowland Bateman, son of that doughty Protestant champion James Bateman, F.R.S., for many years rivalling Gordon as *the* Punjab itinerant, and the organizer of the extensive Narowal Mission; John W. Knott, Fellow of Brasenose, Tractarian Incumbent of St. Saviour's, Leeds, humble convert to Evangelical Truth, French's companion to India, whose bones lie in the Peshawar cemetery,—and of whom more presently. Oxford and Cambridge combined to send the brothers Squires, who for twenty years jointly bore on their shoulders a large part of the burden of the Bombay and Poona Missions. Of the Dublin men, H. J. Alcock should be specially mentioned, as Principal of the Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, though only for four years.

University
men of the
period.

The Society having now given up obtaining men from the Basle Seminary, to which in former years it owed so much, we do not in these later periods find many new German names on the roll; but there are a few that must be mentioned. Three sons of

Germans,
and men
engaged in
India.

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C. T. Hoernle appear, all of whom had been educated at German universities. One received further training at Islington, and the other two were taken up in India. Another son of a missionary was C. W. H. Isenberg, also of Islington, who died after five years' service. Two brothers, W. P. and H. J. Schaffter, were sons of an old Tinnevely missionary; and two other brothers, C. and A. W. Baumann, were sons of a member of Gossner's Mission in Chota Nagpore. In this period also came on the Indian staff two other Germans locally engaged, P. M. Zenker and H. F. Beutel; two men of mixed descent, F. J. de Rozario and A. Stark; and a remarkable Italian, a convert from Romanism, Giulio Cæsare Mola (Julius Cæsar Mill). Every one of these proved excellent missionaries, and five of them, Zenker, Stark, A. W. Baumann, Beutel, and H. J. Schaffter, are still labouring after nearly thirty years' service. Schaffter in after years came to England, passed through Islington, and subsequently took a Dublin degree.

The mis-
cellaneous
list.

The miscellaneous list of the period contains names worth noting: Dr. Elmslie, the medical missionary of Kashmir; Dr. Galt, another medical missionary in China; E. F. Wilson, son of the Vicar of Islington, who laboured among the Ojibbeway Indians of Algoma; A. H. Lash, the organizer in succession of the Sarah Tucker Institution in Tinnevely, the Buchanan Institution in Travancore, and the Wynaad Mission, and now counting more than thirty years' service; and, above all, William Carpenter Bompas. Bompas was a Lincolnshire curate, a St. Bees' man, who was present at the C.M.S. Anniversary Service at St. Bride's on May 1st, 1865. The sermon that evening was preached by Bishop Anderson, who had just retired from the Bishopric of Rupert's Land after fifteen years in the Great Lone Land. From the pulpit he read a letter which he had received from the furthest station in those immeasurable wilds, saying that Robert McDonald, the missionary to the Loucheux Indians, was "sinking in rapid decline." "Shall no one," said the Bishop, "come forward to take up the standard of the Lord as it drops from his hands, and occupy the ground?" Bompas walked into the vestry after the service and offered on the spot to go. In the very next month he started; and he reached Fort Simpson on Mackenzie River on Christmas Eve in that same year. Nine years after, he was in England to be consecrated the first Bishop for the Arctic Circle; and now for almost a quarter of a century, he has never once returned within the limits of civilization, not even to Manitoba. The miscellaneous list also includes eight schoolmasters from C. R. Alford's Training College at Highbury. Four of these have done admirable service, viz., A. H. Wright in North India, J. Jackson in Bombay, T. Kember in Tinnevely, these three to the present day; and J. Thornton in the Telugu Mission twelve years, and since then in New Zealand.

School-
masters.

Let us now turn to Islington College. In the earlier years of

our period, Mr. Green's reports were extremely encouraging. In 1864, there were forty-seven students under his care, the largest number then on record. The years 1862 to 1866 saw the sailing of several men of whom Islington is justly proud: one bishop, W. Ridley; four archdeacons, Buswell, Maundrell, Phair, and Warren; and also such men as Wade, Campbell, J. D. Thomas, Maddox, Valentine, Cribb, Mallett, Sell, G. Maunsell, Cooke, Shirt, Piper, Bates, Brodie, Good, and others less known but not less faithful. Then in the next three or four years we find two bishops, Reeve and Grisdale; and Dowbiggin, Griffith, Harrison, Harcourt, Bower, D. Wood, J. Brown, Padfield, Mahood, Cain, Roberts, Burnside, Palmer, Elwin; and at the end of the period, Ellwood, Caley (Archdeacon), Richards, Thwaites, Hutchinson, Cole, A. Cowley, and Lee Mayer. Of the forty-three thus mentioned, no less than twenty-five are still in the field after from twenty-five to thirty-five years' service.

In his report in 1863, Mr. Green dwelt happily on the fact of his having five sons of missionaries, and of four of the fathers having been in their day students; and pointed out the contrast in their Missions between that day and this. One of these sons was J. D. Thomas, whose father went to Tinnevely when there was no Mengnanapuram, while the son would find there a small quasi-diocese, with several Native clergymen and congregations under his father's superintendence. Another was George Maunsell, whose father, a Dublin graduate, had studied in the College for a few months just before going to New Zealand. There were then only eight Maori communicants; now there were thousands. The elder Maunsell had translated a large part of the Bible into Maori, and the son, while at Islington, was correcting for the press a new edition of the version. These are the kind of facts that call for so much thanksgiving in connexion with the records of Islington College.

Mr. Green also referred in his yearly reports to those in the College whom we call "natives," but who would be more accurately termed "foreigners," seeing that in England it is the English who are "natives." Among these were two well-known Africans, Dandeson Coates Crowther, son of the Bishop, and named after the former Lay Secretary of the Society; and Henry Johnson, son of an excellent Yoruba catechist under Hinderer at Ibadan. Johnson was ordained from the College, deacon by Bishop Anderson for the Bishop of London, and priest by the Bishop of London himself. Crowther, who was earlier in the College, joined his father in Africa as a layman, but subsequently came again with the Bishop to England; and on June 19th, 1870, Islington Parish Church witnessed the touching spectacle of a black bishop, once a slave, ordaining his own son to the ministry of the Church of England. Both Johnson and D. C. Crowther became in after years Archdeacons on the Niger. Another "native" at the College was an educated Hindu, who had come

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Islington
men.

Sons of
former
students.

"Natives."

D. C.
Crowther
and H.
Johnson.

PART VII. to England to study for the bar, and while in this country was
 1862-72. converted to Christ, and Vera Swami became Arthur Theophilus.
 Chap. 54. After ordination he went back to Madras as a C.M.S. missionary,
 became pastor of the Tamil congregation in Black Town, and
 subsequently was engaged by the Bible Society as its superintendent
 of colporteurs.

Vera
Swami.

Special
ordina-
tions.

Another interesting circumstance reported by Green was the holding of special ordinations for the Islington men. On July 27th, 1862, fourteen were ordained by the Bishop of Sierra Leone (Beckles) at Islington Parish Church, under special commission from the Bishop of London—"an ordination," observed Green, "exclusively missionary, and embracing the largest number of missionary labourers ever presented to a bishop at one time by the Society, and unique probably also in the annals of the Church of England." A similar ordination, for nine men, was held on July 25th, 1864, at the Islington Chapel of Ease, by Bishop Smith of Victoria; and another, by the same Bishop, for thirteen men, on June 11th, 1866, at Trinity Church, Marylebone. Some of the Valedictory Meetings also at this time were of special interest. Particularly so was the one following Bishop Smith's ordination in 1866, when the then unprecedented number of twenty-seven persons appeared to be taken leave of, including a few returning to their posts, three wives, five Africans, and the converted Hindu law-student, the Rev. Arthur Theophilus Vera Swami. On this occasion, T. V. French, then Incumbent of St. Paul's, Cheltenham, delivered a most striking address.* One small extract must be given; but every line is telling:—

French's
address.

"Stopped
through."

"I have been struck lately with the word employed by our Lord in addressing His apostles before His passion, *ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ διαμεμνηκότες μετ' ἐμοῦ*, 'Ye are they that have *stopped through* with Me.' That word seems to me to express one of the chief characteristics of the missionary work. It does not so much consist of single conspicuous acts of Christian heroism and chivalrous daring,—beating your heads, as the *Times* expresses it, against the stone walls of the Quadrilateral,†—as of small daily acts of patience and perseverance, small sufferings steadily, persistently, borne for Christ's sake."

It was not then supposed that French, whose health had twice broken down in India, and who was now Incumbent of St. Paul's, Cheltenham, would be likely to go out again himself; yet within twelve months of this meeting he was planning to do so, and within two years and a half his own third leave-taking took place, as we shall see by-and-by. Other addresses at these gatherings, printed in the *Intelligencer*, by Cadman, Miller, Thorold, and Reeve, are valuable, but must be passed without notice.

Some changes at Islington which took place in our period must now be glanced at. They were due to the initiative of Sir Robert

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1866.

† The Quadrilateral was the group of four fortresses in Lombardy, by which Austria formerly kept her dominion over North Italy.

Montgomery. As soon as he began to attend the Committee meetings, he called attention to the importance of sending to India men of a higher education than Islington up to that time had generally supplied. In 1868, accordingly, the subject was repeatedly and fully discussed, and at length, on July 13th, a long Minute was adopted, embodying new regulations for the College. The principal of them were these :—(1) No student to be admitted without an elementary knowledge of Latin and Greek, to be tested by an entrance examination, so that the ordinary three years' College course would begin at a higher stage of education ; (2) the elements of Comparative Philology and Natural Philosophy to be included in the curriculum, and also, as far as possible, of Medicine, Botany, and Chemistry ; (3) the Theological section of the training to be directed specially to the requirements of Hindu and Mohammedan controversy, Church History and the Evidences being prominent ; (4) the practical study of Agriculture and Gardening to be encouraged ; (5) locations to be fixed a year before the conclusion of the course, and the native language of the appointed field to be studied in that year ; (6) every student to attend a training-school, or in some other way become acquainted with the best systems of education.

This scheme at once necessitated provision being made for giving a preliminary grounding to candidates not prepared to pass the new entrance examination. Here and there a man of exceptional natural talent and dogged perseverance might in scanty leisure hours educate himself so far ; but this would not be the case with ordinary men. Hence arose the Preparatory Institution, which was started in 1869, at Reading, under the Rev. R. Bren, late of the Ceylon Mission. This arrangement should have prevented any falling off in the number of candidates received owing to the new examination ; but the fact remains that, as before stated, the supply became about this time extremely slack, until in 1872 there were only twenty-three men in training instead of the forty-seven of 1864. Apparently Mr. Green was not quite happy with the new system : his latest reports dwell on the valuable service rendered in the Missions by men of no advanced scholarship ; and in 1870 he went back to his old Yorkshire parish, and it fell to Mr. Frost to carry on the improved curriculum. Excellent missionaries were trained under it in those years, 1869 to 1872 ; yet on a comparison of names it does not seem that the men who went out in the earlier 'sixties were one whit inferior to them. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Islington education has from that time been higher than it was ; and that the Preparatory Institution has proved in many ways of great value.

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Sir R.
Mont-
gomery's
proposals
for Isling-
ton.

Prepara-
tory Insti-
tution at
Reading.

Frost suc-
ceeds
Green at
Islington.

The question of sending out women missionaries came before the Committee two or three times in our period. In 1859 the Rev. W. Pennefather, then at Barnet, wrote to the Society offer-

Women
candidates

PART VII. ing to train ladies at an institution he proposed opening. The
 1862-72. Committee replied sympathetically, thought they might use the
 Chap. 54. institution, and undertook to pay the expenses of any candidates
 they might send to it. But they still shrank from saying much
 in print about even the few women the Society was employing.
 Twice over, in the published "Selections from Proceedings of
 Committee," in 1863, it is announced that "a lady" had been
 appointed to the Female Institution, Sierra Leone. Both of
 them, Miss Kleiner and Miss Adcock, laboured there till their
 health failed. In October of that year the Committee were in-
 formed that there were "several applications from ladies
 desiring missionary employment"; and they passed the following
 resolution:—

Refused by "That as there are already two Societies in whose principles this
 C.M.S. Committee have full confidence, whose professed object it is to send out
 ladies for schools and zenanas in India, this Committee are not prepared
 to take up that branch of missionary operations, except under very special
 circumstances, or for the supply of their Training Establishments for
 Native schoolmistresses."

The two Societies here referred to were, of course, the Society
 for Promoting Female Education in the East and the Indian
 Female Normal School and Instruction Society. Again, just a
 year later, "letters were read from several ladies desirous of
 offering themselves for missionary work in connexion with the
 Society," and it was resolved, "That this Committee cannot send
 out ladies for zenana work." It is very evident that these
 repeated offers from women were one fruit of that Evangelistic
 and Revival Movement described in our Thirty-fourth Chapter; but
 twenty years were to pass away before the Society took full
 advantage of that movement. But in 1867 came a more serious
 representation to the Committee, in the form of a Memorial from
 the clergy and others at Bonchurch and Ventnor, forwarded and
 endorsed by Sir Herbert Edwardes, urging the Society to take
 over the existing Zenana Societies altogether. The resolutions in
 reply to this Memorial must be given in full. They show that
 the Committee claimed to be doing already a good deal of woman's
 work, through the wives, sisters, and daughters of missionaries;
 and they still declined to send out others:—

"Resolved:—

"1. That the Secretaries do prepare a Minute, showing the large
 amount of instruction imparted to the females of India, both
 adults and children, in zenanas, in Bible-classes, and in schools,
 by the wives, sisters, and daughters of our missionaries; from
 which it will appear that the Church Missionary Society has
 ever regarded female instruction as a legitimate and even
 essential branch of its operations; and that a proof of its
 success is given in the fact that in its more advanced Missions
 Christian women hold their proper position in society.

"2. That the work of female instruction has been thus gradually
 developed in connexion with the general operations of the

C.M.S.
 urged to
 take
 women.

But Com-
 mittee
 again re-
 fuse.

Society; and the Committee will now urge it forward upon their missionaries' wives, widows, and the female members of the Mission families, in proportion to the enlarged opportunities of the present day, and especially the opening of normal schools for training Native teachers for zenana work.

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—

- "3. That this Committee believe that there are openings for the employment of additional female missionaries, especially for zenana teaching; but they conceive that the Church Missionary Society cannot undertake to organize such an agency on any considerable scale consistently with the claims of other branches of its work; whereas a Society, professedly established for educational purposes, and conducted by a Ladies' Committee, may advantageously undertake and carry on the work in co-operation with various Missionary Societies.
- "4. That on these grounds the Committee think it inadvisable that the work and agents of the Native Female Instruction Society for India should be made over to the Church Missionary Society, except in cases in which the work is carried on by the widows or daughters of its missionaries."

But it was in the years 1864 to 1869 that the Society sent out Miss Neele, Miss Caspari, and Miss Laurence, and entered on its roll the names of the widows of John Thomas, Henry Baker, sen., H. Andrews, and J. E. Sharkey, as well as of Miss Thomas and Miss Zenker.

Women
actually
engaged.

But the most important of all the candidates of the period was one that could not be counted in our previous enumeration. Thomas Valpy French had been to India twice before as a C.M.S. missionary, so he was no new recruit. But he had been twice driven home by ill health, and had now, 1868, been nearly six years in England; and, as already mentioned, he was Incumbent of a church at Cheltenham. His renewed offer of service, therefore, involved a real addition to the ranks, and was a special encouragement to the Committee at a time of much difficulty and anxiety. Moreover, French was a strong Churchman, certainly a good deal "higher" than the average C.M.S. missionary; and his offer, at such a time, when party spirit ran high, and the Society was being loudly condemned for its supposed un-Church-like character, had unusual significance.

French a
candidate
for the
third time.

After his return sick from the Derajat, French had been curate to the venerable Dr. Marsh at Beddington, where he had as a younger fellow-labourer a man whom we shall meet again presently, George Maxwell Gordon. Thence he went to Cheltenham, and worked St. Paul's parish for four years; and his biographer gives some striking facts regarding his ministry there.* But his heart was in India, and his active mind was planning a new mission agency for India; and though he often went out as a deputation for the C.M.S., he shrank from appealing to others to dedicate themselves to missionary work

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. pp. 152—158.

PART VII. when he himself was not going back to it. His friend Dr. Kay, 1862-72.
Chap. 54. who had been Principal of Bishop's College, said to him, "Yours is a clear case: you may with honest face urge others to do what they can to supply the place you have so reluctantly relinquished"; but Robert Clark's utterance was more to his mind, "If those who ought to go won't, then those that ought not must." *

French's
scheme for
a Divinity
School.

French's scheme was one for a Divinity School for the North-West and the Punjab, of an altogether higher type than had yet been attempted, and yet using the vernacular languages only as a medium of instruction. A paper he prepared on the subject was presented to the Committee in July, 1867; but it was not till the following February that the project was matured. Of the Committee meeting on February 18th French gives the following interesting sketch:—

French at
C.M.S.
Committee

"Feb. 18th, 1868.—Went up to London, spent night at Mr. Venn's, and accompanied him to C.M.S. House, Salisbury Square. Sat by dear Knott, who from time to time dropped in my ear some cheering, strengthening word of God's truth. After two hours the Lahore College question came on. I was surprised and taken aback by the unanimity which prevailed in supporting it as a whole, and the too flattering kindness and cordiality with which I was received. The speakers (after Mr. Venn had opened the subject) were Sir R. Montgomery; Dr. Miller; Knott, of East Ham; Thomas and Maltby, civilians of Madras; Mr. Lang; Mr. Fenn, junior; Mr. Carre Tucker (who advocated Benares). The feeling was to give me *carte blanche* as to (1) choosing a coadjutor; (2) the funds required (£1000 per annum Mr. Carre Tucker suggested); (3) the place at which the College is to be established; (4) aid rendered me personally for the education of my children. I desire unfeignedly to thank God for the signs given me (as I trust), in this affectionate, cordial welcome and acceptance of my plans, of His approval of the scheme. I desired simply to leave it in His hands, to carry on or set aside as seemed to Him best." †

It is worth noting that on that same day, during the "two hours" mentioned by French as elapsing before his scheme came on, Sir Robert Montgomery brought forward *his* scheme for a higher education at Islington. Thus at the same time a superior training for both English and Indian missionaries was under discussion. Correspondence had then to be carried on with India, particularly regarding the locality for the proposed College, and on this point there was much discussion, French desiring Lahore, while Sir Donald McLeod, Sir W. Muir, H. Carre Tucker, and W. Smith of Benares, preferred this latter city. Ultimately, in November, the question was settled in favour of French's view. Meanwhile, the interest of the scheme had been much enhanced by the offer of the Rev. J. W. Knott—the "dear Knott" of the foregoing extract—to go out with French.

J. W.
Knott.

John William Knott was in some respects the most remarkable man who had yet joined the Society, and his career calls for

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. p. 159.

† *Ibid.*, p. 164.

special notice. He was educated, like Archbishop Benson and Bishops Lightfoot and Westcott, at King Edward's School, Birmingham, under Prince Lee, afterwards first Bishop of Manchester. At Oxford he became Fellow of Brasenose, and while there was notable for extreme devoutness. He was an ardent disciple of Dr. Pusey, and by him was sent to be Incumbent of St. Saviour's, Leeds, the church built by Pusey himself at his own cost, though under the name only of "A Penitent." Dr. Hook's great work as Vicar of Leeds had made that town an Anglican stronghold; but Hook was a thorough English Churchman, hating Rome as cordially as did the Evangelicals whom he despised, and always avowing himself both Catholic and Protestant. St. Saviour's, which at once became the great centre of ultra-Tractarian teaching in the north of England, was a sad thorn in Hook's side. He disliked the ritual adopted, and detested the doctrine taught. The "eastward position" was at that time a novelty; and when a friend of Hook's was going to an early Communion at St. Saviour's, Hook said to him, "You'll see nothing but their backs!"* And of Confession he declared that *his* "confessor" for two-and-twenty years had been "one who is bound to me by the closest ties that can bind together two human beings."† Even to Pusey himself St. Saviour's was a sore trouble. Within six years of its consecration in 1846, nine out of fifteen clergymen who had been connected with it had gone over to Rome.‡ To this church Pusey, in 1851, sent Knott.

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Dr. Pusey
sends
Knott to
Leeds.

At this point nothing that might now be written could approach in impressiveness the truly wonderful sentences in which French, after Knott's death, described his friend's former life and work; and so intensely important are they, especially coming from such a man, that small type would be quite out of place. Let us adopt them, duly quoted, in the text: §—

French's
account of
Knott's
great
change.

"To adopt a course by halves was impossible to him; and he threw himself into the tenets of the extreme High Church (though not Romanizing) party, fully; ardently persuaded that they would be powerful to draw men out of sin, and bring them to God; and that a mediating priesthood on earth was a supplement, or, at least, a wholesome auxiliary to the mediatorial priesthood of the God-man, Christ Jesus. Never, perhaps, were views more sincerely adopted with the desire to glorify God in the salvation of souls; never, perhaps, were they more self-sacrificingly laid aside, at the risk of the loss of bosom friendships—a keen, heart-piercing loss to a loving soul like his,—or with a franker, manlier confession that the opinions with which all his antecedents, sympathies, interests, convictions, had been bound up, on which he had staked his credit as a minister of the Gospel, and framed

Knott's
deep sin-
cerity.

* *Quarterly Review*, July, 1879: article on Hook and Selwyn, p. 50.

† *Life of Dean Hook*, vol. ii. p. 347.

‡ Overton, *The Anglican Revival*, p. 155.

§ *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1871, pp. 134—137.

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his life and teaching, were after all, in practice, proved inadequate to the stress he had laid upon them, ineffectual to win souls ; above all, which a deeper study of God's word, of his own heart, of the wants of men, had disproved, shown him not to be true. Then, if not true, no man would with more unflinching, unfaltering voice speak out all the truth as God had taught it him ; or be readier to bear the reproach of admitting in later years that much had to be pulled down which he had laboured zealously to build up ; that much was, in fact, wood, hay, stubble, which he had believed to be gold, silver, precious stones. . . .

"It was deemed important to secure a safe man who would strictly identify with the Church-of-England worship and practice in Leeds, principles which had, naturally and appropriately, folded others in the bosom of the apostate Church, on whom the great scholar and divine, whose premature removal we all mourn, Dean Alford, and the present Bishop of Lincoln,* have fixed the brand of the Apocalyptic harlot with such clear insight and irrefragable argument in their well-known writings. Mr. Knott was selected, and for a time he fulfilled his commission, doubtless to the entire satisfaction of the heads of his party, to whom St. Saviour's, Leeds, was a kind of northern fortress and commanding watch-tower. There was the monastic, or all but monastic establishment for the vicar and his curates, where asceticism and austerity were practised far beyond that sound and wholesome mean which the Church of England inculcates. There was the frequent confessional, to which some of the young men of Leeds, and many more of the young women from the great manufactories, resorted ; on some of whom considerable pressure had to be exercised, and much ministerial authority exerted to prevent their being received into Rome. There was, at the same time, an awakening and alarming style of preaching, highly sacramental and sacerdotal, with much, too, as far as I can gather, of simple evangelical preaching of the Cross of Christ, and of the absolute necessity of heart-conversion and the new life. This I know on evidence too direct to admit of doubt.

Knott's influence at St. Saviour's, Leeds.

Knott's eyes opened by the confessional.

"But by degrees painful experience falsified the expectations formed of the results of such a ministry, and our dear brother was not one to be so blinded by foregone conclusions and heated resolves as to make his heart steel-proof to the solid and sterling teachings of that experience : while some handed their souls over fast bound to the directions and corrections of the Father-Confessor, others were found to practise in secret the grossest immoralities, under shelter of the levities and more pardonable errors they confessed. A time of agonizing struggle and indescribably deep heart-searching followed, over which a biographer, especially the writer of a brief sketch such as this, must draw the veil, for they belong to the mysteries of human existence : truest of true facts

* Bishop Christopher Wordsworth.

belonging to the human soul's inner and most sacred converse with Him, that most worthy Judge Eternal, the Maker, Preserver, and Saviour of our souls. The result, however, was the determination to resign St. Saviour's at all hazards, contrary, as I believe, to the earnest solicitations of the famous party-leader, among whose followers he was till now enlisted. Suffice it to say that this reached its crisis in a short period, some three or four days, of such wrestling and conflict as none can know but those into whose spiritual experience it has entered; into whose soul God's iron has entered; who have drunk His cup of bitterness and trembling; over whom the dark shadow of His chastening wrath has passed, as though it were some feeble resemblance of the agony in Gethsemane; and the heart can only find vent for its anguish in such words as those of David, 'Save me, O God, for the waters are come in, even to my soul'; or in the deeply-expressive language of such Psalms as cxlii., cxliii., and especially the one hundred and sixteenth Psalm, embodied by St. Paul into the whole of 2 Cor. iv., and portrayed, almost as by an inspired penman, in that remarkable hymn of Wesley, 'Come, O thou traveller unknown,' which is really an enlargement of that exposition of Jacob's night of wrestling, which we find in Hosea xii. 3-5.

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Chap. 54.

Knott's
spiritual
struggles.

"It would be impossible, however one might desire it, to refrain from all reference to this period of Mr. Knott's life, because himself, in reverting to his past history, put his finger very decisively on that point of it, as the turning-point of his whole life—as a period of 'horror of great darkness,'—'heaviness through manifold temptations,'—pangs as of death itself—from which he was brought up again to light and liberty and life, to rest and peace, and joy in God unspeakable; to singleness of purpose and aim, and entireness of self-consecration; a fulness, freshness, clearness of knowledge of God's truth, and of a different *kind* altogether to the second-hand knowledge which most possess; a power and freedom in enunciating it which I have never seen surpassed, witnessing to the personal anointing of the Comforter, to close heart-dealings and communings, not with abstract truth, but Him who is the LIVING TRUTH, and who had touched his lips with a live coal, so that a radiance and bright glow of love and power diffused itself around him, not in the pulpit, or the closet, or the pastoral visit alone, but in the business working-hours of life; and the genial sparkle of which seemed to make the most ordinary intercourse with him refreshing, gladdening, and edifying.

Result of
such an
experience.

"It needs 'an old disciple' in the school of Christ to handle these themes aright. We see these crises exemplified in the histories of St. Paul, Augustine, Tauler, Luther, and most others whom God has been pleased to call to the fore-front to render very eminent services to His Church. They are thus baptized with Christ's baptism; they know not only '*the fellowship of His sufferings*,' but are 'made conformable to His death.' As a great

French's
further
comments
on such a
crisis.

PART VII. English preacher says, 'they have every stick of their nest broken.' In this sense it was one of Luther's favourite prayers, 1862-72. Chap. 54. 'Vivat Christus moriatur Martinus.' In such men we find a very thorough break with the world, and deadness to it; a daily and hourly living under '*the power of the world to come*'; great indifference to man's judgment; very single-eyed and simple reference to God's glory: a strong grasp, vivid apprehensions, and, as the result, forcible, clear, full delineations of Divine truth and eternal realities like the descriptions of an eye-witness; or of one whose faith is more than sight. The crisis may vary in intensity, clearly as the force and depth of the natural character varies; or as the circumstances which gave it occasion have been more or less overpowering; or as '*the grace of our God has been more exceeding abundant*'; the waves stormier, the depths of humiliation darker, through which the soul has been brought forth to the light. But making allowance for those differences, it was our friend's strong feeling that stern, hard teachings of this sort are infinite blessings, as the prophet Isaiah describes it—'*The Lord spoke to me with a strong hand that I should not walk in the way of this people.*' And he seemed to wish it for all his friends that they should know this 'casting down,' after which the 'lifting up' comes—this death out of which springs life. And so far from shrinking from it, and quailing at the possible severity of it, he would have them rather hope and wait, and even pray for it, as believing that it was in this way of heart-brokenness that God was most pleased to school and discipline His people for more unreserved obedience, and to do battle more resolutely and courageously against error and corruption, whether in the world or the Church."

Did even Bishop French ever write more powerful and impressive sentences than these?

The instrument in God's hands of effecting the great change in Knott was that remarkable "missioner," Robert Aitken of Pendeen,* a man who combined rather "High" views of the Prayer-book with very definite teaching on the necessity of conversion, and who therefore, when preaching at Leeds, was specially able to influence High Churchmen. At the crisis of the change, in 1854, Knott went, at ten o'clock at night, to a well-known and highly-respected clergyman in Leeds, a real Evangelical though not regarded as a party man, the Rev. Edward (afterwards Canon) Jackson; and to him, "with much emotion," he opened his heart, telling him how his eyes had been opened to see, not only the unsripturalness, but the hollowness and unreality, of the confessional.† His position at St. Saviour's quickly became untenable, and although Dr. Pusey generously declined to ask him to

* Father of the Rev. W. Hay M. H. Aitken. See further, Chapter LXX.

† *Christian Observer*, October, 1870, p. 792; article evidently by H. Venn. See also an article on Knott by his old friend the Rev. E. P. Hathaway in the *Churchman* of March, 1897.

resign, the bitter persecution to which he was subjected by the congregation compelled him to retire in 1859. He returned to Oxford for a time, and became well known for the extreme winsomeness of his conversation, as he discussed the new *Essays and Reviews* school with exemplary candour and yet solemn earnestness. He soon began to think of India, but felt he ought not even to seem to be shrinking from the cross he was bearing at home owing to his change of views. He took charge for a time of the newly-formed district of Roxeth, Harrow; and then, in virtue of his Brasenose fellowship, succeeded to the important and lucrative rectory of East Ham. Of one aspect of his work there, in which he used from time to time to associate with himself such men as Mr. Haslam and Lord Radstock, French says:—

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Knott at
East Ham.

“I saw something more of his work at East Ham, though there was very much I could not see, but which, from stray notices I collected of it, must have been of the same rare and unusual kind which struck one in the rest of his work. . . . One of his most important works was his presence at, if not guidance of, gatherings for prayer of Christian laymen in London: men of business, merchants, lawyers, and other professional men; hard-headed thinkers, some of them deeply versed in their Bibles, and who found calm and refreshment of spirit in leaving the bar, the desk, the counter, and the many harassing, absorbing, bewildering scenes which men go through in that great business-mart and hive of labour, and in assembling themselves to slake their thirst of soul from the pure fresh streams of God's Holy Word.

Knott's
Bible-read-
ings for
men.

“There were few scenes so congenial to our brother's mind as these: he was very much at home in them, and was very welcome. His broad and accurate theological knowledge was very valuable in such assemblies, where very crude and ingenious novelties were sometimes started by men of warm imaginations and fervent zeal, but whose doctrinal system might be confused and irregular. Occasionally, where he believed some foundation at stake, he rebuked the erring brother with an impassioned power of eloquence; all the difference between St. John the aged talking with little children, and the same in his Boanerges character resisting Cerinthus. There was that in his character which greatly endeared him to men of business, as well as to officers in the army, which led them often to confide to him their special trials and difficulties, family and personal, and would have marked him out in another Church for a most popular Father Confessor. His sympathies were so deep and true; his counsels so appropriate, so thoughtful, so gently, lovingly, unassumingly given, drawn from his natural insight and widely-accumulated experience of human nature. Classes which are comparatively seldom reached by clergymen, and too apt to regard each other with a kind of mutual repulsion, seemed specially to attract him and be drawn to him; and among these perhaps the largest amount of his ministerial fruits will appear in the day ‘which will try every man's work.’”

This was the man who now offered to the Society, to go out with French—another token indeed of God's gracious favour in times of anxiety. Knott had been deeply impressed by the claims of the Heathen World through an address of John Tucker's in his early Oxford days. After the great change in his views and life the call came back to him; but the refusal of the congregation of

PART VII. St. Saviour's to support the church while he remained there had
 1862-72. thrown its expenses on him and involved him in debt, and not till
 Chap. 54. he was free would he come forward.

Valedic-
 tory meet-
 ing for
 French
 and Knott.

The Valedictory gathering for French and Knott, on Jan. 5th, 1869, was one of unique interest. It was only in the "old committee-room," which was crowded by about one hundred gentlemen, "and half a dozen ladies." Bishop Smith of Victoria, who had married French at Calcutta in 1852, presided; and among the visitors present were the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, Dr. Kay of Calcutta, Dr. Alexander Duff, &c. Venn read the Instructions, which began by frankly acknowledging that the Committee had hesitated to agree to either French returning to India, leaving wife and eight children at home, or to Knott giving up his important position to go out at the age of forty-six; "but," they said, "step by step, with the advice of friends in India and at home, and by the infallible index of many concurring providences, they have assuredly gathered that the Lord hath called you." The further Instructions ably sketched the scheme for the new college. The replies of French and Knott were characteristic. French, in the course of his address, with perhaps undesigned but singularly appropriate reference to his eight children, said:—

"When I stand before you, I do so feeling how remarkably that dear home circle manifested the true temper of the Gospel, when, in the exercise of a real faith, they submitted their own wills, and showed so chastened and subdued a spirit. It is not the old Roman stern, stoical spirit, but a spirit subdued and chastened to Christ. I could not but be struck on reading the other day the passage in Livy respecting the going forth of the Roman army on a new expedition against Perseus. There was a veteran soldier who wished to speak to the centurion. All made way, and he stood before the tribune and addressed the assembled Romans, saying, 'I am a veteran of more than twenty campaigns, and might fairly claim exemption from the service. I have eight children, two of them young, two daughters unmarried, and others grown up, and therefore I might ask to be released from further service. I might legitimately claim that release; but as long as there is a Roman general worthy of setting out on another campaign against the enemies of my country, I shall always be ready to offer myself for that work.' I could not help feeling that that noble Roman, although not prompted by Christian motives, yet exemplifies what Christian action ought to be in our day. I do wish that the clergy, especially the young clergy of this country, would only feel that they have much grander, much nobler motives of action than those by which the old Roman veteran was actuated, and would try to carry them into practice in somewhat of his self-sacrifice, but in the more subdued and chastened spirit of the Gospel."

And Knott said:—

"When I offered myself to the Committee for missionary work in India, I felt like Abraham's servant at the well-side, wondering whether the Lord would make his journey prosperous or not. But obstacles have been removed. The way has been smoothed; and I trust I shall be able for some period of time to devote all the power which God gives me to this great work; and I shall rejoice to testify in this way some sense of

French re-
 calls the
 Roman
 soldier
 with eight
 children.

Knott's
 farewell.

the special debt I owe to Him for His special favours to me. I feel, indeed, that the Gentiles may well glorify God for His mercy; and I feel that I have in a special manner to glorify God for His mercy to me—mercy in bringing me out of serious errors. I owe a deep debt in this respect, first to my Lord; and I owe a debt also to some of those with whom I was in contact, and with whom I lived and acted; and I feel that I may in some way be helped to pay that debt of Christian love honestly and faithfully—but all must be subordinate to the one great consideration, that we have to glorify God for His mercy and for His unspeakable gifts.”

There was a third man taken leave of that day, Samuel Dyson, returning to Bengal, where he had already laboured fourteen years. In his reply he justly reminded the Committee on such an occasion that the Bengalis were the intellectual section of the people of North India. The valedictory address was given by the Rev. T. R. Birks, Vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge, afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy there, and biographer of Edward Bickersteth,* who was at this time at the height of his reputation as one of the most learned and thoughtful of Evangelical leaders. Dr. Duff also spoke, with his accustomed fervid eloquence; and Dr. Kay, as French's old friend, with emotion; and Colonel Lake, not yet one of the Secretaries, as a representative of the Punjab. Dr. Kay quoted, as a motto for French's work, words which he said French had once quoted to him as the motto of Thomas Thomason of Calcutta, the words of the Risen Lord to the angel of the Church at Ephesus, διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου κεκοπίακας καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας, “For My name's sake hast laboured and hast not fainted.”†

Still more interesting in a sense was a private farewell meeting in the hall of Brasenose. “An event precisely similar,” wrote the Rev. E. P. Hathaway, “had never before occurred in the history of the University; and the power and pathos of the two speeches bowed the heart of every listener.”‡ French himself wrote of it,—“I have not seen so large an assembly of a private character in Oxford. Many were there to whom perhaps any other man that had acted as Knott had done might seem a renegade; but in him the unimpeachable honesty, the frank manliness, the strength of conviction, the self-condemnation before God, blent with so much boldness, yet meekness of wisdom, must have disarmed prejudice and to a great extent taken the sting out of all bitterness of feeling.”§ “Men remarked,” says Mr. Herbert Birks, French's biographer, “as they left the hall, that French was leaving behind him eight children, and Knott a living of eight hundred a year.”||

How French went out to labour and Knott to die, we shall see

* And father of French's biographer.

† All the speeches are given *verbatim* in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of March, 1869.

‡ *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. p. 168.

§ *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1871, p. 135.

|| *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. p. 168.

PART VII. hereafter. Well does Mr. Birks quote the Lord's words, "Then shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left."
 1862-72.
 Chap. 54.

George
 Maxwell
 Gordon.

One more of the candidates of the period must be specially noticed—George Maxwell Gordon. He was a son of Captain J. E. Gordon, R.N., sometime M.P. for Dundalk, well known in Parliament as a true Christian and a strong Protestant. His earlier education was in the house of the Rev. Henry Moule, Vicar of Fordington, Dorset; from which house went forth four missionaries, viz., two sons, George and Arthur Moule (now Bishop and Archdeacon), R. R. Winter, the excellent S.P.G. missionary of Delhi, and G. M. Gordon.* While Gordon was at Cambridge, the death of a very dearly-loved sister was made a blessing to his soul, and he dated from it, in his own words, "by God's infinite mercy, a starting-point towards the apprehension of pardon and acceptance through Christ." Dr. H. C. G. Moule describes him as then "a quiet but quite decided and steady Christian," and a member of the Cambridge C.M. Union; but adds that "his great spiritual lift was experienced when he went to Dr. Marsh at Beddington." He went there for his first curacy, and, as already mentioned in this chapter, had, as fellow-curate, T. V. French. From him, no doubt, came the inspiration towards a missionary career; yet there was another influence, a humbler one. He had a Bible-class of men, the fruits of Dr. Marsh's latest ministry, who had formed themselves into a missionary committee and collected for the C.M.S. However, he did not then offer. On Dr. Marsh's death, in 1864, he went on a tour to Palestine with A. W. Thorold (afterwards Bishop) and other friends, and on his return became curate at St. Thomas's, Marylebone, of which the Incumbent was the Rev. H. T. Lunsden, a regular attendant at C.M.S. Committees. It was a parish of 10,000 souls, mostly poor, and including 3000 Irish Romanists. The work was a good training for a missionary life; and from it he went forth, appointed by the Committee to the Madras Itinerancy. In after years he joined his former fellow-worker, French, in the Punjab. Here let it only be added that after his first few months in India, his health failed, and he went on a trip to Australia; that there he was received by the Rev. H. B. Macartney of Caulfield; that then and there he started a little juvenile missionary society; and that from that tiny seed, sown by George Maxwell Gordon, has sprung the fruitful tree of Mr. Macartney's labours for Indian Missions, from which again have sprung—in part at least—the Colonial Church Missionary Associations in which we have all so much rejoiced.

Gordon at
 Bedding-
 ton,

and at
 Maryle-
 bone,

and at
 Madras,

and in
 Australia.

We have seen that in the years 1871 and 1872 the low-water

* *Memoir of G. M. Gordon*, by the Rev. A. Lewis; from which the particulars in the text are taken.

mark was touched in respect of the supply of missionary candidates. It was at the end of the latter year that the tide began to turn. How was that? The Lord's own remedy was resorted to—united prayer. The last missionary event of importance in the lifetime of Henry Venn was the first Day of Intercession.

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Prayer for
men.

We owe that most happy and fruitful suggestion to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Suffering as that Society also was from the lack of recruits, its Committee approached the Archbishop of Canterbury with the suggestion that he should fix a day to be observed throughout the Anglican Communion for prayer to the Lord of the Harvest that He would send forth labourers into His harvest. On June 4th, 1872, the C.M.S. Committee received from Mr. Bullock, the S.P.G. Secretary, an invitation to join in the movement. The Minute thereon says that "the Committee cordially responded to the proposal," which is true; but it is also true that many had grave doubts regarding it, and that it was by Henry Venn's personal authority that the "cordial response" was secured. Many leading members of the Committee, indeed, were heartily in favour of joining; but the Lay Secretary, E. Hutchinson, who had by this time acquired great influence, did not like it, nor did S. Hasell, the Central Secretary, who was most in touch with the provincial Associations. Would it not be better, they thought, for the Society to appoint a Day of Intercession of its own? Happily the more generous and, as all now agree, the more Christian policy prevailed; and a circular was issued, warmly commending the proposed Day to the acceptance of the Society's supporters, to be observed by them everywhere with such services and devotional meetings as each association or parish might find convenient. The new editor of the *C.M. Intelligencer*, Mr. Knox, was one of those who did not fully sympathize with such union with the S.P.G. as the observance of the same Day of Prayer would imply; but he loyally accepted the decision, and produced an excellent article on the subject.

The S.P.G.
suggests a
Day of In-
tercession.

Views of
C.M.S.
men.

The Day itself, December 20th, was very widely and devoutly observed. All over the land, cathedrals and churches were used for special services authorized by the bishops, and parish-rooms for more informal prayer-meetings. The Bishop of London preached at St. Paul's, and Dean Stanley at the Abbey; and the latter arranged an evening "lecture" in the nave, which was given by the Rev. E. C. Stuart, the C.M.S. Calcutta Secretary (in after years Bishop of Waiapu). The newspapers generally devoted several columns to reports of the proceedings, but their comments curiously and sadly illustrated their dense ignorance of the subject, and their habit, in treating of religious topics, of employing writers unfamiliar with them. The *Times*, especially, distinguished itself by a quite extraordinary leading article, in which surprise was expressed that so many simple souls could be found to join in so useless and fatuous an observance, and doubt as to the very

The Day
observed.

Strange
article
in the
"Times."

PART VII. existence of any number of missionaries or converts at all. "There
1862-72. ought," said the article,
Chap. 54.

"by this time to be many returned missionaries, and even converts; nor ought they to be ashamed of their position. But who is there who can number among his personal acquaintance a man who has done some years, or a single year, of Church missionary work in any field? An ordinary Englishman has seen almost every human or brute native of foreign climes, but few can say that they have seen a missionary or a Christian convert."

Lord Lawrence replies.

Archbishop Tait and Mr. Delane.

It is amazing that such an article can have appeared in the year of grace 1872; but there is some satisfaction in the thought that it would be utterly impossible in 1899. It was immediately replied to by Lord Lawrence, in an admirable letter; and Mr. Knox's rare dialectical skill was never seen to better advantage than in the caustic article in which he castigated the *Times* in the *C.M. Intelligencer*. Archbishop Tait wrote a private letter to Mr. Delane, the great editor, in which he gently suggested that the article must have been written by a very young man, adding, "My fear for the world is, in this generation, through the vast influence of the press, we may be governed by boys, and those not wise ones." *

Result of the Day of Intercession.

This curious controversy could not be left without notice. But let us now remember that the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions was emphatically a day to be observed by praying people, and that its one great purpose was to beseech the Lord for such an outpouring of His Spirit as might result in the coming forward of a large number of suitable candidates for missionary service. Was that purpose effected? Yes, in the gracious providence of God, it was. Very many hearts were touched, and in the following few months more offers of service were received, by both S.P.G. and C.M.S., than had latterly been received in as many years. It was low water no more: the tide had turned. Which similitude recalls an eloquent passage in one of Bishop Wilberforce's great missionary speeches:—

"We look," he said, "at some mighty estuary which the retiring tide has left bare of the water. We see a vast expanse of sand and mud, with little trickling rivulets wearing their scarcely appreciable way through the resisting banks of that yielding ooze; and the man who knew not the secrets of the tide, and the influences by which God governs nature, would say, 'How can you ever expect to see that great expanse covered? Look at those sand-banks, those mud-heaps: how by any contrivance are you to cover them? You had better give up the thought, and acquiesce in the perpetual sterility and the enduring ooze.' But high in the heavens the unseen Ruler has set the orb which shall bring in her time the tides of the surrounding ocean, and when the appointed moment comes, noiselessly and unobserved, but suddenly and sufficiently, the whole is covered by the rejoicing water, and again it is one argent surface, sandless and mudless, *because the Lord hath willed it!*" †

* See this characteristic letter in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 360.

† *Bishop Wilberforce's Speeches on Missions*, p. 18.

CHAPTER LV.

THE NATIVE CHURCHES: SELF-SUPPORTING, SELF-GOVERNING, SELF-EXTENDING.

The Problem in Non-Colonial Lands—Individualism of Protestant Missions—The Paternal System—Sound Lessons by Scanty Supply of Men and Means—Increase of Native Clergy—Memorandum of 1851—The Sierra Leone Church: its Constitution—The Diocese of Waiapu—Delays in India—Memorandum of 1861—First Steps towards Native Church Organization in India—To begin at the bottom—Memorandum of 1866—Large Contributions of South Indian Christians—Formation of the Church Councils—C.M.S. Relations to them—Self-extension—The Phrase “Native Church” its Inaccuracy—How provide Bishops?—An Appeal from Jamaica—The Church of Ireland as a Native Church—No Anglicizing!

“For the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ.”—Eph. iv. 12, R.V.

“The holy seed shall be the substance thereof.”—Isa. vi. 13.



IN our Thirty-eighth Chapter we examined the problem of Church Organization as a result of Missions in Colonies where the climate invites the immigration of the white man on a large scale, and where, therefore, the white man, necessarily and naturally, is the chief factor in the constitution of the Church. Our illustration was New Zealand, where a successful C.M.S. Mission to the aboriginal inhabitants led to the establishment both of the British Colony and of the Anglican Church. In such a Colony, the Native Christians, though retaining their own language, and therefore their own churches and clergy, would, so far as external organization is concerned, be absorbed in the Colonial Church. Similar circumstances have produced similar results in North-West Canada.

But, as explained in that chapter, the case of a Native Christian community in a tropical or semi-tropical country, where the white man is only a traveller or a sojourner, is totally different, whether the country be under British dominion, as India, or independent, as China or Japan. In such cases, the true *euthanasia* of an Anglican Mission would be a purely, or at the least predominantly, Native Church, with Native bishops and clergy and synods and canons and formularies, independent of the Church of England, though an integral part of the Anglican Communion. Towards this *euthanasia* the process is slower and

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 55.

Native
Christians
in an
English
Colony.

Native
Christians
in India
or China
another
thing.

The true
“eutha-
nasia.”

PART VII. more difficult; and a great many complicated problems are
 1862-72. involved. Preparation for such an *euthanasia*, in the Missions of
 Chap. 55. the Church Missionary Society, was perhaps the most important
 work of Henry Venn's life. As before mentioned, the subject
 had never been touched when he took it up. There is no sign
 in the first half of this century—or at all events in the first forty
 years—that any one, either in the Church of England or outside
 it, had given a thought to the matter. Henry Venn led the way
 with his powerful mind; and with no experience or precedents to
 guide him, he gradually formed conclusions and worked out
 plans which have since been adopted, in substance, by most
 missionary societies sufficiently advanced to have Christian com-
 munities to think about.

Individual-ism right at first.
 Importance of a really sound nucleus.
 But the corporate Visible Church to follow.
 The old paternal system of Missions.

The earlier years of Protestant missionary work were the period of individualism.* It was right and good that this should be so. Mediæval and Roman Missions sought merely to bring masses of people into the external Church. Protestant Missions aimed at individual souls. That is the true method of Missions. A community of professing Christians, and presently of hereditary Christians, is the certain subsequent result; but the tone and spirit of that community will depend upon the nucleus of really converted souls which are its "foundation," i.e. the earliest stones laid upon the one foundation which is Jesus Christ. One of Venn's favourite texts was, "The holy seed shall be the substance thereof" (Isaiah vi. 13). The truly converted members of a congregation, said Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer*, June, 1862, commenting on this text, "are a seed, and that in a double sense": (1) "they are a seed in the sense in which Abraham's posterity was a seed: they are the product of the seed of the kingdom, the word"; (2) "they are fitted to become the seed of a more extended harvest." Modern writers accord a certain amount of faint praise to the Evangelical Revival for its work on individuals, but affirm that it ignored the solidarity of the Body of Christ. It is indeed true that the idea of the corporate Visible Church † was more prominent in the teachings of the Oxford School. But the Evangelicals began at the right end; and their Missions began in the right way. The development of the idea of a corporate Visible Church had to follow, and it did follow; and the man who practically worked it out was Henry Venn.

In early days the paternal system prevailed in Missions. In Indian phrase, the missionary was *Ma bap* (father and mother) to his converts. His spirit was that of St. Paul at Thessalonica—"We were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children." The sheep had to be shepherded, and the missionary was the shepherd. Evangelistic work was transformed into pastoral work, and the evangelist became the pastor. Now,

* E. C. Stuart (now Bishop in Persia), Paper at the Bath Church Congress, 1873.

† On the Visible and the Invisible Church, see p. 82.

pastoral care of the converts was of course indispensable; but not at the cost of the evangelization of the Heathen. The spirit of the missionaries was right: was their method wrong? It was so in part. The result of it was that agencies and money designed to evangelize the Heathen were used to make provision for the worship and instruction of Christians; and, in India at least, the converts who in their heathen days had paid heavily for their religious rites now got them for nothing. With this they were quite content: they looked to the missionary for everything, and they were not disappointed. There was much that was attractive in the system to the outward eye. A mission village, with a kindly German missionary in the central bungalow—the Germans were ideal for this work,—pleased every visitor. But such a Mission could never have its *euthanasia* in a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending Church.

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Chap. 55.

Beautiful,
but with
no future.

Up to the time of the Jubilee of the Society, nothing had been done towards teaching the Native Christian communities to walk alone, and very little had been said upon the subject. The Special Finance Report of 1841, noticed in our Thirty-first Chapter, had urged that the converts should support their own ministry; but this was to prepare the way for it to be endowed by Government. The Jubilee Statement, which succinctly reviews the whole work of the Society, is absolutely silent on the question; but it was announced that a portion of the Jubilee Fund would be—

“employed in assisting Native Christian Churches to support their own Native Ministers and Institutions; so that the funds of the Society might be released as soon as such Churches should become matured in Christian habits and attainments, and may be devoted to the evangelization of the Heathen beyond them.”

First
vague
thoughts
of a Native
Church.

Then, in November, 1849, just a year after the Jubilee Commemoration, there appeared in No. 7 of the new *C.M. Intelligencer* an article entitled “Native Churches, under European Superintendence, the Hope of Missions.” “Under European superintendence”—then the true *euthanasia* was not yet even thought of even as a “hope.” In fact the article dwells only on the spiritual life of the congregations as a proof of the value of Missions and as an attractive power to influence the Heathen. Anything like Church organization is not even alluded to. The application of the subject is an appeal for able men to superintend the congregations. “The heir,” quotes the writer from St. Paul, “as long as he is a child . . . is under tutors and governors.” To be such “tutors and governors”—“what a high office,” the article concludes, “for the European missionary!” And so it was, and is; but was the child never to grow up?

What obliged the Society to look more into the future, and to push forward the training of these its “children” for independence, was the failure of Englishmen to come forward in sufficient numbers for the growing work. Plans to supply their lack of service, indeed, had long been carried into effect. The Native

Scanty
supply of
men led to
bringing
forward
Natives.

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Native
Ministry
growing.

agency had been well cultivated, and a large part of the actual work, both evangelistic and pastoral, was being done by Native catechists and teachers. The growth of this agency was satisfactory; and by the close of the period we now have under review in our History, that is, by 1872, the number of Native clergymen had largely increased. Prior to the Jubilee, only twelve had been ordained altogether, viz., seven in India, three in Ceylon, and one in Africa, together with one Negro ordained in America. In the period covered by our Part VI., the thirteen years 1849-61, sixty-three were ordained; and in our present period of eleven years, one hundred and ten, making 185 altogether up to the end of 1872, of whom 143 were in that year still alive and at work. India, altogether, had furnished 90; Africa, 45; New Zealand, 23; Ceylon, 15; North-West America, 7; China, 3; Palestine, 2. And as the numbers gradually rose, "the Committee were enabled to see how wisely and graciously they had been led, and how well it was that European missionaries had not been supplied as numerous as they had wished, for then the pressure would have been wanting which eventuated in the education of a Native Pastorate."*

Scanty
supply of
funds led
to seeking
Native
contribu-
tions.

And as it was the inadequate supply of men that led the Society to employ more Natives, so it was the inadequate supply of funds that led it to make resolute efforts to throw the Native Churches on their own resources. This remedy for lack of funds was not thought of in earlier days. When the Income fell short, it was Extension that was checked; it was the young Missions that suffered. "But this," wrote Ridgeway in 1862,—

"was to interfere with the spontaneous growth of a living organization, and more especially to tamper with those tender and delicate points which constitute the extremities of the work, and in which the power of vitality more especially resides—a process dangerous in the extreme, and attended with this most serious disadvantage, that whereas it is quite possible to interfere with the promising development of any particular branch, it is not in the power of the Society to restore, at its pleasure, the healthful action which had been checked."

"But," he goes on to explain, "sounder views came gradually to be adopted. The true lesson intended by these interruptions of financial progress was understood." It was perceived that not the newer but the older Missions should be dealt with, by "moving the Native congregations to a proper sense of their obligations."

Indeed, the increase of the Native clergy and lay agents of itself raised new problems. How were they to be supported? By a foreign society? "How was the character of the Native ministry to be conserved in its native type, and for native uses, if its maintenance was to be derived from European funds?" And then further,—

"The Native congregations—were they to be for ever dissociated from the great duty of maintaining their own ordinances, and placed thus in

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1869, p. 98.

a state of weakly dependence upon a foreign Church and on foreign aid? Were the Native Churches to become Anglicized, and so lose sympathy with, and fitness for working amongst, the Heathen masses?"

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Every one would say No to these questions when asked; but half a century ago no one had asked them, and when they began to be asked, the solution of such problems was not at once apparent. As a simple matter of historical fact, it was the Church Missionary Society that faced them, and that found a solution which, with necessary variations, has in substance been generally adopted.

Venn's first paper on the subject was accepted by the Committee and issued to the missionaries in 1851. It is entitled, "Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers." It consists of ten short paragraphs, the last of which contains the principle underlying the whole:—

Venn's
first paper
on Native
Church
Organiza-
tion.

"Regarding the ultimate object of a Mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical result, to be the settlement of a Native Church under Native Pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a Mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of Native Pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, the '*euthanasia*' of a Mission 'takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained Native congregations under Native Pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the Mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to the 'regions beyond.'"

The practical measures which it was proposed to base upon this principle may be briefly summarized as follows:—(1) The distinction between a Missionary to the Heathen and a Pastor for Christians must be recognized; (2) though a missionary may be obliged to take temporary pastoral care of new converts, settled congregations, when formed, should be ministered to by Natives under the missionary's superintendence; (3) such Natives, if unordained, should be called Catechists—which office "has been always recognized in the Church of Christ"; (4) when ordained, Natives should be no longer agents of the foreign society, but rank as pastors of a Native Church,—ordination being thus "the link between the Native teachers and the Native Church"; (5) "their emoluments must be regulated by the ability of the Native Church to furnish the maintenance of their pastors"; (6) Native congregations should not pay their own pastors direct, but contribute to a Church fund out of which they are paid; (7) Native Pastors within a missionary district should be under the superintendence of a missionary, "until, by the Christian progress of the population, the district may be placed upon a settled ecclesiastical system."

Its principles
and
proposals.

Elementary and imperfect as these arrangements seem now, they embodied an entirely novel system at the time. But there were at least three weak points in them: (1) they assumed that

Weak
points in
them.

PART VII. unordained catechists must be agents of the Society and supported
 1862-72. by it; (2) they made no provision for the congregations having a
 Chap. 55. voice in Church affairs, and thus ignored the laity; (3) they gave
 no indication how the "settled ecclesiastical system" was to be
 arrived at. The first two defects were remedied in due course;
 the third was beyond the Society's power to deal with by itself.

Sierra
 Leone
 Church.

Articles of
 Arrangement.

The scheme, so far as it went, was evidently designed more especially for the circumstances of the South India and Ceylon Missions; and it would apply fairly well to the Yoruba country and New Zealand. But the first practical step taken by the Society in the direction of Native Church organization was taken at Sierra Leone; and there the step forward was a much longer one. As soon as the establishment of a bishopric was secured, in 1852, Venn began to plan an arrangement, not only for throwing on the Native Christians the support of their pastors, but for introducing a "settled ecclesiastical system." To do this was comparatively easy, in a new diocese, with an entirely sympathetic bishop, in a small area, with a well-advanced and fairly well-to-do Christian community, and without the complication of English colonists or Anglo-Indian troops. "Articles of arrangement" between the Society and the Bishop were drafted by Venn, and submitted by him to Archbishop Sumner and Bishop Blomfield. Both prelates heartily approved them; and Bishop Vidal undertook to organize the Sierra Leone Church upon the basis of them. But his early death prevented his fulfilling his purpose; Bishops Weeks and Bowen also died too soon to carry out the scheme; and it was not till the fourth bishop, Dr. Beckles, was settled in the diocese, in 1860, that the Church was constituted. The "Articles" are dated, however, March, 1853. Their "general principle" is thus stated:—

"That the charge and superintendence of the Native Pastors and Christian congregations which have been, or may hereafter be, raised up through the instrumentality of the Society's Mission in Sierra Leone, be placed under the Bishop of Sierra Leone, assisted by a Council and by a Church Committee. And that arrangements be proposed for providing the Native Pastors with a suitable income from local resources, and also for giving them a status assimilated to that of Incumbents at home."

Functions
 of church
 bodies.

The *Church Committee* was for finance, to collect and disburse the Church funds, which were to be applied (1) to the payment of pastors' stipends, (2) to repairing and building churches, parsonages, &c. The *Church Council* was to assist the Bishop in ecclesiastical administration, viz., to form ecclesiastical districts, to appoint pastors, to hear complaints against pastors, &c. Both Committee and Council were partly nominated by the Bishop and the Society, and partly elected by the clergy. Provision was made for the proper tenure of a parish by its appointed pastor, for a check upon the bishop's power to withdraw his license, and for judicial proceedings in case of need. On this latter point, the

article said, "All proceedings before the Bishop and Council shall be conducted in a formal manner, and as far as possible according to the spirit and laws of the Church of England." The concluding article was as follows:—

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"The Committee are fully aware that they cannot legally bind the Society, nor can the Bishop bind himself or his successors; but they enter into this arrangement with the *bona fide* purpose of preparing the Native population in Sierra Leone, as far as it is in their power, for the establishing in that Colony of a genuine branch of the Church of England; and also in the confidence that an arrangement which has been carefully considered in all its parts, and formally sanctioned by the highest Ecclesiastical authorities, will be maintained both by the Society and by the Bishop of Sierra Leone and his successors, in a spirit of mutual confidence and good faith, unless there arise some manifest necessity for setting it aside."

In this constitution, it will be seen, the missionary does not appear at all. The *euthanasia* is much more nearly approached than would be the case in a Church formed on the basis of the scheme of 1851. The supervision of the Bishop and his Council is a very different thing from that of a missionary of a foreign society. The only two points in which Sierra Leone failed to reach the *euthanasia* were, (1) that the Bishop was an Englishman and not an African; (2) that the Society retained its property in the churches, schools, parsonages, &c., because it was for a time to give a grant-in-aid to the Church fund, and because the whole arrangement was necessarily consensual and lacking in legal force. Another fact, viz., that the Society continued certain work, chiefly educational, in the Colony, did not of itself detract from the completeness of the arrangement. It lasted thirty years; and in 1890 a more fully elaborated constitution was framed, again with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London.

The "euthanasia" nearly reached.

But not quite.

The second Mission in which a beginning was made in self-government was that in the Diocese of Waiapu in New Zealand. As we have before seen, a Diocesan Synod, conducted entirely in the Maori language, was held in 1861, under the presidency of Bishop William Williams. But the Maori Church afterwards became an integral portion of the Colonial Church of New Zealand, in which Venn's scheme for a purely Native Church was not applicable.

Diocese of Waiapu.

To return to the Memorandum of 1851. It failed to produce any immediate effect in the India Missions to which it was particularly applicable. This was owing chiefly to the fact that the old paternal system was in possession. The veteran missionaries, especially the Germans, who were working it with so much untiring devotion, and so much immediate external success, saw no reason for altering it; and they had seen enough of the unreliability of the Native character to dread any scheme that threw responsibility upon the Natives. Moreover,—

Failure of Venn's plan in India.

"a natural sympathy with the trials of their children in the common faith led the missionaries too often unduly to encourage dependence,

PART VII. and misgivings as to the ability of the converts to stand alone, and
 1862-72. perhaps also, in some instances, an unconscious love of power, tended to
 Chap. 55. perpetuate this imperfect development of the Christian life.*

They forgot that if a child is to learn to walk alone, it must be let go, even with the certainty that it will have some tumbles; or, as has been wittily remarked, the man that makes no mistake will never make anything.

So, in 1860, the Instructions to a band of departing missionaries were especially devoted to the subject. Three great maxims, said the Committee by Venn's mouth, were to be borne in mind:— (1) A Mission is only the scaffolding for the building of the spiritual temple of the Native Church; (2) Native agency is the fit development of such a Native Church; (3) a Native Ministry is the crown of Native agency, the top-stone of the temple. And then, in 1861, another and much more important Memorandum, also drawn up by Venn, was issued. It begins by pointing out very plainly the evils of the old system. When, it says, a missionary supported by a foreign society is the pastor of a Native congregation, the Scriptural principle of evangelization, "taking nothing of the Gentiles," is converted into the unscriptural principle, "taking nothing of the Christians." Moreover it is bad, (1) for the missionary himself, diverting him from the work of preaching to the Heathen, and throwing upon him many secular duties, such as keeping church accounts, &c.; (2) for the converts, leading them to imbibe the notion that all is to be done for them; (3) for the Missionary Society, involving it in disputes about Native salaries, pensions, repairs of buildings, &c., and crippling its power to advance into the regions beyond. "These dangers and imperfections," Venn goes on, "must be remedied by introducing into the Native Church that elementary organization which may give it 'corporate life,' and prepare it for its full development under a Native Ministry and an indigenous Episcopate." He begins at the very bottom. In the earliest stage, wherever there was a group of converts, however humble and illiterate, the Memorandum suggested that some very simple kind of organization was desirable. In India there would be nothing strange in such a thing, as the humblest villagers are familiar with the working of a *panjayat*, a little council of five † (or of which five members are a quorum), by which local affairs are conducted. It is worth noting that a Christian *panjayat* had been established in at least one Indian station before any of Venn's plans were formed, and this, too, by a German missionary, Dr. Pfander, then at Agra. He wrote in 1848:—

"To give the congregation more stability, and to make them assist me in the general superintendence, I have established a *Panchayat*, chosen from amongst themselves, the members of which act at the same time as churchwardens. In all cases of discipline, as well as of admission to

* E. C. Stuart (now Bishop), Paper at Bath Church Congress, 1873.

† *Panj*=five; cf. *Panj-ab*, five rivers.

Venn's
second
paper.

Dangers
and reme-
dies.

A simple
organiza-
tion for
villages.

Baptism and to the Lord's Supper, if the persons are not known to me, the *Panchayat* is consulted. For the last two years the congregation have contributed regularly to a church fund, which is under the management of the *Panchayat*." PART VII.
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Venn's idea, however, was that of a "company" (from Acts iv. 23), comprising apparently the whole little band of converts, with one of themselves as "headman" or elder, to hold weekly meetings for prayer and Scripture-reading (supposing one of them could read), at which also offerings would be made to an incipient church fund, "even if only a handful of rice,"—in fact, the Methodist class system. If a catechist in the pay of the Mission was sent to instruct them, they should find him in at least food and lodging. This, however, would be only preliminary to more definite organization, which the Memorandum suggested might proceed by three steps. The *first step* would be when a regular *teacher*, a schoolmaster or catechist, paid out of the Native Church Fund to which their offerings were sent, was located amongst them, probably for three or four or more villages. The *second step* would be when a group of little congregations was formed into a *pastorate*, with an ordained pastor supported by the Native Church Fund. The *third step* would be when a *district council* was formed, consisting of the pastors of three or more pastorates, with lay delegates elected to represent them.

Steps to-
wards
fuller or-
ganization.

The essence of this system, it will be seen, was that the organization began from the bottom and worked *upwards*. A different system would be the establishment of a great central station, with bishop, clergy, church, college, &c., in the midst of a Heathen population, and working *downwards*. Venn argued that the latter system would tend to create a dependent Native Christian community, with no likelihood of its becoming self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending; whereas his upward system would secure this, and at the same time make healthy and natural preparation for a Native Episcopate and a diocesan organization analogous to our parish, rural deanery, archdeaconry, &c.

An upward
system.

It did not, however, prove easy to put these excellent plans into action; and all through the earlier 'sixties Venn was much engaged in consultation with the experienced Anglo-Indians on the Committee, and in correspondence with the various Missions, upon the subject. In 1866, a third Memorandum was issued, describing the successful launching of the Sierra Leone Church *pour encourager les autres*, and commending the growing liberality of the Native Christians of India and Ceylon, but pointing out certain weak points in the system prevailing. The analogy of the old established and endowed Church at home had been too closely followed. The Native Christians were encouraged to contribute to various religious and philanthropic objects, but their own church ministrations were provided for them. It was recognized that this could not always be done by the Society; but the remedy was the raising of endowments, which in the far future might

Venn's
third paper.

PART VII. maintain churches and clergy as in England. For example, in 1862-72. South India, £3300 was already invested for various native endowment funds, and these the Society had helped by grants from time to time from that portion of its Jubilee Fund which had been allocated to this purpose,—as it had done also in Bengal, Ceylon, and New Zealand; but these funds were accumulating, and afforded no relief to the current expenses of the Mission. In Tinnevely, the people were contributing no less than £1500 a year to all sorts of objects, while the Society was still spending £4000 a year upon pastors, catechists, and village schools in the province, over and above its outlay for European missionaries and Higher Education. The new Memorandum urged that it was not enough for native contributions to be collected; they must be paid to a properly-kept separate Fund, administered by the people themselves: nothing else would promote the self-reliance and independence desired. For this purpose a completed Native Church Council system was essential.

Native Church Funds to be started.

An illustration in the Telugu Mission.

A capital illustration of beginning from the bottom was furnished at the youngest out-station of the still young Telugu Mission, Raghavapuram. It was only in 1859 that the first half-dozen converts from that village were baptized. In 1862 there were eighty, in a cluster of nine villages, and these were under the charge of one Native schoolmaster, who kept school on week-days for boys and girls, and conducted two services each Sunday; Mr. Darling, the missionary at Bezwada, visiting them periodically. At the beginning of that year, the little community met under Darling's presidency, appointed a committee of six to collect and administer a church fund, and passed the following resolution as to the mode of collection:—

“That a large earthen pot be provided, and placed conspicuously in the schoolroom every Sabbath day, for the purpose of receiving donations of grain or money.”

Very similar measures were taken under Thomas, J. T. Tucker, and Sargent, in Tinnevely; and the people responded well. In 1863, in Sargent's district, 400 families raised 1371 rupees, equal then to £137. These families consisted mainly of labourers earning (say) two shillings a week; so that a corresponding sum for 400 families of English labourers earning twelve shillings a week would be $£137 \times 6 = £822$, or over £2 a year from each family. A few years later, taking the whole of the C.M.S. districts in Tinnevely, and reckoning catechumens as well as baptized Christians, their contributions were such that, supposing the whole thirty millions of people in England were poor labourers earning 12s. a week, and there were no other source of wealth, their corresponding contributions should amount to £6,000,000 per annum.

Large relative contributions in Tinnevely

Church Councils formed.

Gradually, the different steps recommended in the Second Memorandum were taken. (1) Church Committees for Pastorates

were formed, the pastor being chairman, and the members elected by the congregations. Their duties were defined as —

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“The general supervision and management of the temporalities of the congregations, the collection of funds, the superintendence of repairs of churches, schools, &c., the providing for the due performance of divine worship, and generally all such duties as belong to the office of churchwarden.”

(2) District Church Councils were formed, consisting of delegates from the various Church Committees; their duties being to receive the church funds from the several Church Committees; to disburse from the Fund thus created the stipends of pastors and lay agents; to make grants from it for repairs, &c.; to supervise the work of unordained agents; to consider secular matters connected with the pastorates; to recommend candidates for holy orders. (3) Provision was further made in some Missions for a Central Council, chiefly consisting of all the Native pastors and of lay delegates from the District Councils; whose functions would be deliberative rather than executive, considering questions referred to them by the Bishop or the C.M.S. Mission, making recommendations to the District Councils regarding the administration of their funds, and so seeking to unify the proceedings of the Church.

One important branch of the subject was the connexion of the Society with these Councils. It was not possible for the Native Church, liberal as its contributions were, to maintain its pastors and meet its other expenses entirely. The Society must necessarily help for a while. But in order that the whole of the Native Church affairs might from the first be committed to the administration of the Councils, a grant-in-aid system was devised; so that instead of the Native Church paying one branch of the expenses and the Society paying another, the Native Church might pay all, assisted by a grant from the Society. This grant, in the first instance, had to be large enough to cover much more than half the expenditure, though it was to be slightly reduced year by year; and therefore it was necessary that the Society should for a time retain control over the expenditure, though exercising that control as little as possible. This purpose was effected by providing that the Society should appoint the chairman of each District Council to which a grant was given, and that the chairman should have a veto upon its proceedings, though an appeal was allowed from his veto to the Society's chief governing body in the Mission (as for instance the Madras Corresponding Committee). Naturally the first chairmen thus appointed were European missionaries; but it was a great pleasure to the Committee whenever in after years they were able to appoint a Native clergyman.

Society's
grants and
veto.

Thus a beginning was made in the self-support and self-government of the Native Church; and the Committee, in 1869, reported with much satisfaction that in South India, out of fifty Native

Two de-
siderata
provided.

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clergymen in the Mission, forty-two were pastors working under the above scheme. Ceylon was following suit, and Bengal was trying to make a beginning. In some places difficulties arose through the missionaries finding it difficult to regard the Native clergy as in any different relation to themselves from that which they had before, i.e. virtually as curates; and in March, 1870, the Committee passed a strong Minute, stating that they could recognize no official relation as existing between the missionaries and such Native clergymen as were under Church Councils, except the relation of the chairman of the Council to the members of it.

A third
wanted.

The third of the three desiderata, self-extension, was not one that could be obtained by rules and machinery. It depended upon the zeal of the Native Christians. But Native Missionary Associations were formed in different districts, partly to raise subscriptions for the support of evangelists among the Heathen, and partly to organize the volunteer evangelistic efforts of the Christians generally. Both objects were important; but the latter was infinitely the more important. It has been remarked that in India the Christians delight in being told they are the sheep of the Good Shepherd, and that none can pluck them from His hand; but that they do not equally appreciate exhortations to be His soldiers and go into the battle. In this respect they are very like Christians in England. It is not for us to throw stones at them.

The phrase
"Native
Church,"
its inaccu-
racy.

In this chapter the phrase "Native Church" has been loosely used. It is, in fact, an inaccurate term. The C.M.S. congregations, say in India, did not really form either a Church or Churches. In many non-episcopal Missions, every congregation, or group of congregations under a pastor, is a "church"; and in many tables of statistics the number of "organized churches" seems large. But in Church of England Missions all Native congregations and clergy belong to the Church of England temporarily, until a proper Native Church is established, with its own Bishops and Synods and Canons; so that in such tables of statistics the Church Missionary Society must either write "None," which would be correct and yet would be misleading, or else give the number of congregations with pastors as the Independents and Baptists do, which would be incorrect because we do not count them "Churches," but which would fit in more naturally with other statistics. Even the Sierra Leone Church can only be called a "Church" by courtesy. The Church of Ireland is a Church in the fullest sense, entirely independent of the Church of England, although in communion with her. So is the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. No Colonial Churches are quite as independent as these two, and their degree of independence varies; but some of them, notably New Zealand, are sufficiently so to entitle them to be *bonâ fide* "Churches," and not merely branches

of a Church. In the use in this History, therefore, of the phrase "Native Church," nothing more is necessarily meant than "Native Christian community" in a larger or smaller area. But "Native Church Council" is correct; for in C.M.S. nomenclature it does not mean "Native-Church Council," but "Native Church-Council," the hyphen understood (though superfluous in print) coming between the second and third words, and not between the first and second. The body so called is not strictly a "Council" of the "Native-Church," but a "Church-Council" of certain Native Christians.

In India, with which this chapter is chiefly concerned, all Native Christians in the C.M.S. Missions are members of the Church of England, though it may be only *pro tem*. They are baptized by clergy licensed by bishops of the Church of England, are confirmed by those bishops, and worship according to the forms of the Church of England. That this should always be the case, no one hopes; but it will probably be so—if the present dispensation lasts—for a long time. Meanwhile the relation of the Native Church, or Native part of the Church, to the English Bishops and diocesan organization in India is a difficult problem; and it had to be faced by Venn and the C.M.S. Committee when they were working out the Church Council system. We have already seen, in our Thirty-third Chapter, that they were strongly opposed to plans put forward by the S.P.G. for the establishment of a new English bishopric in Tinnevely. They urged that it would be better for the interests of the Native Christians that a local episcopate in their midst should be deferred until there could be a Native bishop, and that meanwhile, all the essential advantages of episcopacy were secured by the oversight of the Bishop of Madras. But, it may be asked, where was their consistency in opposing a Tinnevely bishopric while they were arranging to transfer a large part of the Society's West African work to the Bishop of Sierra Leone? In Tinnevely, both the Native Christians and the Native clergy were much more numerous than in Sierra Leone: why, then, could not a bishop be welcomed there likewise? The reason, evidently, was this. The "Articles of Arrangement" for Sierra Leone, before noticed, carefully defined the powers of the bishop. He would have all the authority a bishop has in England, and more; but it would not be unlimited. But in India the power of the bishops was practically unlimited. The concordat with Bishop Daniel Wilson had worked well, and had sufficiently guarded the Society's reasonable rights and interests, both under him and under other bishops; but not one of them was bound by it; and a bishop in whose appointment the Society would have no voice, and living, not at Madras, but in the midst of Tinnevely, might conceivably prove a hindrance and not a help to the work. And the Committee believed at the time that such an appointment would indefinitely postpone the establishment of a Native bishopric, for

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How is a
real Native
Church in
India to be
prepared
for?

Plans for
bishops.

PART VII. which they fondly hoped. The project was abandoned ; but none the less remote did a Native bishopric seem. Other proposals were made from various quarters, but came to nothing. Subsequent developments will appear in future chapters.

In 1870, within a few weeks of each other, two incidents occurred which, though not directly connected with C.M.S. Missions, suggested to the Society, and may suggest to us, some interesting considerations bearing on the subject of this chapter. One was a deputation to the Committee from Jamaica ; the other was the first Anniversary of the Hibernian Auxiliary after the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

1. It will be remembered that the Society, thirty years before, had carried on an important Mission among the Jamaica Negroes, but that it had been given up, partly under the financial pressure of 1841, and partly because the regular Church establishment in the island seemed quite ready and able to take over the work. But the result had been very disappointing ; and it was admitted on all hands that the condition of the people religiously was distinctly worse than before the epoch of Emancipation. The usual course among unreflecting onlookers was to throw the blame on the Church Missionary Society ; but in 1867 Venn addressed a long letter to the Bishop of Jamaica,* showing that the Society had left to the Colonial Church buildings, agencies, men, in fact “a going concern.” “It becomes,” he wrote, “a question of very deep interest in the science of modern Missions, How is the sudden collapse of the Jamaica Mission to be explained?” In answering this question, he contrasted Jamaica with Sierra Leone. In both colonies, the subjects of the work were liberated Negro slaves ; but those in Sierra Leone were distinctly in a more degraded and seemingly hopeless condition than those in Jamaica : yet in West Africa there was now a Negro Church, a large number of Negro clergy, and even a Negro bishop. The explanation of the difference was, he argued, simply this, that in Sierra Leone the principle of a Native Church with a Native Ministry had been adopted, and in Jamaica it had not ; and Venn offered detailed suggestions for adopting it without further delay. And now Disestablishment and Disendowment fell upon the Church in Jamaica, and in May, 1870, two Archdeacons and two other clergymen from that island came over and appealed to the Society for help.† This it was not possible for it to render ; but an interesting article and appeal, by one of them, was inserted in the *Intelligencer*, with a view to its eliciting contributions from individual friends. The whole incident furnished a strong confirmation of the expediency of the C.M.S. method which has been described in this chapter.

* Printed in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1867.

† One of them was the Rev. E. Nuttall, now Archbishop of Jamaica and Primate of the West Indies.

2. In 1869 the Church of Ireland was disestablished. In the early months of 1870 the General Convention of the Church met and agreed upon the Statutes for the constitution of the future Church. The more important of these were printed by Ridgeway in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, by way of comparison with what the Society was doing in a humbler way in the Mission-field. The partial and gradual withdrawal of C.M.S. funds from the infant Christian communities he compared with the sudden abstraction from the Irish Church of the larger part of its resources, illustrating it, as was his wont, from the operations of gardening:—

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Disestablishment of Irish Church compared with the withdrawal of C.M.S. funds from Native Churches.

“It is not by such an abrupt wrenching that the Church Missionary Society proceeds. The process it pursues is more like layering or root-grafting. The new organizations gathered from among various ranks and conditions of the Heathen, and grouped together like congregations, are like the flexible branches which are used in layering. They are bent towards the humid soil, and pegged down, so as to be retained in their new position, for the natural tendencies of the branch are otherwise, and so it is with our Native converts. Through our efforts they were brought out of Heathenism. They owe their birth to us, and their tendency is to lean upon us, and we are obliged to use a tender violence towards these their natural tendencies—we peg them down, and compel them to do something for themselves; but we do not sever them from us by a sudden wrench. We do not part company from them until first of all they have struck root. The root-graft, or layer, is cautiously dealt with. It is partially severed from the parent stem—partially, but not altogether. We withdraw a portion of our pecuniary aid, not from unkindness, but by a loving force to make it put forth independent effort; and then, when the roots are sufficiently developed, the branch is severed from the stem.”*

Ridgeway himself was one of the Society's deputation in April to the Hibernian Auxiliary C.M.S., and he gives an account of the meeting, held under the shadow of the Disestablishment. The summary of his own address is singularly interesting. He showed how the Irish Church in Elizabeth's time had been dealt with just as some Churchmen desire to deal with infant Churches gathered out of Heathendom, and as the C.M.S. had striven *not* to deal with them, viz., by a process of Anglicizing; and he exhorted Irish Churchmen, if they desired to carry on evangelistic work among their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, to do so on sound missionary principles.†

This chapter has treated merely of the earlier history of these great questions. We shall meet them again, in varied aspects and under varied conditions. There are still wide differences of opinion as to the particular methods that should be employed in building up Native Churches. But there is now practical unanimity as to the aim. We are not to seek to reproduce among Asiatic and African peoples the exact image of the Church of England, with all the peculiar features, controversial and otherwise, that have come down from the sixth or the sixteenth century. We want the

Asiatic and African Churches not to be Anglicized.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1870.

† See *Ibid.*

PART VII. Churches of Africa to be African, the Churches of Asia to be Asiatic.
 1862-72. Let the Niger and Uganda, let India and Ceylon, let China and
 Chap. 55. Japan, stamp their own national characteristics upon their future
 Churches. "If," says Bishop Westcott,—

"we could establish the loftiest type of Western Christianity in India as the paramount religion—and it is, I believe, wholly impossible to do so—our triumph would be in the end a loss to Christendom. We should lose the very lessons which in the providence of God India has to teach us." *

By what steps the Churches of Asia and Africa will move forward to their Oriental position and character, in what respects they will differ from Western Christendom, who shall say? Meanwhile, our part is to take our steps, slowly it may be, one by one upon the right path. And if Anglican Missions succeed in doing this, it will be largely due to the initiative of Henry Venn and the Church Missionary Society. *Domine dirige nos!*

* *Religious Office of the Universities*, p. 33.



REV. H. TOWNSEND.



REV. C. A. GOLLMER.



BISHOP CROWTHER.



BISHOP VIDAL.



REV. J. F. SCHÖN.



REV. D. HINDERER.

Henry Townsend, Missionary in West Africa, 1836-1876.

C. A. Gollmer, Missionary in West Africa, 1811-1862.

Samuel Crowther, Bishop of the Niger, 1861-1891.

(Photograph by Sawyer & Lankester.)

O. E. Vidal, First Bishop of Sierra Leone, 1852-1854.

J. F. Schön, Missionary in West Africa, 1832-1847.

David Hinderer, Missionary in West Africa, 1819-1877.

CHAPTER LVI.

EBB-TIDE IN AFRICA.

Discouragements of the Period: Livingstone's Last Journeys; South African Difficulties; Universities' Mission Trials; Krapf's Independent Attempts; Captive Missionaries in Abyssinia and Ashanti; Suspension of C.M.S. Missions—East African Slave Trade—The Yoruba Tribal War—Disputes between Egbas and British—Destruction of Ishagga and Ijaye—C.M.S. and Governor Glover—Dahomey invades Abeokuta—A Wonderful Deliverance—John Okenla—The Hinderers at Ibadan: Five Years' Sufferings—Peace at Last—Progress of Lagos—The Missionaries expelled from Abeokuta—The "Bush not burnt"—The Hinderers again—Her Death—Union of Yoruba Christians—The Mission at Lagos—Sierra Leone: the Native Church; the Missionaries; the Jubilee; Bishop Cheetham—Imperfections of West African Christianity—Pope Hennessy and Blyden.

"O tarry thou the Lord's leisure."—Ps. xxvii. 16, P.B.V.

"Then said I, Lord, how long?"—Isa. vi. 11.



OUR present period, which we have found to be in so many ways a time of discouragement and of retrogression, was emphatically so in Africa. There were exceptions, as we shall see; but for the most part, all over the Dark Continent, it was a Dark Period. Or, to adopt Bishop Wilberforce's picturesque illustration referred to in our Fifty-fourth Chapter, it was a Period of Ebb Tide.

1. It was the period of Livingstone's later travels, of the death of his wife in an African forest, of the failure of his lake steamer, of his disappointment at the British Government abandoning its Zambesi Expedition, of the distress he endured from the Portuguese slave-traders, and then, after his last visit to England in 1864, of his weary journeys, bodily sufferings, and heart-sickness around Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweolo, and of his terrible revelations concerning the Arab Slave Trade; of the persistent rumours of his death, of Stanley's search for him, and of his refusal to come home when found at Ujiji. And on May 1st, 1873, four months after our period closes with the death of Henry Venn, David Livingstone was found dead on his knees at Ilala.

LIVINGSTONE'S
last years.

2. It was the period of disaster and disappointment in some of the South African Missions. The Boers were oppressing the Native tribes; the Makololo Mission of the London Missionary Society, undertaken at Livingstone's instance, came to a premature end by the deaths of all the party except one; the Makololo tribe

TRIALS IN
South
Africa.

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itself was utterly destroyed by its foes; the L.M.S. Matabele Mission, another of Livingstone's projects, and started under the auspices of Moffat, proved a long and weary struggle with the stolidity of the people, although there were converts who were martyred; in 1870, Robert Moffat himself left Africa finally, after fifty-three years' devoted service; and it was not till the end of 1872, just as our period closes, that the beneficent reign of the Christian chief, Khama, began at Shoshong. But meanwhile, the gold fever, the diamond discoveries, and the scramble for "claims," had commenced, which led on to much fighting and bloodshed in after years, and greatly harassed missionary work.

Bishop
Colenso.

3. It was the period of Bishop Colenso's heresies, his deposition from his see by Bishop Gray, and all the consequent troubles,—which have been already noticed.

Trials of
the Uni-
versities'
Mission.

4. It was the period of disaster, and of hope deferred, in the young Universities' Mission. On January 31st, 1862, the sainted Bishop Mackenzie fell asleep on the banks of the Shiré. Just a year later Bishop Tozer was consecrated, and, as Bishop Jackson of Lincoln anticipated in the consecration sermon, had, "with a courage greater perhaps than would be demanded by martyrdom, to withdraw from a post no longer tenable for God, and to turn elsewhere the peaceful invasion of the Gospel." It almost broke Livingstone's heart to see Tozer leaving the Zambesi region: he declared he could "sit down and cry." "Dear Bishop," he wrote, "if you go, the last ray of hope for this wretched, down-trodden people disappears." But experience proved the wisdom of the move, as the later history of the Mission shows; and Livingstone's Scottish fellow-countrymen, long afterwards, brought revived hope to the banks of the Shiré. Not immediately, however, did the good points of Tozer's policy appear. There were years of "hope deferred" at Zanzibar, although the first five converts were baptized in 1865 (one of whom was afterwards ordained), and although the first work on the mainland was begun temporarily in 1868, in Usambara. Not until Edward Steere became Bishop in 1874 did the Mission's brighter days begin.*

Krapf's
failures.

5. It was the period of two of Krapf's later enterprises, both of which brought trial and sorrow. First, his famous "Pilgrim Mission" and "Apostles' Street" (which was to have twelve stations, named after the twelve Apostles), in the Nile Valley, came to grief. Secondly, he planted a Methodist Mission in East Africa, which, like others, had to bear disappointment and deferred hope throughout our period, though two of the agents, Wakefield and New, proved excellent philologists and explorers.

Captives in
Abyssinia.

6. It was the period of Theodore's tyranny in Abyssinia, and of the frightful sufferings of the London Jews' Society's faithful missionary Stern and his companions. For five weary years,

* The trials of the Universities' Mission were not all in Africa. There was dissatisfaction at home. The *Guardian* criticized it in leading articles more than once.

from 1863 to 1868, did their captivity and cruel ill-treatment last ; years, however, in which the Lord made their prayers and patience influential, through the power of the Holy Ghost, to the conversion to Him of not a few of their fellow-prisoners, and even of their guards. It was not till a British Consul and officers were also seized by the merciless king, that England interposed, and sent Sir Robert Napier with an army to Magdala.* What must Easter Day, 1868, the day of deliverance, have been to the captives ! “A resurrection festival, indeed,” wrote Stern, “a foretaste of that glorious resurrection when decay and mortality shall be exchanged for life and everlasting beauty !”

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7. It was the period, too, of the captivity and sufferings of the Basle missionaries, Ramseyer and Kühne, with the former's wife and child, in Ashanti. In 1869, the year following Napier's Abyssinian campaign, they were taken prisoners and sent to Coomassie ; and there they suffered for four years. Fortunately for them, the king of Ashanti then invaded the British Protectorate on the Gold Coast ; and this—not the captivity of a missionary—led to Sir Garnet Wolseley's Ashanti Expedition in 1873, and so to their release. Let it be mentioned in passing that it was in connexion with this Expedition that Captain (afterwards Sir John) Glover's famous Hausa and Yoruba corps was raised, and that, of all the irregular forces also raised by Glover for the march to Coomassie, the only bands that proved reliable were two composed of Christian converts of the Basle Mission. The rest quite failed him ; and he reported officially to Sir G. Wolseley thus :—

Captives in
Ashanti.

Christian
Negroes as
soldiers.

“To this unfavourable report I must make one exception. There are two bodies of Christians, each numbering about 100 men. They were accompanied by catechists belonging to the Basle Mission, and had daily morning and evening prayer, to which they were regularly summoned by a bell. In the conflict with the enemy on Christmas Day, they were in the van, and behaved admirably. Their march was orderly and soldierly, and they have shown themselves the only reliable troops among the many Native forces lately assembled on the Volta.”†

These praying African soldiers were laughed at ; but where ? In the British House of Commons ! ‡

8. It was the period of suspension of the C.M.S. Mission to the Temne tribes in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone. In 1860 the mission-house at Magbele had been plundered and burnt, and

Temne
Mission
suspended.

* When Sir R. Napier's Expedition was being organized, the Government applied for information to two old C.M.S. missionaries who had formerly been in Abyssinia, viz., Krapf, then retired in Germany, and Blumhardt, still working in Bengal. The former joined the Expedition for a time as interpreter.

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1874, p. 195. See also Sir R. Temple's chapter on the Ashanti campaign in the *Life of Sir John Glover*, p. 217.

‡ On May 3rd, 1874. The next day was the C.M.S. Anniversary ; and both Mr. Arthur Mills, then M.P. for Exeter, and Sir John Kennaway, who presided in the evening, quoted Glover's despatch, and deprecated the sarcasms it had provoked ; as also did Bishop R. Bickersteth of Ripon.

PART VII. the Negro missionary compelled to flee for his life ; and during the
1862-72. following years several attempts to reopen the Mission failed.
Chap. 56. Not till 1875 was Port Lokkoh occupied.

9. It was the period of virtual suspension of the C.M.S. East Africa Mission ; of Rebmann's growing infirmities, and of the failure of successive efforts to revive the work. Of this more presently.

10. It was the period of war, anxiety, and suffering in the Yoruba Mission, and ultimately of the expulsion of the missionaries from Abeokuta. Of this also more presently.

Exceptions
to the
general
gloom.

There were in the C.M.S. Missions in Africa, during our period, two exceptions to the generally discouraging circumstances. It was the epoch of the commencement of the Sierra Leone Church on an independent footing, and of the consecration of Bishop Crowther for the promising Niger Mission. In neither case was everything bright ; but upon the whole they certainly relieved the general gloom. The former will claim notice in this chapter. The latter must have a chapter to itself. But upon the whole, the period was for the African mission-field a period of ebb-tide. Yet as we stand upon the shore and watch the widening expanse of sand as the sea recedes, we know that every moment is bringing the hour nearer when the flowing tide will return. And ere long it did return in Africa, as we shall see in the next section of our History.

Rebmann
at Rabai.

Let us first glance at the East Africa Mission, and the Slave Trade. We left Rebmann alone at Rabai. Twice he was driven away by incursions of the Masai warriors, and sometimes for many months at a time he was at Mombasa ; but whether at Rabai or at Mombasa he was constantly occupied in linguistic work. Now and then a baptism was reported, particularly in 1861, when Abe Gunga and his son Nyondo were baptized, by the names of Abraham and Isaac ; the latter of whom became Rebmann's faithful personal attendant. Year by year, half a dozen lines were all that the Society's Annual Report gave to East Africa ; and on two occasions it was entirely omitted.

But all this while, though the East Africa Mission was not flourishing, something else was flourishing, both in the Portuguese territories in Mozambique and in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar—the East African Slave Trade. This in the main was an export trade to the ports on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, for the supply of Egypt, Arabia, and Persia ; and it was almost entirely in the hands of Mohammedan Arabs. So far back as 1822, in the days when England was keenly alive to the duty of suppressing the Slave Trade, the attention of the British Government was drawn to this traffic ; and in that year a treaty to limit its area and scope was extorted from the Imâm of Muscat, who ruled also over the Zanzibar coast. It forbade all slave-trading except within the Imâm's dominions ; but as the greater part of

East
African
Slave
Trade.

the traffic was between his territories on the two opposite coasts of East Africa and Arabia, this treaty was virtually a dead letter. In 1845, another was obtained, giving liberty to British cruisers to seize and confiscate slave-trading vessels in certain circumstances; and when, in 1861, the Government of India interfered between two rivals for the late Imâm's dominions, and settled their dispute by insisting on one taking the Asiatic and the other the African part, the export of slaves to Arabia was no longer domestic trade, and therefore became illegal. But the coastwise trade along the hundreds of miles of coast appertaining to Zanzibar was still permitted; so that slaves brought from the south could be conveyed with impunity to the northern ports, whence it was easy to run the blockade and reach the shores of Arabia.

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British
cruisers off
the East
Coast.

However, the British ships, though few, and inadequate to their task, did catch a good many slave dhows (as the Arab vessels are called) from time to time; and as it was not safe to put the slaves thus rescued on African shores again, they were taken to Bombay. The first case was in 1847, shortly after the second treaty, which allowed of slave-ships being arrested; forty-three girls and twelve boys being landed at Bombay, who had been rescued in the Persian Gulf. What to do with them the authorities did not know; but they sent for Isenberg, the C.M.S. German missionary who had been Krapf's comrade in Abyssinia, and who had now been three years in India, and he found that he could communicate with some of them who were of the Galla tribe. But the Bombay Government would not commit them to the care of the Mission, for fear of offending the Mohammedans—so they said! * They were distributed among Moslem and Hindu families, to be servants. Isenberg, however, kept his eye upon several of them, and did what he could to be kind to them and influence them for good; and in after years other liberated slaves came under his care, received Christian instruction, and were baptized. Mrs. Jerrom, too, the excellent widow of a missionary, had an orphan school, and received some of the girl-slaves, seven of whom were baptized by the Rev. Daji Pandurang in 1857, and others afterwards. Deimler, also, who worked among the Bombay Mohammedans, watched over many of these ex-slaves who, having grown up, became employés on the railway and elsewhere.

East
African
freed
slaves at
Bombay.

Meanwhile, W. S. Price had, in 1855, established the Christian village of Sharanpur, near Nasik, at which several industries were carried on. When, in 1860, he went on furlough, Isenberg took charge of Sharanpur, and moved thither the African boys who had been under his own care, and subsequently also the girls; and when Price returned to his post, the African Asylum, as it was now called, became a special object of labour and solicitude. The inmates were supported and taught trades at the expense of

Nasik and
Sharanpur.

* Gundert's *Life of Isenberg*, English edition, p. 54. It is significant that the Governor of Bombay at this time was Sir George Clerk, whose hostility to Missions we have before noticed. (See pp. 246, 251.)

PART VII. Government; and Sir Bartle Frere, who was now Governor of Bombay, took a warm interest in the work. About two hundred African liberated slaves passed through this institution, most of whom became Christians. It soon dawned upon the minds of the brethren that some of these people might with advantage return to Africa and he used in the Mission at Rabai. Isenberg had been in Africa; Deimler had been originally appointed to the East Africa Mission, though he had not joined it; and both of them corresponded with Rebmann on the subject. At length, in 1864, just after Isenberg left India and went home to die, two young Christian Africans of the Yao tribe, married to Galla girls, and two Yao girls intended for wives for two of Rebmann's Wanika converts, were sent by Price and Deimler from Bombay to Mombasa; Sir Bartle and Lady Frere giving each of them a handsome English Bible on their departure. One of the men, who had been baptized by the name of William Jones, was a blacksmith; the other, Ishmael Semler, was a carpenter. A third, George David, followed a little later. Their advent excited great astonishment. The Mombasa Mohammedans, who looked down on the heathen tribes, were amazed to see two Yao men who could speak and write English and Hindustani. When Rebmann heard them sing Christian hymns at their family worship, he cried for joy. Two of the men, Jones and Semler, became in after years the first two Native clergymen of the Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission; * and G. David would have been ordained also but for his death. The old story of West Africa was repeated. Our God turned the (slave-trade) curse into a blessing.

Christian
ex-slaves
sent to
Mombasa.

Living-
stone and
the Slave
Trade.

The Nasik
boys.

Meanwhile, Livingstone's earlier travels, and his first book, and his addresses while in England in 1857, had begun to open the eyes of Englishmen to the realities of the East African Slave Trade; and in 1858 he went back to Africa commissioned by Government as leader of the Zambesi Expedition, and as H.M. Consul, especially to grapple with the slave traffic. The Expedition was a partial failure; the Portuguese on the Zambesi dogged the great traveller's steps and threw every possible obstacle in his way; and he wrote, "If Christianity were not divine, it would be trampled out by its professors." In 1864 he sailed for England *via* Bombay, taking with him two African lads, Chuma † and Wykatane, whom he left at Bombay with Dr. John Wilson for training, and picked up again when he returned thither *en route* for Africa. In September, 1865, he visited Sharanpur, and engaged nine of Price's young Africans to go with him; and these afterwards became famous as his "Nasik boys."

In that same year, 1864, Zanzibar was for the first time brought

* But they were not in Africa all the time. Both were in Bombay again for a while.

† Chuma had been a mission boy under Bishop Mackenzie on the Shiré.

into monthly postal communication with this country. Letters were sent from Aden to the Seychelles Islands, and thence to Zanzibar. At this time Bishop Ryan of Mauritius visited England, and stated that many liberated slaves were now settled both in Mauritius and in the Seychelles; and various hopeful plans suggested by him led the Committee to place the East Africa Mission, such as it was, under his superintendence—a measure, too, which anticipated any possible (and very natural) suggestion that it should come under the Universities' Mission Bishopric, which had just been located at Zanzibar, and whose bishop, Dr. Tozer, in this same year visited Rabai. The result was that for eight years, 1865-72, "East Africa" in the Society's Report appeared, not among other Africa Missions, but after India and Ceylon, under the head of Mauritius.

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East Africa
connected
with
Mauritius.

Three times did the Committee send a man to be Rebmann's colleague; but the first, J. Taylor, in 1864, died almost immediately, and the second, E. Parnell, in 1866, was driven back by an affection of his eyes before he reached Africa. The third, T. H. Sparshott, in 1867, was out five years, and again, a little later, for two years more. He was backwards and forwards between the Seychelles, Mauritius, and Mombasa; but the openings for work were few, and the Committee, in 1871, were seriously contemplating the final abandonment of the Mission. Rebmann himself was now blind and a wreck; his wife had been taken from him in 1866; and though all persuasions failed to induce him to return home, the spirit was no longer in him which breathed in a remarkable letter he wrote to the Society in the hopeful year above-mentioned, 1864. One passage from that letter is so striking that it well deserves to be quoted here before we leave the East Coast for the present. There had been some suggestion that Mombasa was not the right place for the headquarters of the Mission; and Rebmann wrote:—

Rebmann's
striking
prophecy.

"It is true that the most frequented, and for the present the most important high-road into the interior is that opposite to the Island of Zanzibar; but the position occupied by us must not be undervalued. Mombasa, with a harbour which has been called by English seamen a splendid one, is not only a port next in importance to Zanzibar, but, situated as it is within the coast-line of the continent, affords greater facilities for direct intercourse with the Heathen; and having till now less of commerce in our quarters, we have also less of thorns choking the good seed. Moreover, being opposite to the Victoria Nyanza, and with its two noble arms from the sea pointing to the most interesting, most remarkable, and, through the snow-covered kings of mountains, now the most distinguished portion of Africa; with caravan routes, not insignificant, leading to the yet mysterious territory of the source of the Nile;—Mombasa, poor and degraded though it be at present, may still have an important and even glorious destiny."

Prophetic words indeed! And well was it for the Church Missionary Society, and for the cause of Christ in Africa, that John Rebmann clung to his post amid all his infirmities, and thus

PART VII. bridged the interval between Krapf's grand proposals and the Frere
1862-72. Town, the Uganda Mission, and the British East Africa of the
Chap. 56. future.

Yoruba
Mission.

Let us now step across the Continent westward, and view the Yoruba Mission. A period of much trial in this Mission began in the year 1860. Up to that time everything had prospered, under the fostering care of Townsend, Gollmer, Hinderer, Maser, Mann, and Bühler. The coast stations, Lagos and Badagry, were unfruitful; but at Abeokuta the Church continued to grow, despite frequent persecution of the converts; and at several other towns the work was promising, notably at Ijaye under Mann and at Ibadan under Hinderer. Altogether there were already some 2000 Negro Christians; not all converts, however, for many were Sierra Leone ex-slaves, who had returned to their fatherland and were now prosperous traders.

Tribal
wars in the
Yoruba
Country.

In 1860, however, war broke out between different branches of the Yoruba nation. It will be remembered that Abeokuta, the Egba capital, was a new city, built when the scattered Egba tribe came together again after their country had been desolated by the Mohammedans from the north. Its remarkable growth and prosperity, due in part to the energy of the Egba ex-slaves who had returned from Sierra Leone, and to its active commencement of commerce with the outer world after the British squadron had suppressed the slave-trade at Lagos, had awakened the jealousy, not only of Dahomey—as we have before seen,—but of other branches of the Yoruba people themselves. The Egbas, on their part, having repulsed attacks from Dahomey, and from the Mohammedans of Ilorin, had grown vain and selfish, and stopped the roads to the coast, with a view to keeping the trade in their own hands. Another tribe, the Jebus, did the same; and the two chief routes being closed, the people of Ibadan and other northern towns were cut off from communication with Lagos. War ensued between Ibadan and Abeokuta, which lasted some years.

But war in West Africa is of a peculiar type. There is a cessation of friendly intercourse; a state of general hostility; petty skirmishes from time to time, resulting in the capture of a handful of men on one side or the other to be sold as slaves; but scarcely ever anything that deserves the name of a battle, except when a town is assaulted. The “war-boys” would form entrenched camps, and watch for opportunities of picking off stragglers or plundering supplies; and that might go on for months and years, with no decisive result, but with disastrous consequences to the farms which in peaceful times covered the country, and to legitimate commerce, and grievous interference with missionary operations. In the case before us, there were additional complications through the attitude of the British Government at Lagos. That port was finally annexed to England in 1861, and for the next few years the leading spirit there, first as Commandant and then as

Governor, was Captain Glover, one of the ablest and most vigorous of the Queen's representatives in remote colonies and new possessions. Glover strongly favoured the Ibadans, and opposed the policy of the Egbas; and the latter, pressed now on two sides, by Ibadan on the north-east and by Dahomey on the south-west, and imagining that England was no longer their friend as she had been in the days of the Queen's letter,* refused to receive a British vice-consul at Abeokuta. Naturally the missionaries became to some extent involved in these differences. Townsend and the other Abeokuta men took the Egbas' side, considering that it was misjudged by the British authorities at Lagos; and Abeokuta being at that time the most popular of all the Society's Missions, the Society at home found itself opposed to Glover's policy. On the other hand, Hinderer warmly favoured the Ibadans, and thought Townsend unjust to them. Yet all the while Townsend's great caution, in all that he said openly, led the Egbas to doubt whether he was not really in league with their enemies. So early as 1860, the rising difficulties were one of the causes that led to Henry Venn penning his memorable Instructions on the Relation of Missionaries to Politics,† which, while administering judicious cautions, strongly vindicated the right of the missionary to hold his opinion, and to express it in legitimate ways, wherever the cause of liberty or humanity or Christianity was involved. The differences, however, in Yoruba, became much more acute after that.

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Captain
Glover.

Divided
opinions in
C.M.S.

The Yoruba War did not stop the progress of the Mission within the territory of Abeokuta. T. King, the excellent Egba clergyman, was progressing with his Yoruba translation of the Scriptures, until his death in 1862; and in the midst of the war the Christians held a meeting to express their thanks to the Bible Society for printing God's book, and made a collection for its funds of over £20. Bühler was training young Christian Negroes for missionary service, one of whom is now well known as Bishop Phillips; but he too left Africa sick in 1865, and died in Germany a few months after. Townsend was the leader all the while, and interesting accounts of baptisms came home year by year. The faithfulness, the patience, and, when needed, the courage, of the Christians increased their influence and added to their numbers. The Rev. W. Moore, a Negro clergyman in charge of Oshielle—a neighbouring village where there were many Christians,—said the war would do good, quoting a Yoruba proverb that "a man who is beaten, when the pain is over, is a different man from one who has not been beaten at all." But grievous disasters ensued elsewhere. Of the sufferings of Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer in Ibadan we will hear something presently. Two towns in alliance with Abeokuta were attacked and destroyed, in March, 1862; one, Ishagga, by the Dahomians, and the other, Ijaye, by the Ibadans. The

Good work
at Abeo-
kuta.

Dahomians
destroy
Ishagga.

* See p. 104.

† See p. 304.

PART VII. capture of Ishagga was accompanied, as usual in Dahomian warfare, by every kind of barbarity. Several Christians there were murdered or sold as slaves, and one was taken to Abomey and publicly crucified. This was supposed, from such evidence as could be procured, to be Doherty, the Negro catechist in charge of the station; but some years after it was found to have been another Christian. Doherty, however, long remained a slave; and curiously enough, the bloodthirsty king used to make him read the Scriptures to him. At length his death was determined on, and he was to be killed with a portion of Scripture in one hand and a lamp in the other, that he might be lighted into the world of spirits and there give God's messages to the last king. By mistake the executioner put another slave to death instead!—and in 1866 Doherty was released, and again became a catechist.

Ibadans
destroy
Ijaye.

The other town, Ijaye, was a promising station occupied by the Rev. A. and Mrs. Mann. When its fate seemed certain, an English naval officer, Lieutenant Dolben, of H.M.S. *Prometheus*, accompanied by Mr. E. Roper, a newly-arrived lay missionary from England, bravely made his way thither, and brought away Mr. and Mrs. Mann in safety, the latter being very ill—indeed she died a few weeks later. Roper, however, insisted on remaining, to care for the Native Christians; and the very next day after the Manns got away, the attacking army captured the town, seized the Christians for slaves, and carried Roper captive to Ibadan, treating him with much cruelty on the way. When Hinderer heard of this he went to the chiefs and begged for his release; but they refused unless he was ransomed by the payment of ten slaves, ten guns, ten kegs of powder, and other goods. They allowed him, however, to live with the Hinderers, on his parole that he would not leave the town; and there he stayed during the remaining years of that trying time.

Roper a
captive.

Dahomian
designs on
Abeokuta.

The King of Dahomey, encouraged by the Egba reverses, and also imagining, from the attitude of Captain Glover, that England no longer cared for its old *protégé* Abeokuta, now resolved to effect, if possible, its total destruction. Commander Perry, R.N., reported from Whydah, the Dahomian port, that the Native Christians captured at Ishagga had all been cruelly massacred, and that if Abeokuta fell, the same fate would befall the 1500 Christians there, and the European missionaries likewise. Commodore Eardley Wilmot, the commander of the British West African Squadron, thereupon went himself with a strong guard to Abomey, to persuade the king to desist from his cruelties, and to spare Abeokuta; but he entirely failed, and the Dahomian army was ordered to prepare to destroy the city utterly and put white and black Christians alike to the sword. Captain Glover now issued a proclamation, charging all Europeans to come away from Abeokuta. This the missionaries refused to do, determining to share the fate of their converts, whether it were a mighty deliverance from the Lord or a cruel

C.M.S.
opposes
Glover's
policy.

death permitted by Him ; whereupon Glover proclaimed a blockade, closed the road, and forbade supplies or ammunition being sent from Lagos to what was believed to be the doomed city—a step, as it appeared afterwards, not approved by the English naval officers.* In Lagos there were now many well-to-do Christian Negro merchants, whose business was largely with Abeokuta ; and their indignation against Glover found vent in letters to Mr. Venn, whom they knew to be their true friend. The C.M.S. Committee, after “a long and anxious discussion,” in which they were “assisted by the Earl of Harrowby, Sir T. D. Acland, Admiral Denman, Captains Coote and Bedingfield, and other friends of Africa,” went on deputation to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, “to urge upon him the removal of the hostile policy pursued by the Governor of Lagos against Abeokuta.” The Duke, beneath the necessary official caution, evinced genuine sympathy ; and in the next Annual Report (1863) the Committee spoke in plain language of what they considered the errors of Captain Glover. And they heartily approved of the conduct of the missionaries in not leaving their posts, significantly quoting our Lord’s words about the hireling fleeing when the wolf cometh.

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But meanwhile, the imminent danger of Abeokuta roused to an unwonted keenness of sympathy the whole C.M.S. circle ; and all over England, in the winter of 1862-3, special prayer-meetings were held to entreat the mercy of God for what was then one of the dearest spots on earth. The Committee issued a circular, saying, “There is not a moment to be lost. There is no arm of flesh to lean upon. But there is One on high who is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea,”—and referring to the case of “the proud Assyrian,” Sennacherib, of whom the Lord by Isaiah’s mouth said, “He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it . . . by the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and not enter into this city.”† When the Society met for its Anniversary in May, all that the Committee could say was that “all the missionaries remained at their posts,” and that there was “a calm dependence upon the help of the Lord amongst the converts, who were daily meeting together for prayer.” But a few days after, joyful news arrived that prayer had been heard and answered ; and answered in the most literal and wonderful way. The Committee’s circular had invited prayer “that Dahomey might be restrained, and compelled to return to his own land, if it might be without bloodshedding.” “We felt,” wrote Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer*, “that in asking this we were asking a hard thing, but not too hard for the Lord.” Yet He so ordered it.

Imminent
danger of
Abeokuta.
Prayer in
England.

Wonderful
answer to
prayer

* This appears from Admiral Sir F. W. Grey’s evidence before a Parliamentary Committee (*C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1868).

† A very striking, terse, pointed appeal for prayer was issued in Yorkshire by the Rev. R. C. Billing, then one of the most energetic of C.M.S. Association Secretaries, afterwards Bishop of Bedford.

PART VII. *The Dahomian army did return to its own country without a battle, 1862-72. and almost without bloodshedding. And Bühler, in writing from Abeokuta, quoted the very passage which the Committee had quoted in their circular:—"The King of Dahomey has not come into this city, nor has he shot an arrow there, nor has he come before it with shields, nor has he cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same has he returned, and has not entered into this city."* The details, when received, seemed almost incredible. For sixteen days in March, the Dahomian army had remained encamped about five miles from Abeokuta. Night after night an attack was expected; morning after morning dawned without a gun having been fired; and on the seventeenth morning the camp was found deserted! The whole Dahomian army had gone off, no one knew why! Certain words of St. John occur to the mind—"But the servants which drew the water knew." Mr. Bühler, one night when an alarm was given, overheard an Egba Christian woman praying aloud, quietly took her words down, translated them literally into English, and sent the translation home. All over England were that woman's simple heart-outpourings read with thankful sympathy. Let them be preserved in these pages:—

An Egba
woman's
prayer.

"O Lord Jesus, lift up Thine arm: lift up, lift up, O Lord, Lord Jesus our Redeemer, lift up Thine holy arm and deliver us from the cruel Dahomians. O Lord Jesus, remember what they have done to Thy saints in Ishagga, how much innocent blood they have shed. O Lord, Lord, deliver us, that we may not fall into their hands. Thou has sent Thy messengers to us with Thy holy word. We trust in Thee, O Lord our God: do not forsake us. Thou didst deliver Thy people Israel from the hand of Pharaoh, and hast overthrown his army. Thou didst deliver Hezekiah and his people from the hand of Sennacherib, who blasphemed Thy holy name. Do also remember us, O Lord; remember Thy Church, remember Thy servants; remember our children. O Lord God, deliver us for Thy dear Son's sake. Amen."

Other
Dahomian
attacks
repulsed.

The Dahomian retreat, indeed, was only for a time. In the same month of March in the next year, 1864, an army of 10,000 warriors, including some thousands of the ferocious "Amazons," made a desperate assault upon Abeokuta. This time there was real fighting, and the brunt of it was borne by the Christian Egbas, the main attack being delivered at that part of the wall where they were stationed under their brave *balogun* or war-chief, John Okenla, a consistent member of the principal congregation. Again, however, the hand of the Lord was stretched out to deliver Abeokuta; the Dahomians were repulsed with heavy loss; and for several years the attack was not repeated. In 1875, the same Christian chief, Okenla, again led the Egbas to victory over their relentless foes. He seemed to the Egbas to bear a charmed life, and they said the white men must have given some "medicine" to prevent bullets hitting him. "Yes," he said, "come to me, and I will give you the same medicine"; and he showed them his Yoruba New Testament, and read portions to them. "This," said he, "is my medicine, and my daily food."

But all this while the slower and milder "state of war" between Abeokuta and Ibadan continued. In 1863, Captain Glover was in England for a short time, and the Acting-Governor, Captain Mulliner, with Commodore Eardley Wilmot, went up to Abeokuta, and addressed a letter to the Egba war-chiefs, which Henry Venn printed in the next Annual Report "as a pattern of the generous spirit in which British authorities can well afford to treat Native rulers who are struggling towards a higher stage of civilization, even though their conduct is in many respects reprehensible." But, the Report went on, "a change in the administration of the Colony interrupted, unhappily, the progress of the negotiations." These significant words really meant that Captain Glover, who had previously been only Acting-Governor, had gone back as Governor with full authority, and had speedily put his foot down upon the attempt of the two other officers to resume friendly relations with the Egbas. And in the following year, 1865, the Report said:—"The misunderstandings between the British Government at Lagos and the chiefs of Abeokuta have not yet been brought to a satisfactory adjustment, so that the road from Lagos is still closed against trade." A note adds that the Governor had allowed the road to be open for a few days, in order that an accumulated stock of cotton might be brought down. The quantity that passed was no less than 3574 bales, for which the Egbas received £12,000. This was the result, even in war-time, of Venn's plans for developing the Yoruba cotton-trade, described in our Thirty-ninth Chapter. Whether, in the long controversy, Venn and the C.M.S. Committee and Townsend and the Egba chiefs were really in the right, and Glover and Hinderer and the Ibadan chiefs really in the wrong, it would require more knowledge than is now procurable to decide. This History need only record the facts.

The war lasted five years; and during the whole of that time Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer were practically shut up in Ibadan, there being no way of their leaving, had they wished to do so. There was a young English catechist with them at first, Jefferies; but he sank under the privations he endured. For the last three years Roper was with them, a prisoner on parole. During the whole time they were often in the greatest straits even for the necessaries of life. Their ordinary remittances from Lagos were in dollars, which Native traders were willing to receive in exchange for cowries, the currency of the country, with which they could buy food. But at first their dollars were not marketable, owing to the collapse of trade through the war; and then the dollars ceased to come at all, owing to the blockade,* so they had no means of obtaining the needed cowries. Hinderer went to the chiefs,

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Continued
friction
between
Glover and
Abeokuta.

Mr. and
Mrs. Hin-
derer shut
up in
Ibadan.

Their
poverty.

* The quarterly drafts on the Society for their allowance, not being available for their support, were sent from Lagos to a friend in England, who invested the money to await their return; and that investment served in after years for a partial provision for Mr. Hinderer in his old age.

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Their
privations.

Their
sickness.

Their
isolation.

asking for a loan of cowries, to be repaid afterwards. They expressed sympathy, but said "Ifa must be consulted," Ifa being the god supposed to be represented by the kola-nut. In due course the answer came that "Ifa forbade them to lend the white man cowries." The fact was that Hinderer's loyalty to Ibadan was suspected in Ibadan, just as Townsend's loyalty to Abeokuta was suspected in Abeokuta. Before the war had lasted six months, they were without flour. Their food was now chiefly horse-beans, the produce of a little plot of garden, flavoured with palm-oil and pepper. The more nutritious yams were only to be bought with cowries, and cowries they did not now possess. Salt they used "as if it were gold-dust." Sometimes they could only allow themselves a handful of beans daily, and, wrote Mrs. Hinderer, "cried themselves to sleep with hunger, like children." A cup of tea "could be taken now and then sparingly." It was their anxious care not to let their privations be known, lest the people in ignorant sympathy should throw blame upon God; but sometimes their poverty was suspected, and the converts, who were poor enough themselves, would bring them a few yams or a few cowries. They sold what things would sell; and for some time they lived on the proceeds of Mrs. Hinderer's large cloak for the voyages, which fetched 20,000 cowries, equal to £1. Sickness, too, frequently laid them low; and both received into their bodily frames the seeds of the diseases that ultimately killed them; in her case, while still in young middle life; in his case, after years of suffering.

Communications between Ibadan and the coast were few and far between; but letters did get through from time to time, though they were often weeks and months on the way, the messengers carrying them in the folds of their caps or turbans. In 1861, Hinderer contrived, at the imminent peril of his life, to get through the forests and reach Lagos, in order to obtain supplies, leaving his wife behind; but the carriers who took the loads were captured by the Jebus, and he had a miraculous escape going back, at last arriving safe but empty-handed. In 1862, a leading Native merchant at Lagos, Mr. J. P. L. Davies, made an earnest appeal to the Egba war-chiefs to let him pass through their camps, both to relieve the white man at Ibadan and to seek some opening for peace negotiation. Consent was given to his going by a circuitous route, and he went accompanied by Bühler and J. A. Lamb. They succeeded, after a long *détour* by Oyo, in reaching Ibadan, and they returned in hopes of peace, Hinderer saying he would follow when all was settled. But these hopes came to nought; the war was renewed; and for over two years more the brave German missionary and his English wife continued shut up and suffering. Captain Glover himself tried, but tried in vain, to get through the Jebu country to release them. He was always a true and kind friend to the Hinderers. A few years before this time, he had been sick at

Ibadan himself, and had been tenderly nursed by Mrs. Hinderer, and he never forgot it. At length, in April, 1865, he sent a young officer, Captain Maxwell, to cut a new path through the forest at all costs; and one night, late, the little party suddenly turned up at the mission-house, with a hammock for Mrs. Hinderer, saying she must leave at daybreak. She was brought safely to the coast and sent to England; and a few months later, peace between Abeokuta and Ibadan allowed her husband and Mr. Roper to follow her, after putting Mission affairs in order and leaving the necessary instructions to the Native catechists. There were now three small congregations, comprising together two hundred converts, of whom one-third were communicants.

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Their
release.

Peace in the interior, however, did not put an end to the English blockade against the Egbas. In 1865, Townsend made an earnest appeal to Captain Glover to let him mediate for a settlement; but the Governor's conditions only irritated the Egba chiefs afresh. Then the C.M.S. Committee again appealed to the Home Government, with the result that the new Governor-in-chief at Sierra Leone, Major Blackall, was instructed to proceed to Lagos and investigate matters; and he interposed with decisive effect. He invited Townsend and a leading Egba chief to Lagos, and very soon all disputes were settled, and peace restored. He then wrote direct to the Society, saying,—

Peace at
last.

"I will not enter upon the general policy which has been pursued towards the Egbas, because the future will be more satisfactory to both parties; and I assure you I feel much the zealous and able assistance rendered by the Rev. Mr. Townsend in smoothing matters for me, and his readiness not to revert to past grievances."

It was about this time that the Anthropological Society was discussing Africa and the Africans in a way that excited a good deal of attention. Of course at these scientific or quasi-scientific gatherings religion is excluded; that is to say, religion in the mouths or from the pens of religious men. But there is no prohibition of attacks on Christianity and Christian Missions. Two African travellers at this time made themselves conspicuous for such attacks, Captain Burton and Mr. Winwood Reade. Both these gentlemen openly advocated polygamy as good for Africa; the former, indeed, not limiting its advantages to Africa, but boldly affirming that Christianity only insisted upon "one wife" in the case of bishops. Both expressed admiration of Mohammedanism; Winwood Reade saying that "Mohammed, a servant of God, redeemed the Eastern world, and now his followers were redeeming Africa." It follows that Christian Missions were not likely to command the approval of these distinguished members of the Anthropological Society. But their methods of criticism were notable. Burton affirmed that Abeokuta was "nearly a Christian city" and at the same time "a den of abominations." Yet elsewhere in his book he unconsciously provided the reply to this assertion; for he estimated

Anthro-
pologists
and African
Missions.

PART VII. the population of Abeokuta as probably 150,000 and the number of converts as 1500. This was near enough to the fact; but then where was the "nearly Christian city"? It is needless to say more of the controversy now. Mr. Ridgeway treated it ably in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1865.

Progress of Lagos. In the meanwhile, Captain Glover was a most energetic Governor of Lagos. Quays, warehouses, European dwellings, schools, churches and chapels, gradually arose; and the *quondam* headquarters of the slave-trade was now rapidly becoming, as it has since been called, the Liverpool of West Africa. In 1866 the value of its exports was £262,000, and so rapid was the yearly increase, that in 1869 the figure rose to £670,000. Gollmer, Maser, and J. A. Lamb in succession worked it as a mission-station, as well as English Wesleyans and American Baptists; and as many of the leading merchants were Sierra Leone men, the profession of Christianity, at least, was common among the well-to-do classes of Negroes. And in 1867 Lagos suddenly became, through the occurrence of strange events at Abeokuta, the chief centre of the C.M.S. Yoruba Mission.

Sudden outbreak at Abeokuta. For, to quote again Mr. Mee's epigrammatic language in the Annual Report of 1868, "a cloud had arisen to darken the 'sunrise within the tropics.'"^{*} On Sunday, October 13th, 1867, the Egba chiefs suddenly forbade the church services being held. This was at once followed by attacks on the churches and mission-houses in different parts of the great town, the destruction or robbery of all the Mission and missionaries' property, and the expulsion of the missionaries, Maser, Wood, and Faulkner (Townsend was in England), and a Wesleyan and a Baptist; and grave threats against the lives of the Native Christians. The missionaries refrained from lifting a hand in resistance: they stood still while their furniture was broken to pieces before their eyes and their money carried off; and when ordered to leave the town, they quietly departed, with nothing but the clothes on their backs, and proceeded to Lagos.

Expulsion of missionaries. This unexpected occurrence caused great surprise in England. Regarding the personal conduct of missionaries in such emergencies, the Committee adopted a remarkable Minute, in which they said—

Notable Minute of C.M.S. Committee. "That when, in the providence of God, there occurs in any Mission an outbreak of popular fanaticism against Christianity, or even when the heathen authorities attempt to put down the profession of Christianity by force and persecution, the first duty of Missionaries is to remain with their flocks, until thrust out by force; to bear threatening, knowing that the Lord heard the words of Sennacherib and laughed them to scorn; to bear some personal violence, as Apostles of old; to bear the spoiling of goods, as did the primitive Christians. The thought of flying from suffering and danger should never be admitted, unless the providence of God seems clearly to point that way.

^{*} *Sunrise within the Tropics* was the title of Miss Tucker's book on Abeokuta.

"This obligation upon the Missionaries is still more binding upon the Native teachers. They are bound to stand by the converts, and to share their trials to the last. PART VII. 1862-72. Chap. 56.

"The Native Christians should be exhorted to stand together; to be instant in prayer to strengthen each other's hearts in the Lord; and to study those many passages of Scripture which speak of persecution, bonds, imprisonments, and deaths, as the means by which God glorified His work in the primitive Church, and of which missionary history has afforded many examples, as in the case of Madagascar and the Indian Mutiny."

Gradually the causes of the outbreak came to light. In the first place, the leading Egbas were still smarting under the unfair treatment which they thought they had received from the Lagos Government. The Dahomians, they said, who had massacred Christians,—the Ibadans, who had kept a white man prisoner,—the Jebus, who allowed no white man in their country,—had all been dealt with courteously; while they, who alone had fostered commercial intercourse with England and welcomed missionaries, had been treated as enemies. In the second place, the Alake, or king, had been dead two or three years, and no one had been elected to succeed him; and some unscrupulous chiefs had now got the upper hand. In the third place, some clever Sierra Leone men of doubtful character, who privily desired a revival of the lucrative slave-trade, had induced these chiefs to form an "Egba Board of Management" for the government of the country, and the leader of these Sierra Leoneans, a man named Johnson, was the Secretary of it. In the fourth place, the growing Mohammedan influence was strong in the same direction. Causes of the outbreak.

The missionaries had little doubt that they would soon be invited back again; but it was not so. More than three years passed away before any one of them was allowed even to visit the place. In 1871, Townsend was suffered to go for a few days only; and in 1875 he and Mrs. Townsend resided there for the greater part of a year. But not until 1880, thirteen years after the outbreak, could a white missionary be again permanently located at Abeokuta; and meanwhile the name that had been so constantly in the mouths of C.M.S. supporters throughout England became little more than a memory of the older among them. But though the churches had been destroyed, the *Church* grew and prospered, under the guidance of three Native pastors, Moore, Allen, and Williams. Moore was in charge of Oshielle when the outbreak occurred; and as the people there took no part in it, Mr. Mee in his Report called the village the Yoruba *Zoar*. It was Moore who gathered the Christians together in the ruined church at Ake (the chief station within the walls), and spoke to them on the words of Moses, "I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt." No, it was not burnt, for the Lord was there. Bishop Crowther visited Abeokuta once during this long period of suspension of the English Mission, and Henry Johnson once;

The Egba Church left to itself.

PART VII. and they both wrote very warmly of the steadfastness of the 1862-72. Native Church.

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Mr. and
Mrs. Hin-
derer again
at Ibadan.

To return to 1867. The Egbas, now at peace with the Ibadans, tried to get the latter to follow their example in turning out the missionaries. But in this they failed; for Ibadan had got "Babba and Iya" back again. Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer, having regained comparative health in England, had returned to Africa in 1866, and received an enthusiastic welcome at their old station. But they only lasted two years this time. The health of both broke down, and at the beginning of 1869 they left the country, little doubting that it was a final separation from the people they had loved so well. They settled in a Norfolk parish, Martham, Mr. Hinderer becoming curate in charge; and there, a few months after, on June 6th, 1870, Anna Hinderer entered into rest. Her Memoir, prepared by her dear friends the daughters of Archdeacon Hone, has ever since been an inspiration to thousands of readers. In 1874, Hinderer once again went out for a year or two, opened a new Mission at Leke, on the coast east of Lagos, and stayed a short time at his old station; * but until quite recently, Ibadan remained under the sole charge of its faithful pastor Daniel Olubi, who was ordained by Bishop Cheetham in 1871.

Death
of Mrs.
Hinderer.

Mutual
goodwill
of Yoruba
Christians.

In 1870, a striking illustration of the unifying power of the Gospel was presented in the mutual relations of the Abeokuta and Ibadan Christians. The two great towns were still on unfriendly terms, and every now and then another "state of war" would prevail; but the Ibadan Christians sent a deputation of four men to their brethren at Abeokuta, to propose that a settled relationship of mutual Christian esteem should be recognized between them. They were joyfully received, and the Abeokuta Church sent to Ibadan a load of salt as a present, "because," wrote the Native pastor, Moore, "salt is used to make things savoury, and to preserve from putrefaction." In response, the Ibadan Church sent twenty-four large kola-nuts—the Yoruba emblem of goodwill,—with this message:—"However great misunderstandings may be among the Heathen of Abeokuta and Ibadan, let unity and peace be among us Christians of the two rival cities, for we are the followers of the Prince of Peace."

Lagos the
C.M.S.
head-
quarters.

Thus it came to pass that Lagos, the old headquarters of the slave-trade, became not only the Liverpool of West Africa, but the centre of C.M.S. work for the Yoruba country. Not only were all the missionaries for some years resident there, but many of the Abeokuta Christians came down thither, and settled either

* One of the most interesting incidents of this visit was the baptism of "Old Mele." This man had formerly been the commander of the army of Ibadan, and at one time threatened to put the Christians to the sword while at church. Now, after two years' test as a humble catechumen, he was admitted to Christian fellowship. (See *C.M. Record*, October, 1873; November, 1875.)

on the island of Lagos, or at the village of Ebute Meta on the mainland opposite. J. B. Wood conducted the Training Institution, which Bühler had formerly worked at Abeokuta; Mr. and Mrs. Mann had the Female Institution, turn-about with Mr. and Mrs. Roper, more frequent furloughs being now ordered by the Committee, following the Government system of very short terms of service for the West African coast; and the parishes were in charge, at different times, of Gollmer, Maser, Lamb, Nicholson, and Faulkner. These were Christ Church, Faji, for the English-speaking community; St. Peter's, a chapel-of-ease in the same district, for Yoruba-speaking people; St. Paul's, Breadfruit station, a church built on the site of the old slave-barracoon, the great shed in which slaves from the interior used to be kept in chains until shipment; Palm Church, Aroloya; Trinity Church, Ebute Ero; and Ebute Meta on the mainland. So early as 1869, the Lagos Christians began to relieve the Society of the support of the schools; and in 1870 the first steps were taken towards the formation of a Native Pastorate organization, on a basis similar to that of Sierra Leone. Bishop Cheetham threw himself vigorously into these plans. In 1871 he ordained four Yoruba clergymen, and in 1876 three more. One of the former was Daniel Olubi of Ibadan; one of the latter was Charles Phillips of Ode Ondo, now Assistant Bishop. Native clergymen were in charge at Badagry and at Otta; and another, ordained so far back as 1854, named T. B. Macaulay, conducted the Lagos Grammar School. The Native Church did not for some years actually reach the position of independence attained at Sierra Leone; but ultimately it became even more prosperous in a financial sense. This, however, belongs to a later period. Here let it be mentioned that in 1872 the Native Christians connected with the C.M.S. Yoruba Mission numbered 2050 at Lagos, 200 at the other coast stations, and 2150 at Abeokuta and Ibadan; and that in that year the Lagos Christians contributed £1400 to religious objects, and those in the interior £250.

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 56.

The churches.

The clergy.

It was mentioned above that the Sierra Leone Church and the Niger Bishopric were features of our present period which were exceptions to its generally discouraging character. At the former of these we must now take a brief glance.

The Sierra Leone Church had just begun its independent existence. From November, 1860, nine parishes had ceased to be mission-stations, and their establishments and responsibilities had been transferred to the new Native Pastorate organization, viz., Kiskey, Wellington, Hastings, Regent, Gloucester, Bathurst, Kent, York, and Banana Islands. The annual charge of these churches was about £1600. The Society had never borne the whole of this; for, from the first, the custom of penny-a-week contributions from all church members had prevailed, which at this time covered nearly half. But the other half was now also undertaken by the

The Sierra Leone Church.

PART VII. congregations. The nine Negro pastors, G. Nicol, J. J. Thomas, 1862-72. Jacob Cole, W. Quaker, Moses Taylor, T. Maxwell, Jos. Wilson, Chap. 56. J. H. Davies, and C. Davies, addressed a joint letter of farewell to the Society; and a tenth signature was that of James Quaker, the able Principal of the Grammar School, he and his self-supporting school being also independent of English funds. The constitution of the Pastorate was described in the preceding chapter.

The inde-
pendent
Pastorate

An English
element
still.

So the "eu-
thanasia"
not quite
reached.

But this commencement of African Church organization did not put the whole Colony at once under a Native Church. In the first place, the Society still retained four churches, the Pastorate not being yet ready to take all, though it did a few years later, the last in 1877. For these, however, African curates were provided, to work under the missionaries in charge, and so be the better prepared for independence by-and-by. Among them was the Rev. James Johnson, since so well known at Lagos. In the second place, the Society still carried on—as it does to this day—the Fourah Bay College and the Female Institution. In the third place, Sierra Leone was—as it still is—a Crown Colony, and had—as it has not now in the same way—an ecclesiastical establishment. The Bishop was appointed, and in part supported, by the British Government; and the principal church at Freetown, which had become St. George's Cathedral, was a Government building, and for its services a chaplain also was provided. Moreover, the Bishop was an Englishman—as the Bishop still is. Therefore the Sierra Leone Pastorate was not a fully-organized Native Church; but its formation was a good first step towards that desirable *euthanasia* of the Mission. And it was with real joy that the Society said to the nine parishes, as Prospero said to Ariel, "Be free, and fare thou well!"

Sierra
Leone
Church
Missions.

The Bishop who, in correspondence with Henry Venn, worked out this experiment, was Dr. E. H. Beckles. He held the see from 1860 to 1869. In 1870 he was succeeded by Bishop Cheetham. The C.M.S. Annual Reports ceased to give a systematic account of Sierra Leone, the diocese being now regarded as outside the Society's official range, except so far as the parishes yet retained, and the educational institutions, were concerned; and the Native clergy and congregations in the nine parishes were no longer included in the statistical returns.* But in several Reports during the period under review there are short general notices of what proved to be a prosperous and growing Church, and many expressions of the Committee's thankful satisfaction. The new Church, on its part, did not desert the Society. Its Church Missionary Association divided its funds, very happily, between the Society and local Missions, thus neglecting neither its immediate responsibilities to the surrounding Heathen nor the general cause of the

* They were restored some years later, when the system was adopted of including semi-independent Christian communities.

Evangelization of the World. The amount sent to the Society averaged £300 a year.

The missionaries at Sierra Leone during our period were Reichardt, Hamilton, Caiger, Knödler, Menzies, Brierley, Oldham, Binns, Nicholson, Alcock, and Sunter, the two latter being successive Principals of Fourah Bay College. This College, however, was not flourishing at the time, the number of men available as students being small. During the same period ten "female teachers," as they were called, laboured in the Female Institution. Most of them stayed—or lived—for a very short time; but there were exceptions. Miss Julia Sass continued twenty-one years in the service. In 1869 she retired; and for more than twenty years subsequently she was one of the most devoted of home workers in the cause. In the same year Mrs. Clemens, of whom a previous chapter spoke, retired after nineteen years' service. Mrs. Beale laboured ten years after her husband's death, and died, deeply lamented, in 1866, after a total period in Africa of a quarter of a century. Miss Bywater served four years; then married Mr. Brierley, and continued seven years working zealously; and, after her husband's death, laboured five years more under the Society, and then joined the American Episcopal Mission in Liberia. Miss Jane Caspari, a Polish lady, worked thirteen years in West Africa, and subsequently in Japan. The Female Institution was erected at a cost of £2500, contributed by the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Walsh, of Wanstead, in memory of a daughter; and it was afterwards named, after her, the Annie Walsh Institution.

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 56.

The Eng-
lish mis-
sionaries:
men,

and
women.

Missions to the surrounding Heathen were begun in our period, in the Bullom country, just north of Sierra Leone, where Nylander had laboured half a century before; in the Quiah country, inland; and in Sherbro, to the south. The two latter districts were annexed to the Colony in 1862. The now well-known African clergyman, Henry Johnson, was sent to Sherbro, and did good work in translating portions of Scripture into the Mendi language. In later years, all these Missions were taken over by the African Church.

Outlying
Missions.

The year 1866 was a memorable one at Sierra Leone. Fifty years had elapsed since Edward Bickersteth organized the Mission in 1816; and the Jubilee was celebrated with much joy and thanksgiving. On January 2nd, the Bishop opened the year's commemoration by a sermon at Christ Church, Pademba Road; and next day a public meeting was held, presided over by the Governor, who declared that "the conversion and civilization of the Colony were due to the Church Missionary Society." Mr. Quaker delivered a remarkable address, sketching the early days of Christianity in Africa, which "gave martyrs to the flame and bishops to the Church"; then the history of the Mohammedan conquest; and then the story of the Missions of this century. Thirty-one Native clergymen had been ordained in West Africa

Jubilee
of Sierra
Leone
Mission.

A cheering
retrospect.

PART VII. (of course including Yoruba); and the six communicants of 1862-72. Edward Bickersteth's year had become six thousand. "Happy," he exclaimed in conclusion, "are the people that are in such a case; yea, blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God!" The Sierra Leone Christians raised a Jubilee Fund of £830, in addition to £900 for three churches in the outlying Missions; and the Government signalized the occasion by voting an annual grant of £500 towards the Pastorate Fund.* In the following year, the C.M.S. Annual Report said, in John Mee's alliterative language, that "the celebration of its Jubilee had exhilarated rather than exhausted the West African Church," for all the funds, including gifts to the C.M.S. and the Bible Society, were still increasing. In 1869 the chief magistrate of the Colony, Major Bravo, presided at the Pastorate Anniversary, and spoke warmly of the moral influence of the Church on the population, rendering the duties of the police very light. Much satisfaction was also caused by the appointment of two of the Native clergymen, G. Nicol and T. Maxwell, to the Government chaplaincies at Gambia and the Gold Coast respectively.

Govern-
ment testi-
mony.

Bishop
Cheetham.

The advent of Bishop Cheetham in 1871 was warmly welcomed; and he at once threw himself vigorously into the work. Clerical Meetings, Devotional Conferences, a Church Magazine, a Provident Society, and other good agencies were set on foot. In his first eight months he confirmed over one thousand candidates, visiting every parish and station in the Colony and Mission. In 1872 the professing members of the Church of England in the Colony were officially stated to be 14,000, of whom 4500 were communicants. There were nearly 4000 children in the day-schools, and 2000 persons in the Sunday-schools. There were nineteen Native clergymen, fifty-seven catechists and schoolmasters, and one hundred and two voluntary Sunday-school teachers. About £1000 a year was being contributed by the people to their Church fund, or £1600 including the missionary and other funds.

Weak-
nesses of
West
African
Christi-
anity.

While, as we have seen, there was much to encourage the Society in the prosperity of both the Colony and the Church of Sierra Leone, there was another side to the shield. The profession of Christianity was sincere as far as it went; but it was to a large extent superficial. The churches were filled, the Communion well attended, the Sunday-schools fairly efficient, the collections large,—but true conversion of heart and life was no more common than in an average English parish. While there were many godly and praying people, particularly among the poorer and older members of the congregations, the younger and more opulent folk manifested for the most part little personal religion. The weaknesses of the African character, too, were very manifest: sensual indulgence and vain personal display were common; and

* This grant was suddenly withdrawn in 1876.

dislike to hard work crowded the market for clerks and shopmen, while handicrafts and agriculture were neglected. Together with an almost grotesque aping of the externals of European refinement and luxury, there was a growing spirit of rather petulant independence. It became fashionable to speak disparagingly of the Missions and missionaries, in forgetfulness that to them the success of the Colony was mainly due; and faithful and loving warnings against the besetting faults of the community, as in Bishop Cheetham's excellent charges, were bitterly resented. In 1872, no little mischief was done by a new Governor, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. Pope Hennessy, an Irish Romanist who had been a personal follower of Mr. Disraeli in Parliament—he was the only Roman Catholic on the Conservative side of the House—and had been promoted by him to be a Colonial Governor. A more unfortunate choice was never made, and very unlike Mr. Disraeli's usually unerring instinct in the selection of men. In Mauritius and Hong Kong afterwards, Hennessy was a most troublesome Governor; but his career in this capacity began in West Africa. He went to Lagos, upset some of the best plans of Governor Glover, dallied with the slave-traders, and made various proposals regarding future policy, every one of which was happily vetoed by the Colonial Office at home. At Sierra Leone, Romanist as he was, he ostentatiously patronized the Mohammedans; and in every way he sought to discredit Protestant Missions, paying marked attentions to two or three of the abler of the Native clergy, who might thus easily be made discontented with the Church Missionary Society and its methods. At the same time, a Negro of great ability and some culture from across the Atlantic, Dr. E. W. Blyden, was exercising somewhat similar influence.* Christianity, said Blyden, was no doubt very good; but did it not tend to denationalize the African? Was not Islam more suitable, and did it not succeed better in taking root in the African mind? And was Polygamy to be condemned so utterly? Thus, in rather novel forms, the world, the flesh, and the devil beset the Christianity of Sierra Leone; and not without success. But that the infant Church has held its own so well, and maintained its purity of doctrine so steadfastly, is the surest sign of the presence in it of God the Holy Ghost, and the happiest reward to the Church Missionary Society.

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 56.

Governor
Pope
Hennessy.

Dr.
Blyden.

* Dr. Blyden had been connected with an American Mission in Liberia. When in England in 1871, his abilities much struck the C.M.S. Committee, and he was engaged as a linguist and translator for the Sierra Leone Mission. This arrangement, however, only lasted a few months.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE NIGER AND ITS BLACK BISHOP.

The Niger Mission, 1857—Voyage and Wreck of the “Dayspring”—Difficulties of Communication and Supervision—Moslems and “Nazarenes”—Shall there be a Negro Bishop?—Crowther at Exeter Hall—His Oxford D.D. Degree—His Consecration—His Farewell—Reception at Sierra Leone—His Visitations—His Dealings with Pagan Chiefs and Moslem Kings—His Charge—His Perils—Bonny, Physically and Morally—William and George Pepple—Fight with Cruelty and Superstition—The two Churches—The Persecution—The Martyrs—“Bonny a Bethel”—Brass Mission—Upper Stations—Trials of the Mission.

“Thus saith the Lord God . . . to the rivers . . . I will destroy your high places.”—Ezek. vi. 3.

“A chosen vessel unto Me, to bear My Name before the Gentiles, and kings.”—Acts ix. 15.

PART VII.
1862–72.
Chap. 57.

Three
memorable
years.



THREE memorable years begin the history of the Niger Mission. The year 1841—so marked a year in many ways—saw the First Niger Expedition, organized by Government under Fowell Buxton’s inspiration and Prince Albert’s auspices. The year 1854—the year of the Crimean War—saw the Second Niger Expedition, Mr. Macgregor Laird’s humbler but more successful effort. The year 1857—the year of the Indian Mutiny—saw the Third Niger Expedition, organized jointly by Mr. Laird and the Government. On the first occasion, a young African teacher, Samuel Crowther, accompanied J. F. Schön, the learned missionary linguist, who went with the Expedition as representative of the Church Missionary Society. On the second occasion, an experienced African clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Crowther, went as the Society’s representative. On the third occasion, the same African clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Crowther, went as the appointed leader of the first Christian Mission to the Niger territories.

Of the First and Second Expeditions the story has already been told in these pages ; * and we last left Samuel Crowther on board the *Dayspring*, in the summer of 1857, preparing to ascend the great river. Sanguine expectations accompanied the *Dayspring*. They seemed warranted by the success of the *Pleiad’s* exploration in 1854 ; and the discoveries of the traveller Barth, who had lately returned from his great journey through the Soudan, had shown

Crowther
starting
the Niger
Mission.

* In Chapters XXIX. and XXXIX.

what a vast field for commercial enterprise was open on the upper waters of both branches of the Niger. The plans for the new Mission were drawn on a bold scale. Crowther was to post teachers at Abo, just above the Delta; at Onitsha, a still more important Ibo town, on the east bank, 140 miles from the sea; at Idda, still higher up, among the Igaras; at the Confluence of the two branches, the Kworra and the Tshadda, which is a confluence also of tribes and languages—the Hausa, Nupé, Kakanda, Igara, Igbira, and Yoruba tongues being in use there; at Egan, a great ivory market town on the Kworra, 320 miles from the sea; and at Rabbah, the city of an important Mohammedan chief, 100 miles still higher up; and from thence Crowther himself, with Dr. Baikie (who commanded the expedition, as he had done in 1854), hoped to travel overland some 300 miles to Sokoto, the great capital of that part of Africa, to whose Sultan all the petty Mohammedan kings and chiefs owed allegiance.

But on the Niger, as in so many other Missions, the lesson had to be learned—"Tarry thou the Lord's leisure." The scanty supply of teachers from Sierra Leone prevented the occupation of several stations, and Crowther never reached Sokoto. Onitsha was decided on as the best centre for the new Ibo Mission, and there the Rev. J. C. Taylor was stationed. Proceeding up the river, Crowther met a cordial reception at Idda, and at Gbebe, the town at the Confluence. At both places sites were at once granted for mission-houses: but where were the teachers? Alas! there were none to spare, but Dr. Baikie left a Christian trader at Gbebe, with instructions to open a day-school. On went the *Dayspring* to Egan, and thence to Rabbah, which was now visited for the first time by a Christian missionary. The Foulah chiefs, though Mohammedans, gave Crowther a much heartier welcome than he expected from a nation which has, in some respects, been the scourge of West Africa. "The chiefs," he wrote, "have not only offered the whole river to us for trade, with their protection, but they have also given us full permission to teach the heathen population under their government the religion of the Anasara [i.e. *Nazarenes*], and promised me a place for a Mission station at Rabbah."

Full of hope, Dr. Baikie and Crowther left Rabbah on October 6th, and steamed up the river. But the very next day the *Dayspring*, in endeavouring to force the passage between two islands against a strong rapid, drifted on to the rocks and became a wreck. Native canoes came to their assistance, and all were safely landed, and passed the night under torrents of rain as best they could. A camp was afterwards formed near Rabbah, and there they remained for twelve months, awaiting the arrival of another steamer, the *Sunbeam*, which had been expected to follow the *Dayspring*, but was detained.

This unexpected disaster was turned to the advantage of the expedition in many ways. Dr. Baikie paid visits to many neigh-

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 57.

Large
plans.

Insufficient
staff.

Wreck of
the "*Day-
spring*."

Results
of the
disaster.

PART VII.
1862-72.
Chap. 57.

bouring chiefs; Lieut. (afterwards Sir John) Glover surveyed the river and some of its tributaries; while Crowther found Rabbah the very spot for a missionary to stay at. At this point the Niger is passed by the large caravans—sometimes of 3000 people and 1000 head of cattle—between Ilorin, the Hausa capital in the north of the Yoruba country, and the interior of the Soudan; and there is a regular tariff of fares at the ferry. Frequent conversations were held with merchants and others, mostly Mohammedans, from all parts of West Central Africa, and even from the shores of the Mediterranean. One Arab from Tunis did some good by saying he had seen the English there, and they were a harmless people!

Communication with the coast was established through the Yoruba country, and the news of the wreck of the *Dayspring* reached England by this “overland mail” in exactly three months. On December 13th an American missionary, from one of the Yoruba towns, reached Rabbah with a load of sugar, tea, and coffee, with which he had hastened to the assistance of the party on hearing of the accident. “His visit,” wrote Crowther, “brought us again into connexion with the civilized world. To-day we were first made acquainted with the disastrous Mutinies in India, and the newspapers he brought were read with avidity.”

At length, in October, 1858, the *Sunbeam* appeared, and conveyed Crowther and others down the river. Crowther did not return to the coast, but remained behind at Onitsha, and thence, after a while, he made his way up the river again in native canoes to the Confluence, and on to Rabbah, a distance of 300 miles. From Rabbah he tried the “overland route” for the first time, and travelled on foot by way of Ilorin and Abeokuta to Lagos, in February, 1859.

The
“overland
route.”

In the summer of that year he again went up in another steamer sent by Mr. Macgregor Laird, the *Rainbow*, but could only go as far as the Confluence,—a message from Dr. Baikie, who was still up the river as an agent of the British Government, informing him that Rabbah was closed to missionary operations for the present. No reason was given, but we may be sure that the real cause was the jealousy of the Mohammedan priests. The work at the two other stations, Onitsha and Gbebe, however, was hopeful, and at each place there were several candidates for baptism. But the Native teachers were now put to a severe test. When Crowther returned in the *Rainbow* to the coast, two years elapsed before their solitary posts were again visited by any ordained missionary.

Difficulties
of com-
munica-
tion.

The cause of this suspension of operations was again the lack of opportunity to ascend the river. The *Rainbow*, on its return, was fired at by the Natives of the Delta, and two men were killed. A gunboat was promised by the Government to accompany the next trading steamer, and Crowther and Taylor proceeded to the mouth of the Nun (the principal channel through the Delta)

hoping to go up in it, but no gunboat appeared, and they returned baffled to Lagos. In January, 1861, the cause of African enlightenment suffered a severe blow by the death of Mr. Laird, and the consequent withdrawal of his trading vessels and closing of his factories. The evangelization of the Niger tribes seemed further off than ever.

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1862-72.
Chap. 57.

During the following winter Crowther was busily occupied in preparations for a permanent occupation of the Niger on a larger scale; and in August, 1862, a missionary party of no less than thirty-three persons, including wives and children, with their "belongings," were assembled at Akassa waiting for another gunboat, H.M.S. *Investigator*, to take them up to their stations. On its arrival Crowther found, to his extreme disappointment, that the commanding officer had no instructions to convey any; but so much sympathy was awakened on board the ship in his behalf that ultimately room was found for twenty-seven of the party; and with this goodly reinforcement he joyfully passed up the River.

Crowther always knew how to redeem the time, and the few weeks he spent at Gbebe were well occupied, not only in preaching, teaching, and organizing, but in improving his Nupé vocabulary and translating into that tongue some chapters from St. Matthew's Gospel, and also in establishing an "industrial institution" for the purchase, cleaning, and packing of cotton for the English market, in hopes of developing a trade in that article. When, in the following year, he was again up the River, he was visited by some messengers from Masaba, the Mohammedan king of Nupé, from whom nothing had been heard since the closing of Rabbah in 1859; and, taking them round the Mission premises, and showing them the cotton-gins, the screw-press, and the bales ready for shipment, he asked them to deliver this message to their master:—"We are Anasara (Nazarenes): *there* (pointing to the schoolroom) we teach the Christian religion; *these* (pointing to the cotton-gins) are our guns; *this* (pointing to the clean cotton puffing out of them) is our powder; and the cowries [the little shells which are the currency of the country], which are the proceeds of the operation, are the shots which England, the warmest friend of Africa, earnestly desires she should receive largely."

Crowther's
practical
work.

Industrial
institution.

The question now arose, What is to be the future of this promising Mission? The Committee had, in 1859, appointed three of Mr. Green's "Lancashire lads" * and two young Germans to proceed to the Niger, hoping thus to combine Europeans and Africans in the one work of evangelization. But only two of them even reached the mouth of the Niger, the others being kept at Sierra Leone and Abeokuta; and those two were at once struck by the malaria of the Delta, one dying at Lagos, and the other returning sick to England. The latter was Ashcroft, whom we

Problem of
the future.

* See p. 79.

PART VII. shall meet again. It now seemed hopeless to expect that European missionaries could live on the Niger: how then was the continuance of the Mission to be secured? What bishop would go up such a river to confirm the young Christians and ordain Native clergymen?

Venn's
plan, an
African
bishop.

Henry Venn's plan was soon formed. It must be a purely African Mission, under an African Bishop. For this, surely, the Hour had come—and the Man. He who was already the leader of the Mission, who now knew the River well, and, moreover, who was the first Native clergyman ordained in the Society's West Africa Missions, must be the bishop. It was not difficult to enlist the sympathy of home friends with such a project. Indeed, there had already been representations made to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Society that the next Bishop of Sierra Leone ought to be a Native; though this did not seem feasible. But the English missionaries in West Africa gravely doubted the expediency of Venn's proposal. They knew the defects of the African character; they feared that a Christianity of forty or fifty years' standing could scarcely be expected to supply men for the highest office in a Church whose Christianity was the growth of centuries; and while they appreciated Crowther's own personal worth, they wondered how the continuity of the proposed episcopate was to be kept up. Venn, however, persevered: and when, in March, 1864, Crowther came to England to report on his seven years' Niger campaign, the Committee went to Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with their daring proposition. Lord Palmerston was Premier; but whether the matter came under his notice, and whether he remembered his astonishment when, thirteen years before, the intelligent African now proposed for a bishopric had told him he had once been a slave-boy,* we are not informed. Archbishop Longley warmly pressed the scheme upon the Government; Lord John Russell cordially assented; and the Queen's license was issued to the Primate, empowering him to consecrate "Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Adjai Crowther, clerk in holy orders," to be a bishop of the Church of England in the West African territories beyond the British dominions.

Crowther
appointed
bishop.

The announcement excited unbounded interest throughout the country; and at the Society's Annual Meeting in May, Crowther, who spoke both morning and evening, was received with enthusiasm. His simplicity and combined humility and self-possession won universal approbation. In his speeches he made no allusion whatever to his approaching distinction, which had not yet been officially announced; but Hugh Stowell, who was the next speaker in the morning, was not to be restrained, and all his fervour burst forth as he welcomed the black bishop-designate:—

Hugh
Stowell on
the black
bishop.

"The Resolution has been moved by one whom *I* may speak of, for *I* am no diplomatist, as the Bishop-Designate of the Niger. It was the

* See p. 114.

day-dream of my childhood, the cherished imagination of my youth, and it is now almost, I may say, the realized hope of my manhood, that we should have in these latter days something like the primitive times when the African Cyprian presided over his conclave of fourscore swarthy bishops. We then, indeed, are sustaining the apostolical succession. We are going back to primitive usage, and I believe that the simplicity with which that Episcopate on the banks of the Niger is to be instituted, is beautifully primitive also. I cannot but rejoice that our beloved black brother is not going to be encumbered with the trappings, or to be burdened with the adornings, that seem to be necessary in our more civilized land for the Episcopate that is established amongst us. I say not one word to depreciate or disparage proper forms, order, or dignity at home; and far be the day when the Church of England shall be so disentangled from the Constitution of our country that her bishops shall not occupy their places in the assembly of the nation. . . . But I do most thoroughly rejoice that the Bishop of the Niger is to be no Lord Bishop; that he is to be simply a Missionary Bishop over his own countrymen. . . . I rejoice to think that we have a Bishop so humble, so simple, so taught of God that he is not ashamed to advert to the lowliness of his birth. I rejoice to think that he who was carried in that travelling hell of the ocean, a slave-ship, should preside as a free man over his own country. Marvellous illustration of the ways of Providence, that the wrongs and outrages to which he was subjected have been made the instrument by which they are to be redressed!"

It was the time of the *Essays and Reviews* excitement, and J. C. Ryle, recalling the early missionaries to West Africa who went forth "weeping, bearing precious seed," and who had "come again with rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them," challenged the Broad Church school to produce a "sheaf" like the one (pointing to Crowther) now on the platform; and Crowther himself asked, "If I am to be told no longer to hold up Jesus Christ as a propitiation for sin, what am I to offer the African in place of his sacrifices of goats, fowls, and pigeons?"

Challenge
to the
Broad
Church
party.

Venn was desirous of obtaining for Crowther, before his consecration, a D.D. degree from one of the Universities; and Archbishop Longley himself wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford to ask for it. Crowther's Yoruba Grammar, Yoruba and English Dictionary, and Yoruba Versions of many books of the Bible, were submitted as proofs of his linguistic talents, together with evidence of a reasonable standard of ordinary scholarship; and the proposal was submitted to the Convocation of the University. It was strongly opposed by one leading don, but was carried almost unanimously; and the Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Jacobson (afterwards Bishop of Chester), wrote the Latin speech in which Crowther was presented for the degree.*

Oxford
D.D.
degree for
Crowther.

Then came the consecration, on St. Peter's Day, in Canterbury Cathedral. Of this ceremony, Venn, when editing the *Christian Observer* five years after, wrote an interesting account.† After a reference to the sleepy past of our English cathedrals, he went on:—

Crowther's
consecra-
tion at Can-
terbury.

"We hail with gladness a new life now pervading the glorious fabric,

* This speech is appended to the present chapter. P. 465.

† *Christian Observer*, September, 1869.

PART VII. . . . and seldom, if ever, has that cradle of English Christianity more fully vindicated its true position than on June 29th, 1864, when a vast assemblage poured into its consecrated walls, not to listen to oratorios, not to witness superstitious functions, not to gaze idly upon architectural glories, but to behold the consecration of three bishops, 'whose sound was to go into all the earth, unto the ends of the world.'

The three bishops were Dr. Jeune for Peterborough, Dr. Bromby for Tasmania, and S. Crowther; "one," wrote Venn, "to preside over a settled diocese in the Established Church of England, another to build up a Church in a distant Colony, another to do the work of an Evangelist in Africa. Many," he went on, "thought with praise and thanksgiving of the world-wide sphere through which our beloved Church stretches her benign influence and scatters her benefits." The Archbishop officiated, assisted by Bishops Sumner of Winchester, Jackson of Lincoln, Ellicott of Gloucester and Bristol, G. Smith of Victoria, and Nixon (late of Tasmania). Crowther was presented by Bishops Sumner and Smith. The Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Mansel, preached the sermon. Among the many deeply-interested friends of Africa who were present, was Mrs. Weeks, widow of the second Bishop of Sierra Leone. Of her Venn gives the following touching account:—

Mrs.
Weeks
sees her
Negro boy
a bishop.

"The personal friends of the bishops-elect were accommodated with chairs in the chancel, which approached within a few feet of the communion rails. Immediately behind the Negro Bishop sat a venerable lady, who for thirty or forty years had weathered the climate of Sierra Leone—the widow of the late Bishop Weeks. The Negro who now knelt to receive consecration had been first received under her care when liberated from a slave-ship, and, kneeling by her side as a boy of six* years old, had first learned to pray the Lord's Prayer. She early perceived in him an excellent spirit, and made him a parlour boarder, and gave him the name at his baptism of her own revered pastor, Samuel Crowther, at whose Sunday-school, in the parish of Christ Church, Newgate Street, she had once been a teacher. . . .

"When the venerable Bishop of Winchester and the Missionary Bishop Smith descended the steps and conducted the new Bishop to his elevated seat among the Bishops, the eye of the writer rested upon the countenance of Mrs. Weeks. . . . There was the radiant satisfaction of a mother in Israel who receives an answer to many prayers, and the accomplishment of her fondest desires for the Church of Africa."

Bishop
Crowther's
farewell to
C.M.S.

On July 19th, Bishop Crowther took leave of the Committee on sailing for Africa, and his words on that occasion were thoroughly characteristic of the man:—

"The more I think of the present position to which I have been called, the greater seems its weight and responsibility. In days past, when I went forth as a West African Missionary, it was my duty and my delight to give account to my brethren: my present position is different. I need, therefore, much spiritual support, and without strong confidence in the sympathy and prayers of the Church, I feel it would be impossible to go on. In taking this office upon me, I have not followed my own will, but what I believe is the will of Almighty God. I can only promise

* This was a mistake. He was about twelve years old.

to use the best of my judgment, prudence, and zeal for the promotion of His glory, relying on His help and strength. I know that my new position sets me up as a kind of landmark, which both the Church and the Heathen World must needs behold. I am aware that any false step taken by me will be injurious to all the Native Churches; yet, if God keeps me steadfast, the mouths of the adversaries will be silenced, and the Society be encouraged to go forward, not in their own strength, but in the strength of the Lord. All I ask is prayer for me. May I go back to the dark places of idolatry and superstition supported by the fervent and continual supplications of the Church, and leaning on the promise of the Saviour, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' May an abundant blessing ever rest on the work of the Society!"

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At Sierra Leone, where he touched on his outward voyage, the Bishop received a warm welcome, addresses being presented to him by the missionaries, Native clergy, catechists, &c., and by the tutors and students of Fourah Bay College. It is interesting to see as the first signature "J. Hamilton," the name of the valued missionary who, twenty years after, was Archdeacon of Lagos, and rendered signal service to the Niger Mission. Every respect was paid to "the black bishop" by the Governors at Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. At the latter place he performed his first episcopal function, not for his own Mission, but at the request of the Bishop of Sierra Leone, by admitting to priest's orders the Colonial chaplain at Cape Coast Castle. Then he proceeded to the Niger in H.M.S. *Investigator*, which was taking stores to Dr. Baikie, who was now established at Lokoja as Consul. He visited the stations, ordained a catechist deacon, confirmed some converts, and returned to Lagos.

Bishop
Crowther
in Africa.

At Lagos Bishop Crowther took up his permanent abode, paying an annual visit of some months to the Niger stations, as opportunity of conveyance offered. There were then no regular steamers; there was no Royal Niger Company; and the Bishop was dependent upon the occasional visits of Government vessels until trade, already active in the Delta, began to move up the river. Gradually he was able to enlarge his Mission staff, obtaining Negro catechists and schoolmasters from Sierra Leone, posting them at different stations, and ordaining those who seemed most promising. By 1871 he had ordained eight of this class of men, in addition to his son Dandeson, who had been an Islington student. The work, as before his consecration, was principally up the river inland, at Onitsha and the Confluence; and the agents, therefore, were very isolated, which was not a favourable condition for their personal spiritual life. Still, the reports in those earlier years of Crowther's Episcopate were in the main encouraging; and a striking testimony was given in 1867 by the German traveller Rohlfs, who, after long wanderings and many trials in the Mohammedan Soudan, was astonished to come across a small oasis of Christian civilization at Lokoja. Year by year, Crowther sent a Report, not only to the Society, but to Archbishop Longley, who frequently wrote to him kind and wise letters.

Crowther
on the
Niger.

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His tact
and
shrewd-
ness.

Crowther's reports and journals were regularly published by the Society; and it is impossible to read them without being struck by the tact and shrewdness he displayed in dealing with the petty Heathen kings and chiefs, and also with greater Mohammedan potentates like the Emir of Nupé. Mr. Mee, in the three Annual Reports he wrote, 1867, 1868, and 1869,—which we have before noticed for their striking language,—pictured the Negro Bishop as resembling the missionary bishops of the Dark Ages, who interviewed kings and emperors and held their own with them fearlessly. In several cases he procured the abolition of barbarous customs, even where his direct Gospel message was rejected; though sometimes these were resumed afterwards, as might be expected. At one place, the marked impression made on the people produced the opposite effect, and a female slave was publicly sacrificed to the gods to atone for the sin of admitting Christianity into the country. Crowther never asked to be allowed as a favour to plant a teacher at a town. He always insisted that he came for the good of the people, and that they must provide the necessary dwelling, schoolroom, &c., or give him the money to build them; and this was repeatedly done. In his teaching, he seemed to know instinctively what would appeal to a Pagan or a Moslem mind. For instance, when Hausa or Nupé mullahs loudly denied the Sonship of Christ, he would take advantage of their immense reverence for the Angel Gabriel—familiar to them from the fables of the Koran,—and read to them *Gabriel's words to Mary*, "That holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." In his Primary Charge to his clergy and lay agents, in 1866, he gave singularly wise counsels to them as to their preaching and teaching:—

His
counsels to
his Negro
clergy.

"We have the best example ever given on the subject, and that by the preaching of Christ Himself. The Sermon on the Mount: His Parables; His Discourses; these are the standards of missionary sermons among the untutored Heathen. Take any portion of these, sublime and lofty as the sentiments therein expressed are, yet they are so simple, that every Heathen can understand them; and so appropriate, that every one can see himself represented in them. Imitate Christ then, to reach the understanding, and not to move the feelings only; speak to the people as they are able to bear it; speak to them with all simplicity as to children; a simple exposition and application of a discourse or parable will often be followed by lasting impressions and great effects. In this way I have not only got an attentive hearing from the Heathen, but from Mohammedans also: bigoted as they are, they could not help attesting to the soundness of the doctrine of our religion, though they could not embrace Christianity lest they should be cast out of the mosque.

"Whether we hope to make converts from among the Heathen, or from the followers of Mohammed, our aim should always be to preach to all as to needy and helpless sinners, who must be pardoned through the atoning blood of Christ alone. . . . Thus sowing by prayer and faith, we must leave the results to the Disposer of all hearts, who can influence them by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit.

"Again, in preaching, divest yourself of a disposition to dispute with Mohammedans, or to censure Heathen: rather be possessed with the feelings of sympathy with all classes of hearers. . . . It was not always that Christ made severe rebukes upon the Scribes and Pharisees, as hypocrites, in His discourses; though some were probably always present to hear Him, though not with the intention to profit, but to watch and catch something from His mouth that they might accuse Him. Though He knew this, yet generally He preached as if He knew not their wicked intentions. The effects on them we are told thus—'Among the chief rulers, also, many believed on Him, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess Him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue, for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.' Even the officers who were sent on one occasion to apprehend Him were disarmed by His powerful and resistless preaching, and returned without Him, with this conviction and frank confession—'Never man spake like this man.' . . .

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Not dispute
tation but
sympathy.

"When we first introduce the Gospel to any people, we should take advantage of any principles which they themselves admit. Thus, though the Heathen in this part of Africa possess no written legends, yet wherever we turn our eyes we find among them, in their animal sacrifices, a text which is the mainspring of the Christian faith—'Without shedding of blood there is no remission.' Therefore we may with propriety say, 'That which ye ignorantly practise, declare we unto you': 'The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth from all sin.'"

Crowther's skill in speaking and writing, even if not his tact in action, seemed to communicate itself to his helpers. Their letters are interesting to read, even in the case of men who, it must be acknowledged, did not prove good and faithful missionaries. The converts themselves, brought out of the lowest ignorance and degradation—as indeed they were,—caught ideas which one might think would be beyond them. Thus, one man who had to endure persecution said,—

"Safety evermore accompanies duty; and when we are in God's way we are under God's wing. Preservation and protection we shall have if God may thereby be more glorified; but sometimes danger is better than safety, and a storm more useful than a calm."

Translational work was not forgotten. J. C. Taylor, who was of the Ibo tribe—the most important on the Lower Niger,—although born of Christian parents (ex-slaves) at Sierra Leone, did excellent service by his Ibo reading-books, portions of Scripture, &c. He came to England and lived for some time with Schön at Chatham, in order to work under his experienced eye. Schön himself was studying Hausa, and doing much preparatory work in that language; and he also edited a Primer and part of St. Matthew in Nupé, prepared tentatively by Crowther.

Scripture
translations.

The Niger was not without its personal dangers. In 1867 the Bishop and his son Dandeson were seized and imprisoned by a hostile chief. The British Consul at Lokoja, Mr. Fell, went to negotiate for his release, but refused to pay the £1000 demanded as a ransom. As the Consul was returning to his boat, he called to Crowther to run for it too. They shoved off amid a shower of poisoned arrows, one of which struck Mr. Fell, and he died in a few

Perils on
the Niger:
the Consul
killed.

PART VII. 1862-72. hours. "I would," wrote the Bishop, "had such been the will of God, that I had been shot, and my dead body taken to Lokoja instead of his." In 1871, the stranding of a steamer, as in 1857, left Crowther far up the river; and again he made his way southward by Ilorin and through the Yoruba country, visiting Ibadan and Abeokuta on his way, and bringing, as we have before seen, good accounts of the bereft Churches there.

The Niger
Delta.

We must now visit the Delta of the Niger, and briefly review the history of the Missions at Bonny and Brass.

Bonny.

Bonny has been humorously described as a place that belies its own name; and certainly, five-and-thirty years ago, there were few places on the surface of the globe that less deserved the pleasant Scottish epithet. "It is situated on a dismal overgrown swamp, where unclean birds and loathsome reptiles luxuriate, and bordered at low tide by hundreds of acres of black, fetid mud, in which lurk pestilence and death. The damp and clammy heat which distinguishes the western coast of Africa, and which seems to attain its climax at Bonny, united with a thick and heavy atmosphere, tainted with malaria and unfit for white men to breathe, produces a painfully depressing influence upon the mind and constitution of an Englishman." So wrote the Rev. W. Allan, who visited Bonny on behalf of the Society in 1888. But these words only describe the physical features of the place. Thirty-five years ago, its moral features were as repulsive. Not that Bonny had been unreached by British influence. An active and lucrative trade had been going on for nearly half a century. "Civilization" had a rare chance of showing what it could do to elevate a savage people unaided by Christianity. But "civilization" did not stop cannibalism, nor infanticide, nor a score of other frightful crimes and vices. All these continued to prevail; and in addition, European rum and gin at threepence a bottle were further demoralizing the people. Of course, too, "civilization" in no way affected the religion of the country—if religion it could be called, which consisted in a kind of reverence for snakes and lizards, particularly the iguanas, which were counted as "juju" (sacred), and were allowed to roam about and feed undisturbed on the poultry of the place. To kill an iguana, even by accident, was punishable with death.

Failure of
trade to
raise the
people.

Origin of
the Bonny
Mission.

The larger part of the population of Bonny consisted of the slaves of a few wealthy chiefs. One of these had the titular rank of king, but this honour gave him no power over the rest. For several years the king had been a man who was a keen and (it was said) not too scrupulous trader, who, during a period of misunderstanding with the other chiefs, had visited England, and while in this country had been baptized by the name of William Pepple. On his return to Bonny in 1861, he wrote to the Bishop of London asking that a Christian Mission might be established in his country. Dr. Tait sent the letter to Crowther; and the

latter, in 1864, shortly after his consecration, visited Bonny, and arranged with the king for a payment of £150 per annum, about half the cost of the proposed station. A Negro schoolmaster from Sierra Leone was sent, and began the work by opening a little school, and by "keeping service" (as the West African phrase is) on Sunday evenings. In 1866, a proper school-chapel, of sundried balls of mud, and mortar made from oyster-shells, was put up, and when the foundation-ball was laid, the children who had been under instruction were able to sing English hymns. When the building was opened, the Bishop preached on Isa. lxvi. 1, 2, "Where is the house that ye build unto Me? . . . To this man will I look," &c. The "juju priests" soon became envious, and persuaded a wealthy chief to rebuild the famous "juju-house," ornamented with the skulls of enemies killed and eaten; but in 1866, the king died, and was succeeded by his son George Pepple, who had been educated in England; and he made a counter-move by inducing the people to destroy the iguanas, which, as soon as they found no harm happening to them, they did with much gusto. In 1868, the Bishop, on one of his visits, in order to make a straight road from the native town to the station (about a mile off), proposed to cut through a "juju grove," untrodden by any but priestly feet. No opposition was offered to this, but no one dared to help; and the Bishop and his son and the teachers literally hewed their own way through. A shocking scene disclosed itself. Skulls, human limbs, the bodies of twin-born infants, were lying about, and other unmentionable horrors. At the next service, Crowther preached against the custom of destroying twin children, taking as his text, with his wonted skill in the choice of Scripture passages for his hearers, the account of the birth of Esau and Jacob.

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George
Pepple.

But while a wholesome influence was thus being gained, and while the people liked the Sunday services and schools as being an English custom, superstition naturally struggled hard to retain its supremacy; fighting between rival chiefs also hindered the work; and anything like real religion was sadly discouraged by the irreligious lives of the European traders. They lived on board hulks moored in the creeks of the Delta, on account of the unhealthiness of the land; but their habits of life were in no way hidden from the Natives. However, in 1871 Dandeson Crowther (now well known as the Archdeacon) took charge of the Bonny Mission; a new church was built, called St. Stephen's; and in 1873 another little church, St. Clement's, for the English traders and for English-speaking Africans; and this latter church began to be as fairly attended as the other. Perhaps the terrible fever of that year, which carried off seventy-five per cent. of all the Europeans on the whole West African coast, touched some consciences.

English
traders.

It was at the close of the same year, 1873, that the persecutions broke out which have lent so deep an interest to the Bonny

PART VII. Mission. A public baptism of nine converts on Christmas Day excited the wrath of the juju priests, and they persuaded some of the most powerful chiefs to forbid their slaves and dependants attending church or school; the principal charge against them being that they were not available for Sunday work. Very touching accounts came to England of the night gatherings of the converts in the bush; and much prayer was offered for them. In July, 1874, the Bishop visited Bonny, and expostulated with the chiefs. His account of this presents a striking illustration of his cleverness in dealing with such difficulties:—

Converts
baptized
and perse-
cuted.

Bishop
Crowther
on God's
claim upon
one day in
seven.

“As regards the complaint that they were reluctant to go to the market on Sunday, that it was God's law, which every man, master, or slave is bound to obey; that though they own the slaves, who must obey them, yet they own and enslave the body only, but that God claims both body and soul; that as it was His will that they demand the services of their bodies during six days in the week, God demands the service of their souls on the seventh.

“To convince them of the truthfulness of this, I put the question to them individually, whether, when God sent His messenger Death to take away the soul of any of their slaves, could the owner prevent that soul from obeying the summons by the hand of death? They unanimously replied, ‘No.’ I then said, ‘Well, in that case God has taken away the most important part of that slave, which belonged to Him, and left the body to them, the material substance, which they had purchased with their money; that they were perfectly at liberty to employ it whenever they pleased, Sunday or not.’ They remained puzzled. I said, if the dead body did not obey their orders, it should be compelled to do so by being beaten. They were silent. Nay, further, I said, ‘You must make it obey orders: put it into the canoe; lash it to its seat, and lash the paddle into his hands, and compel it to paddle.’ Here they saw the impossibility.

“However, considering what these poor Heathen chiefs do witness in these oil rivers, of the desecration of the Sabbath at the shipping when the mail steamer came in, when they cannot distinguish between work of necessity and that of business, I met the question this way: that as their markets were not regulated by our days of the week, whenever necessity requires that their slaves should man the canoes on Sunday to go to them in the interior they might do so; but when at home, or the Lord's Day, they should not be prevented from attending the House of God. This they promised to consider.”

But the Bishop failed to move the hostile chiefs; and in the following year, as several new converts were baptized, a severer persecution broke out, in consequence of their refusing (as in the days of the Primitive Church) to identify themselves with idolatry by eating meat offered in sacrifice to the gods. The leading persecutor was a chief called “Captain Hart”—many of them had taken English names, sometimes grotesque ones, as “Fine Country”; and one of his slaves became, in November, 1875, the proto-martyr of the Delta Church. This slave had been baptized Joshua, and being one of “Captain Hart's” people, was known as Joshua Hart. He persisted in attending church, and refused to eat of the sacrifices; and he was taken out into the river, bound

Joshua
Hart
martyred.

hand and foot, and thrown overboard, and when he rose to the surface a crushing blow on the head from a paddle finished the murder. Another convert was literally starved to death, refusing to the last to eat the "juju" food, which was on all hands regarded as a test. Two others, not slaves, but men of some position, Isaiah Bara and Jonathan Apiape, were put in chains and kept in the bush for twelve months, refusing offers of chieftainships if they would yield. One of them gave the memorable reply to an appeal from the juju priests, "Jesus Christ has put a padlock on my heart, and taken the key to heaven." At length, after a year's confinement and ill-treatment, these two men were released at the request of Captain Boler, a leading man in the English shipping community, who in many ways befriended the Mission.

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Christ's
padlock.

To complete the story, we must go forward a few years. In May, 1878, Dandeson Crowther and his people held a special prayer-meeting in behalf, not merely of themselves, but of their persecutors. Three weeks after this, the chief, "Captain Hart," softened by the death of his wife, sent for Mr. Crowther, listened to his words, went to the other chiefs, and then, with them, granted religious liberty. When the Bishop arrived, two months after, he found the church crowded with worshippers. Nor was this all. In the following year "Captain Hart" died, having on his death-bed renounced idolatry and given orders for the destruction of all his idols. Two canoe-loads of them were broken and thrown into the river; one only, the chief family idol, being preserved for the Bishop, and by him sent afterwards to Salisbury Square. Congregations of a thousand people now assembled in St. Stephen's Church—a church well named!—Sunday by Sunday; daily family prayers were begun in some principal compounds; and Mr. Boyle, then a catechist (now a clergyman), wrote, with pardonable exaggeration, "Bonny has become a Bethel."

Religious
revolution
at Bonny.

Another Mission in the Delta was on the Brass River, one of the mouths of the Niger. In 1867, the king there, Ockiya, welcomed Bishop Crowther, and agreed to bear half the expense of a house and school for a Native teacher at his port, Brass-Tuwon; and subsequently the Mission was extended to his chief town, Brass-Nembe, thirty miles up the river. The people here were just as degraded and superstitious as at Bonny, and the chief "juju" was the boa-constrictor. It is a literal fact that a treaty made with the Brass people in 1856 by Mr. T. J. Hutchinson, H.B.M. Consul at Fernando Po, contained a clause fining any Englishman who killed a boa-constrictor a puncheon of palm-oil! But the influence of the Mission told; a leading chief called Spiff was baptized on Whit Sunday, 1875; his son was trained as a Mission agent; another chief, who was a violent persecutor, came under instruction; and in 1877, the king, Ockiya, gave up his idolatry, and handed his idols to the Bishop.

Brass
River.

The king's
idols given
up.

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Thus the Delta Mission was progressing, not without vicissitudes and anxieties, but with manifest blessing from God. The converts must not be thought of as ripe or exemplary Christians. They were weak and ignorant, and liable to yield to old temptations or fall back into old superstitions. Yet, upon the whole, the work was a great one. Bonny, in particular, should be compared, not with some ideal Christian town, but with what it actually had once been; and then we can appreciate what even a fair profession of Christianity can do, though it may be with but a small nucleus of truly converted souls.

The upper
river.

Meanwhile, up the river, new stations were occupied from time to time, at Osamare and Asaba, and at a place called Kipo Hill, 350 miles inland, in the territory of the Emir of Nupé. The older stations, Onitsha and Lokoja, sometimes seemed hopeful, and there were many nominal converts; but the agents did not all prove satisfactory, and some sad failures took place. Of these we shall hear more in a future chapter, as most of them belong to a later period. The position was a very difficult one. Negroes from Sierra Leone, some of them young and with little experience, were placed in Heathen towns amid wickedness of every kind. Their isolation was great; and the Bishop could only visit them at certain times of the year, when the river was full enough to allow the trading steamers to go up. Even then he was dependent upon their movements. Sometimes they only stopped a few hours where he wished to stay for weeks; and sometimes he would be detained some days at a place where the Mission had no work. In 1877 he came to England and appealed to his friends for a steamer of light draught for the use of the Mission—a most reasonable demand, which might well have been made twenty years before. How this need was supplied; how an English lay missionary was sent with her, to take charge of the business and secularities of the Mission; how two Africans were appointed Archdeacons; how in this and other ways improved organization and more thorough efficiency was aimed at, and how much there was of distressing failure, will appear hereafter. Few men have been at the head of a harder enterprise than Bishop Samuel Crowther; few have had more disappointments and trials; few have shown so indomitable a perseverance; few have borne through a long and laborious life so irreproachable a personal reputation. He may not have been possessed of the highest spiritual gifts: but he was a plain, practical, patient, hard-working Christian man. He suffered greatly by the faults of others. Had he been supported in Africa by men as good as himself, and in England with more constant and sympathetic counsel, his work would have been greater. Even as it was, God blessed it.

Steamer
for the
bishop.

Crowther's
life and
work.

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Speech of the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, Dr. Jacobson, in presenting the Rev. S. Crowther, Bishop-designate of the Niger, for the honorary degree of D.D.

Insignissime Vice-Cancellarie, Vosque Egregii Procuratores, —Praesento Vobis hunc Virum Reverendum, *Samuel Crowther*, in regionibus Africae Occidentalis, extra terminos Coloniae Britannicae jacentibus, Episcopum designatum.

Quem olim parvulum a patria et parentibus, a fratribus et sororibus, crudelissime abreptum, atque servituti, postremo omnium malorum, traditum, naves nostrae Regiae in libertatem vindicaverunt.

Mox, in adolescente tanta intelligendi vis, ingenium ad linguas multiplicas, variasque perdiscendas tam habile et aptum sese ostendit, ut, in Navigatione illa Fluvii Nigri cognoscendi causa suscepta, Interpretis munere fungeratur.

Deinde, postquam apud Islington liberaliter fuerat institutus, et a Blomfieldio, Episcopo Londinensi, in Ordines Sacros admissus, sub auspiciis alterius Societatum illarum quae operam dant ut Ecclesia nostra, favente Summo Nomine, *palmites suos trans maria extendere* poscit, et Doctrina Christiana inter gentes barbaros propagatur, toto animo et studio omni in labores missionarios, apud Abeokutam, et per totam Yorubam, incubuit.

Testamenti Novi et Libri Precum Publicarum nostri bonam partem in sermones plures vernaculos reddidit.

Nunc demum, ut inter populares suos Episcopatus *opus bonum* suscipiat, jussu Reginae nostrae Serenissimae, in Africam reversurus est.

Quem igitur, Diocesi novae constituendae, fovendae, gubernandae addictum et consecratum, Ecclesiae indigenae Episcopum indigenum, bonis omnibus votis prosequemur, Hunc praesento Vobis, ut ad Gradum Doctoris in Sacra Theologia, Honoris causa, admittatur.

CHAPTER LVIII.

TWO ISLANDS : MAURITIUS AND MADAGASCAR.

The Two Islands—Origin and Purpose of Mauritius Mission—Bishop Ryan—The Indian Coolies—The Orphans—Three Interesting Functions—Bishops Hatchard and Huxtable—Trials and Calamities—Bishop Royston—Seychelles Mission—Madagascar: the L.M.S. Mission; the Period of Persecution; the Living Church—Bishop Ryan to Madagascar—C.M.S. and S.P.G. Missions—The Coast, not the Capital—Journeys, Trials, Converts—The Bishopric Question—Attitude of C.M.S.—The Bishop consecrated—Withdrawal of C.M.S.

"Glorify ye the Lord in the fires, even the name of the Lord God of Israel in the isles of the sea."—Isa. xxiv. 15.

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The two
islands.



TWO Islands: contiguous geographically; but very different in other respects. One, Mauritius, about the size of Hertfordshire; the other, Madagascar, about four times that of England and Wales, indeed the third largest island in the world, only exceeded by New Guinea and Borneo. One, with no aborigines, being uninhabited when the Portuguese discovered it in 1505; the other, with a Native population, Malay in origin, of some four millions. One, rarely mentioned among the mission-fields of the world; the other, the scene of one of the most famous and thrilling of missionary histories. So far as the Church Missionary Society is concerned, the Mauritius Mission has been carried on for more than forty years, and has accomplished much good work; while the Madagascar Mission only lasted ten years, and its fruits have been gathered by others. The latter was originally an offshoot from the former: hence we take them together.

Mauritius
and its
people.

The Island of Mauritius belonged in succession to the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French. The Dutch gave it its name, after Prince Maurice; but during the French occupation it was called the Isle of France, being peopled by Creoles from the neighbouring French island of Bourbon or Réunion. In 1810 it was captured by the British; and the population has since increased to nearly double that of Hertfordshire by the free immigration of coolies from India for the sugar-plantations. The owners of these estates, and the Creole peasantry, are mostly French Roman

Catholics, and the Negroes, who were their slaves until the Emancipation in 1834, belong nominally to the Roman Church. The official language is French; but a Creole *patois* is the vernacular of the old population, while the coolies speak the various tongues of India. Here is a picture of this strange confluence of nationalities:—

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“On landing, the European finds himself amidst the types and costumes of various Oriental races. Gangs of coolies are toiling, and sing in a low, monotonous tone, as they empty the barges or lighters that lie along the edge of the wharf, and deposit their contents under large sheds on shore. These swarthy Orientals, so thinly clad, are the muscles and sinews of the Mauritius body-politic. . . .

A confluence of nationalities.

“But the eye of the stranger is arrested by other nationalities. He sees Arabs from the shores of the Red Sea, whose dress, features, and language have undergone little change from the friction of forty centuries. . . . He sees haughty Mohammedans, descendants of a race who conquered India before the English flag was ever unfurled on its shores—men tall of stature, muscular in build, with regular features, lofty brows, bull-like necks, and flowing beards. He sees Indians from the burning plains of Hindostan, weak and effeminate in frame, soft and gentle in expression, fawning and servile in address, with their dark, curling locks, longer and glossier than those that adorned the heads of the Roman youth during the reign of the later emperors. He sees Chinamen from the Celestial Empire, a grotesque-looking race. . . . He sees dark descendants of Ham, of all types and countries inhabited by that servile race: ex-apprentices, fast sinking into the grave, often halt, and lame, and maimed, bearing in their decrepid, toil-worn bodies a stronger argument against Slavery than ever issued from the eloquent lips of Wilberforce or Brougham; free Negroes, the offspring of slaves, plump, shiny, and good-humoured; Malagashes, of two different nations; the one agreeing in physical organization with their African brethren, except that the skull is smaller and the lips thinner—the other a fine, bold, athletic race, with complexions as light as the Spaniards of the south. . . . Mozambiques, short, broad-chested, and muscular, with features expressive of coarse sensuality, and indifference to everything save the gratification of their immediate wants; and here and there an Abyssinian, tall, erect, and handsome, with aquiline features, approaching nearer to the European type than those of any other of the dark races of Africa. Besides the Hindus, he sees other stray specimens of the Asiatic races—Lascar seamen, with round caps, and cotton petticoats resembling in shape a Highlander's kilt worn over the trousers; Batavians, dwarfish, but muscular, with features a compromise between the Hindu and the Chinese; Armenians, with bushy black beards and olive complexions, wearing conical caps of sheepskin with the wool worn outside; Singhalese, differing little, but still discernible, from the Hindus; and Parsees from Bombay, fair, sleek, and intelligent, with flowing robes of snowy white, and conical caps reclining rather than worn on the back of the head—a fine race, the mercantile aristocracy of India and the East. Europe also has added its contingent to swell the motley assembly: bronzed Frenchmen, stray specimens of Italian and German patriots, English merchants, officers and soldiers, heads of civil departments, grave men, bearing the burden of the State upon their shoulders, and conscious of its weight. Other stray waifs of humanity complete the picture, the effect of which is still more heightened by the mixture of Creoles, composing the coloured population, with more or less

PART VII. of African blood in their veins—a distinct class, forming a sort of
 1862-72. *imperium in imperio*, equally removed from the pure black and white
 Chap. 58. population, with whom they neither marry nor are given in marriage.
 — Such is the picture presented to the eye by the mixed and motley population of Mauritius—a picture unique in itself, such as no other country in the world can supply.”*

Bishop
Ryan.

Origin of
the Mis-
sions to the
coolies.

Reasons
for a Mis-
sion in
Mauritius.

After the Emancipation,† the S.P.G. and the L.M.S. opened schools for the freed Negroes and Creoles; but little could be done, owing to the predominance of Romanism, and the Government patronage it enjoyed.‡ In 1850, Bishop Chapman of Colombo visited the Island, and upon his representations the Anglican Bishopric of Mauritius was established in 1854. The new diocese was fortunate in its first bishop. Dr. Vincent W. Ryan had been Principal of the Highbury Training College for Schoolmasters, and was a man of great energy and tact. He not only cared for the spiritual interests of the few thousand members of the Church of England resident in the Island, but also set to work to organize Missions to the Indian coolies; and under his auspices the S.P.G. and C.M.S. began work almost simultaneously. Before, indeed, Bishop Ryan went out, Stephen Hobbs, of the C.M.S. Tinnevely Mission, was detained at Mauritius on his voyage back to India after furlough, early in 1854, and represented the needs of the Island; and David Fenn, Ragland's comrade in the new Itinerant Mission in North Tinnevely, having fallen sick, went to Mauritius for the winter of 1854-5. He found at the capital, Port Louis, a little band of Tamil coolies, who were Christians from the S.P.G. districts in South India, ministered to by Mr. A. Taylor, who had been an S.P.G. catechist at Madras and was now employed in Mauritius by the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.§ Fenn assisted him in the services, and wrote to the C.M.S. Committee urging them to send a missionary to the Island.

Three considerations led the Society to establish a Mauritius Mission. (1) In the words of Ridgeway, | “Confluences of races and languages are of primary importance” in selecting missionary centres, “particularly if the mingled elements sustain intercourse with the parent stocks from which they originally came, so as to reflect back upon them the Christian knowledge they have received.” And as the great majority of the Indian coolies, like those in Ceylon, returned to their own country when their term of service expired, their evangelization might have no small

* Beaton's *Creoles and Coolies*, pp. 12-15; quoted in *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1861.

† For which Great Britain paid £2,112,632. That great national act did not apply to the West Indies only.

‡ Upon which the S.P.G. *Digest* (p. 368) comments strongly.

§ Taylor was sent at the earnest request of a Wesleyan missionary from Madras whom Hobbs met in Mauritius. Thus S.P.G., C.M.S., Wesleyans, and Bible Society, all had a hand in sending the first lay missionary to Mauritius, who was afterwards an S.P.G. clergyman.

|| *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1861.

influence upon the evangelization of India. (2) Such a Mission, in a healthy climate, would afford a sphere for the labours of missionaries invalidated from India, as the languages they had worked in there would be equally useful here. (3) The appointment of a zealous friend of the Society like Ryan to the bishopric was of itself a reason for supporting him in his work. Accordingly, in 1856, the Rev. Stephen Hobbs, of Tinnevely, and Mr. Paul Ansorgé of Krishnagar (one of Gossner's Berlin men who had joined the C.M.S.), having both suffered in health, were transferred to Mauritius, to labour among the Tamil and the Bengali coolies respectively. At the same time, Mr. A. Taylor, having been ordained by Bishop Ryan on his arrival at Port Louis, was engaged by the S.P.G., also for work among the Tamils. Ansorgé, too, was ordained by the Bishop in 1857.

From the first, there was much encouragement in the work. There were no wealthy Hindu temples and armies of Brahmans, to dominate the Indian immigrants; and though the Tamils had some idols with them, the North India coolies, among whom Ansorgé found men from Benares and Agra, and even the Punjab, as well as from Bengal, had none, and had no means of observing their old festivals. All the more open were they for the Gospel of Christ. Many came under instruction and in due course received baptism. The Mauritius statistics gave no adequate idea of the work done, for the majority of the converts returned in the ordinary way to India; but the captains of the ships that took them saw the results, and told the seamen's chaplain at Port Louis that "they were not like the same beings: they went back quiet, reading, praying, instead of the uncivilized savages they were in coming." Not infrequently people were baptized who had been catechumens in India. On one occasion twenty-one persons from the Telugu country, who had been prepared for baptism by Mr. Alexander of Ellore, were discovered by an excellent catechist from Tinnevely who knew Telugu as well as Tamil. On another occasion there was a Bengali from Dr. Duff's college at Calcutta.

An interesting development of the Mission took place in 1860, when the Government established an Orphan Asylum and Industrial School at a place called Powder Mills, and put Mr. and Mrs. Ansorgé in charge of the institution. At first the orphans were all Indian; but presently some of the British ships engaged in suppressing the East African slave-trade brought the rescued slaves to Mauritius, and the authorities sent the children among them to the Orphanage. These, however, were in a wretched condition; and out of 132 handed to Ansorgé in October, 1860, seventy died by the end of February. Meanwhile the Indian children proved very teachable, and the work of the Spirit of God upon their hearts soon became manifest. On Ascension Day, 1862, sixty of them were baptized on their own confession of faith; the excellent Christian Governor at that time, Sir William Stevenson, and his wife, standing sponsors for the whole band,

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Good
results
among the
coolies.

Orphan
Asylum.

Indian
orphans
baptized.

PART VII. and presenting each child with a Bible and Prayer-book. Not
 1862-72. long after this, Sir W. Stevenson died, to the grief of all godly
 Chap. 58. people in the Island.

Mauritius
 and East
 Africa.

In 1863, Mauritius promised to become a far more important centre than it had yet been. First, it was to be the base for a new Mission in Madagascar—of which more presently. Secondly, it was proposed to make it the base for the Society's operations in East Africa. The liberated slaves landed in the Island, and also in the Seychelles Islands—which are under the Bishop of Mauritius,—seemed to be a connecting link between the Diocese and the African coast. We have already seen that one result of Bishop Ryan's active interest in the questions arising out of the East African Slave Trade led the Society to request him to take episcopal superintendence of the East Africa Mission. In addition to this, the Committee appointed the Rev. P. S. Royston, who had returned home from Madras invalided, to go out to Mauritius as Secretary of what they now expected to become an important and expanding work; with which office he combined a Government chaplaincy.

Ordina-
 tions.

In his earliest letters from the Island, Royston had three interesting functions to record. First, on St. Barnabas' Day, 1864, Bishop Ryan held an ordination for no less than five missionaries going to these new fields, viz., J. Taylor (C.M.S.) for East Africa, and two S.P.G. men for Madagascar, admitted to deacons' orders, and two C.M.S. men, Campbell and Maundrell, also for Madagascar, to priests' orders. Secondly, on August 27th, the Bishop consecrated St. Paul's Church, Port Louis, built primarily for the Bengali Christians (the Tamils at the capital being connected with the S.P.G. Mission), at the expense, chiefly, of Christian people in the Island. "It was very interesting," wrote Royston, "to notice the different nations represented in the assembly—English, French, Creole, Eurasian, African, Bengali, Madrassi (Tamil), Malagasy, and Chinese." "The way in which Divine service was conducted," he goes on,—

A polyglot
 service.

"was consistent with the occasion. The commencing Consecration Service was in English; the Morning Prayer, Psalms, &c., in Bengali; the Venite, Jubilate, and hymns, in Hindustani; one lesson in Tamil, the other in Bengali; the sermon, part in English, part in French, with a Bengali translation of the greater part; while the elements of the Holy Communion were administered in all these languages, according to the vernacular of the recipients."

The Bishop preached on the singularly appropriate words of Isa. lvi. 7, "Mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people." Services were afterwards held in the church in Bengali, Hindustani, Telugu, and French. Then, thirdly, on St. Michael's Day, the principal Bengali catechist, Charles Kushalli, was ordained deacon, with a view to his ministering to the St. Paul's congregation.

Mr. Royston, however, remained in Mauritius less than two

years; his health being restored, and his services being more urgently required at Madras. A third missionary, H. D. Buswell, from the Tamil Mission in Ceylon, was added in 1866; and the work, especially among the North India coolies, continued to grow and prosper. Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs started a Tamil boarding-school; and Mr. and Mrs. Ansorgé, on the Powder Mills Asylum being withdrawn from their charge by a Governor who was anxious to favour the Romanists, opened one for the Bengali children. By 1873, nearly 2000 coolies had been baptized, of whom about half had returned to India.

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2000 coolies
baptized.

But the latter years of the period were a time of trial in various ways. In 1867 and 1868, a serious epidemic swept away ten per cent. of the population in a few months, including a large number of the children in the boarding-schools. In the latter year a tremendous hurricane destroyed some of the mission buildings, and did such general damage that the effects on the trade of the Island were still felt many years afterwards. In the same year Bishop Ryan retired, after a fourteen years' energetic episcopate; the two next bishops, Dr. Hatchard and Dr. Huxtable (the latter an excellent S.P.G. missionary), only lived three and seven months respectively after consecration; and in the four years, 1869-72, the diocese only had a head for ten months altogether. Bishop Ryan, however, went back to Mauritius for a few months in 1872, and held confirmations, meeting everywhere with a warm reception. Another difficulty now arose, from the Government altering their policy regarding the Missions. Disestablishment was "in the air," and several Colonies had to suffer at this time from the withdrawal of State subsidies. "Religious equality" was introduced, which, wrote General Lake in the *C.M. Record*, "in practice often means religious destitution."

Deaths
of two
bishops.

A new bishop was at last found in Mr. Royston, whose long experience as a missionary, particularly as Secretary of the whole C.M.S. South India Mission, as well as his previous residence in Mauritius, marked him out as an especially suitable man. He was consecrated in December, 1872, on a memorable occasion to be more fully noticed hereafter; and for eighteen years Mauritius had a bishop for whom it might well be envied by almost any other diocese. The Island also, for the next two or three years, enjoyed the rule of two good Governors, Sir Arthur Gordon and Sir Arthur Phayre, both of whom showed favour to the Missions. In 1874-76 the staff was reinforced by another Bengal missionary, F. Schurr, and another Tinnevely missionary, Nigel Honiss. Numerous baptisms continued to be reported, and sometimes the peculiar position of Mauritius as a confluence of nationalities was strikingly illustrated; as, for instance, when a Persian merchant, speaking also Arabic and Hindustani, was received into the Church, and became a catechist by the name of Hope Mirza; and when, in later years, Chinese coolies received the Gospel, and formed a little band of Christians by themselves. In

Bishop
Royston.

Persia
and China
supply
converts.

PART VII. 1879, a Native Church Council, on the Tinnevely plan, was formed.

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An appeal for the Seychelles.

Meanwhile the Society's attention was repeatedly drawn to the liberated Africans in the Seychelles Islands; notably, in 1872, by Bishop Tozer, of the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar:—

"I have been induced," he wrote, "to apply to the Church Missionary Society for help in this matter, because it has already interested itself in these poor friendless people, and because it possesses in Mr. Sparshott a missionary acquainted with the Swahili language. The Society has, moreover, in its Institution at Nasik, trained Africans, who might do an excellent work as subordinate teachers."

Not Sparshott, however, but W. B. Chancellor, who went out with him to Mombasa in 1873, was ultimately commissioned to begin work in the Seychelles. He went to the principal island in the group, Mahé, early in 1875, and presently established an industrial school and settlement on the Capucin Mountain, naming it Venn's Town; and there, for several years, young Africans, the children of liberated slaves, received Christian instruction and industrial training.

Venn's Town.

Madagascar.

Failure of the old Roman Catholic Mission.

Origin of L.M.S. Mission.

We now turn to Madagascar. The same four nations that in turn possessed Mauritius, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English, attempted settlements in Madagascar in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, but none of them successfully; and until the last few years the Island remained an independent kingdom, its ruling race being the Hova tribe, by far the most intelligent section of the Malagasy people. In like manner, the efforts of the French Roman Catholic missionaries to introduce Christianity had quite failed, and the whole nation remained Heathen until the London Missionary Society began its great Mission in the present century. At one time, indeed, in the 17th century, some hundreds were baptized; but Father Stephen, the Superior of the Mission, having been killed by a leading chief for endeavouring to introduce compulsory obedience to the rules of the Church, another priest, Father Manner, collected an armed force, destroyed villages, and massacred men, women, and children; with the result that in 1672 the French had to abandon the Island altogether.* And when, in 1818, the first L.M.S. missionaries touched at the French Island of Bourbon *en route* for Madagascar, they were strongly advised to proceed no further. "The Malagasy are brute beasts," they were told; "we have long tried them; and they are not capable of thinking and reasoning."

The Mission originated in this way. When England was confirmed in the possession of Mauritius by the Treaty of Vienna, plans were at once formed for suppressing the slave-trade that prevailed on the coast of Madagascar. Communication was accordingly opened with the king, Radama, and a treaty abolishing

* See an article in *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1863.

the traffic was concluded with him. Thereupon two Welshmen were sent out, each with a wife and child. Both wives, both children, and one of the two men, died of malarial fever in the same year; and the one survivor of the party retired to Mauritius. So God tries the faith of His people. Many of the most flourishing Missions have started with similar trials. In 1820, the solitary labourer returned to Madagascar; others were sent out to join him; and for several years the work was carried on with energy. The language was reduced to writing; not only the Bible, but many other books in Malagasy, were prepared and printed; thousands of young people were taught to read and write; and the Gospel was faithfully preached. Not until 1831 were the first converts baptized; but then they multiplied rapidly. Up to this time the story is strangely parallel with those of New Zealand and Uganda.

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Rapid progress.

Meanwhile Radama, who was an able and excellent king—almost an Alfred or a Peter the Great, though not a Christian, died, in 1828. He was succeeded by Queen Ranavalona I., a superstitious and cruel woman, who opposed the Mission, and in 1835 took measures to suppress Christianity altogether. In the following year the missionaries had to leave the Island; and for twenty-five years a ruthless persecution prevailed, sometimes fierce and urgent, sometimes lulled by various circumstances. At length, in 1861, the Queen died; her son, who was a professing Christian, succeeded her; and the country was instantly reopened. Then the spectacle of a living Church, ten times larger than when the Mission was suspended, was revealed to the astonished eyes of Christendom. All over the world, the thrilling story of those twenty-five years of suffering stirred the sympathies of the people of God. Two hundred converts had laid down their lives for Christ, and a much larger number had borne “cruel mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonment,” and the loss of all things. But they had the Word of God with them: the translational and educational labours of the early missionaries—as in Uganda long after—had received the stamp of the Divine blessing; and so the bush, burnt with fire, had not been consumed.

The persecuting Queen:

Her death.

Wonderful fruits of the martyrdoms.

Within a few days of the receipt of the news in England, in 1862, Mr. Ellis, of the L.M.S., was on his way to Madagascar. He had been there before. Originally a missionary in Polynesia, and afterwards a Secretary at home, he had paid short visits to the Island in 1853-4, during a temporary lull in the persecution, and his Journals had been published, and read with deep interest. And now the privilege fell to him of renewing the Mission. On his way out, in Mauritius, he had much conversation with Bishop Ryan; the result of which was that the Bishop, taking advantage of a British embassy going to present gifts from Queen Victoria to the new king, also proceeded to Madagascar, and reached the capital, Antananarivo, on August 7th, 1862. He was warmly received both by the king, to whom he presented a

Mission renewed.

Bishop Ryan in Madagascar.

PART VII. Bible from Her Majesty, and by the L.M.S. missionaries; and the latter, headed by Ellis, expressed a generous hope that the Church Missionary Society would come and take a part in the evangelization of the Malagasy people. It was in that very year that the Nonconformists in England were celebrating the Bicentenary of the expulsion of ministers from the Church of England in 1662, which commemoration seriously interrupted the friendly relations between them and Evangelical Churchmen; but Bishop Ryan said, "While at home they are fighting over a bi-centenary, let us out here unite in *bi-missionary operations*."

What should S.P.G. and C.M.S. do? Ryan accordingly wrote to both the S.P.G. and the C.M.S., urging them to send a Mission to the coast districts, while the L.M.S. continued its successful work in the central provinces. A Conference was held at the S.P.G. office, Bishops Tait, Wilberforce, and Gray being present, with the S.P.G. and C.M.S. Secretaries, and Dr. Tidman, the Secretary of the L.M.S. Dr. Tidman promised a hearty welcome to Anglican missionaries sent to Madagascar, provided they did not work at the capital, and provided no resident bishop were sent. Bishop Gray, who had just triumphed in the first Lambeth Conference, was loud in the expression of his determination to have a complete Mission headed by a bishop from the first, with at least six priests. Bishop Tait opposed this, and the S.P.G. decided on a less intrusive policy, and contented itself by sending two laymen. The episcopal superintendence of the Bishop of Mauritius was to be considered sufficient for a time. The C.M.S. also resolved to undertake a Madagascar Mission. Two promising Islington men were selected, Thomas Campbell and Herbert Maundrell; on March 1st, 1863, they were ordained together by Archbishop Longley; on the 27th they were taken leave of by the Committee, Dr. Tidman taking an interesting part in the proceedings; and on April 18th they sailed for Mauritius. Meanwhile the Jesuits, now that the Protestants had shown that even the Malagasy "brute beasts" were not beyond the reach of Christianity, had hastened to the Island, and were already at work in the capital, not among the Heathen, but seeking to proselytize the Christians and inquirers; and the Apostolic Prefect wrote to Pope Pius IX. :—

New Jesuit Mission.

"Happily these Christians, whose whole Christianity consists in reading the Bible, do not appear to have prejudices against Catholicity, and we have grounds to hope that they will soon see the enormous difference between the cold and erroneous teachings of Protestantism and the immense resources which the holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church offers to them, with its touching dogmas, the unity of its faith, the pomp of its worship, the treasures of its charity, the grace of its sacraments, and the all-powerful virtue of the holy sacrifice of the altar."*

Another parallel to New Zealand and Uganda!

* Quoted in *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1863.

In order to acquire the Malagasy language, partially at least, before settling in Madagascar, Campbell and Maundrell spent a year in Mauritius, where many Malagasy people, including some Christians, were living. They received priests' orders from Bishop Ryan, on the occasion before-mentioned, when also the two S.P.G. men were ordained deacons. The latter were to occupy Tamatave, the chief port on the east coast; and communication being fairly regular, they reached that place in September, 1864. Campbell and Maundrell started before them, in a small bullock-vessel, for Vohimare, in the north of the Island; but after four months' tossing about in the Indian Ocean, and being carried a thousand miles off to the Seychelles, they found themselves back again at Port Louis. Thence they sailed again, and reached Vohimare in November.

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Campbell
and
Maundrell.

In the meanwhile the young king, who had fallen into evil courses and become unpopular, had been murdered, and a new queen, Rasoharina, was now on the throne. During her five years' reign Christianity and civilization made great progress, though she herself remained only an enlightened Heathen. Her Governor at Vohimare professed, and appeared, to be a devout Christian, and gave a hearty welcome to Campbell and Maundrell. He showed them his Bible, which he had kept in the days of persecution buried in the sand, and pointed out the passage that had specially comforted him when his friends deserted him, Matt. xii. 49, 50, "Behold My mother and My brethren! For whosoever," &c. But they soon found that gross superstition and immorality prevailed among the Heathen population; and their journals, published at great length in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, show the pain their surroundings caused them. Within three months of their arrival, they had the joy of baptizing the Governor's scribe, who had previously been taught by a Christian Hova they had known in Mauritius, and who therefore could not be called in strictness their own convert. His name, John Ratsiza, became well known afterwards in C.M.S. circles. One other man was baptized, Simeon Ratsitera.

Another
queen.

John
Ratsiza.

The Vohimare district proved to be thinly peopled; and after some extensive journeys in different directions, the two brethren ultimately determined to move to Andovoranto, on the east coast, four hundred miles to the south, and seventy miles south of the S.P.G. station at Tamatave. In 1866 they sailed for that place; and there Maundrell laboured for three or four years, until the unhealthiness of the surroundings so affected his health that he had to be moved to Mauritius, where he conducted for a year or two a preparandi class of Malagasy youths. He was followed at Andovoranto by Walter Denning, who went out in 1870. Meanwhile Campbell made several remarkable journeys to parts of Madagascar never before visited by Europeans, and also to his first station, Vohimare, where at one time he stayed a year and a half. The two converts there, Ratsiza and Ratsitera, had done a

Campbell's
journeys.

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notable work after the missionaries went southward, and Campbell found two or three congregations gathered by their means. Everywhere the keenness of the Malagasy Christians in studying the Scriptures was noticeable,—another feature in which the converts in Uganda in our own day so strikingly resemble them.

A new and
Christian
queen.

In 1868, the queen died, and was succeeded by her sister, Ranavalona II. The new queen's name was of bad omen, and caused fears of what might now happen; but these fears were soon entirely dispelled. On the very morning of her accession she proclaimed that religious liberty would be maintained; then she refused to receive the usual present from the idol-priests; then she had the late queen's principal idol removed from the palace; then she issued an order suspending all Government work on Sundays; and then, at her coronation, on September 3rd, 1868, a Bible was placed on a table before her, and the canopy over her head was decorated with texts. The royal speech on this occasion * was a striking manifesto of dependence upon God and determination to do His will. Early in the next year the Queen married the Prime Minister, and on February 21st they were baptized together by a Malagasy minister. In the following September, an edict went forth to destroy all the idols all over the country. The description of the scenes reads like the sacred narrative of the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah.

Rapid
spread of
Christi-
anity.

The profession of Christianity now spread rapidly; that is, among the Hovas. The subject tribes remained Heathen, and were hardly touched by the influence of the capital; but their Heathenism consisted mainly in a belief in evil spirits and fetishes, and they had few regular idols. The more instructed Christians at Antananarivo now felt the missionary call strong upon them; and voluntary teachers were enrolled by hundreds and sent all over the land preaching and teaching; while everywhere arose native buildings for Christian worship. In many places, where there were no regular teachers, the local Hova chiefs avowed themselves Christians and imitated the services they had seen at the capital. Again and again we see the recent history of Uganda anticipated. But not in one thing. The people of Uganda are not musical; but the Hovas would sing hymns for hours together, quite wearying any white men who might chance to be present.

Conse-
quent
dangers.

This sudden spread of a nominal Christianity of course had grave perils of its own. For one thing, the L.M.S. missionaries, as was natural in men representing English Nonconformity, dreaded anything like a State Church; and they manfully resisted the temptation to use their Court influence in favour of religion, while rejoicing in the personal Christianity of the Queen and her Consort. This, however, would hardly be regarded as a peril by English Churchmen. But there was another and more serious

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1871.

one, and that was the union of an eager profession of the new national religion with a continuance of long-established evil customs and immoralities. This is a certain result everywhere of large and sudden accessions of masses of Heathen to the Christian Church. We have seen it in Africa, India, New Zealand; and Madagascar became the more signal example of it because there the external triumph of Christianity was unprecedented. The missionaries soon found that their chief work was what may be called the ministry of correction; but they did not shrink from it, and despite every drawback true religion did gradually spread, by the power of the Spirit working through the written Word of God, as it has scarcely done in any other mission-field.

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Ministry of
correction.

The C.M.S. and S.P.G. Missions also felt the effects of this great movement, and that in a rather unwelcome way. Their work was not, in the main, among the Hovas, but among the Betsimisarakas and Sakalavas, two of the more important subject tribes; but the Hova magistrates, traders, farmers, &c., in the districts occupied attended the Church services. Now, however, they mostly seceded, and formed rival congregations; now and then from a conscientious preference for the less formal Congregationalist worship, but more often in order to identify themselves with their Queen's form of Christianity. In some cases the local magistrates sent men—unworthy men too—to rebaptize the baptized converts of the Church of England; of course without the sanction or even knowledge of the L.M.S. missionaries, and not from any instructed Baptist views, for the L.M.S. men were not Baptists,—but merely to signify attachment to the religion of the capital. At Vohimare it was worse than this. The Governor, who had at first seemed so good a Christian, proved to be leading a profligate life, and he formed an opposition body of professing Christians in order to get away from the faithful teachings of John Ratsiza and Simeon Ratsitera, and of Campbell himself when there; and actually began to persecute the Christians adhering to them. So there was not a little to cause disappointment and anxiety.

Difficulties
of Church
Missions.

We must now face the extremely perplexing and painful controversy that arose in England over the proposal for an Anglican bishopric in Madagascar. It had soon been evident to both the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. missionaries that in a country like Madagascar a Mission would have no permanent influence unless it was at least represented at the capital. The original agreement between Bishop Ryan and Mr. Ellis that the Church of England should confine itself to the coast districts stood in the way of this; and both Societies, too, were sincerely anxious not to interfere with the great work which the L.M.S. had done. Meanwhile various causes naturally took the coast Christians—especially the S.P.G. converts, who at Tamatave were nearer than those of C.M.S., and

The
bishopric
question.

PART VII. more numerous—from time to time to the capital of the country :
 1862–72. and was nothing to be done for them there ? This, in fact, is one
 Chap. 58. of the practical difficulties of the great principle of the comity of
 Missions ; a difficulty which has led the Methodists in India and
 elsewhere to decline compliance with it, feeling bound to follow
 their converts wherever they may go. Nevertheless, not until
 1872 did Mr. Chiswell of the S.P.G. commence an Anglican
 Mission at Antananarivo. The C.M.S. Committee, on the other
 hand, resolved at the same time to give up the station at Ando-
 voranto, which had proved so unhealthy, and concentrate their
 Mission at the north end of the Island as at the first ; emphasizing
 by its increased distance from the capital their purpose not to be
 parties to planting the Anglican Church there. Thus each Society
 could have followed its own plans independently, had it not been
 for the question of the bishopric.

S.P.G.
goes to the
capital.

Perplexing
problem.

Naturally, and rightly, the S.P.G. felt that a Church of England
 Mission must sooner or later have a bishop. The C.M.S. felt the
 same, but was more willing to be content with the general super-
 vision and occasional visits of the Bishop of Mauritius, pending
 the larger development of the Missions. One day, the Committee
 thought, there must of course be a bishop ; but if meanwhile it
 should be the coast districts that became Anglican while the capital
 remained Congregationalist, would not the bishop's natural head-
 quarters be among his own people ; and might he not, too, perhaps
 be a Native ? But the S.P.G., again quite naturally, considered
 that if a bishop went out, he ought not to be excluded from the
 capital, especially in a country like Madagascar, where the ruling
 race was for the most part concentrated in the central district.
 To this, when a definite proposal to that effect was made in 1870,
 the C.M.S. objected. An S.P.G. Mission at Antananarivo would
 not compromise the C.M.S., as the L.M.S. would quite recognize
 the mutual independence of the two Church Societies ; but if a
 bishop went out, the C.M.S. Mission would naturally be under his
 episcopal superintendence, and so if he lived at the capital, the
 C.M.S. would be indirectly a party to what the L.M.S. would
 consider an intrusion. In December, 1870, a careful Memorandum
 was issued, stating the circumstances, explaining the Society's
 attitude, and suggesting that, if a bishop were sent out, the
 districts occupied by C.M.S. should be excluded from his jurisdic-
 tion, and its missionaries should remain in connexion with the
 Bishop of Mauritius.

Decision of
C.M.S.

Storm of
disapproval

As might be expected, this decision brought a storm of dis-
 approval on the Society's devoted head, and probably no eccle-
 siastical controversy of later years has caused it nearly the same
 difficulty. Not only was the whole High Church party naturally
 indignant, but a great many Evangelical Churchmen were doubtful
 regarding the Committee's attitude. It seemed to them that too
 much was conceded to the L.M.S., and that a Church of England
 Mission ought not to be subjected to such a disability ; and this

feeling was strengthened by the fact that Bishop Ryan, who had made the original agreement with the L.M.S., considered that it ought not now to be pressed in the face of the experience since gained as to the necessity of a coast Mission being represented at the capital. So strong was the feeling, that a second Memorandum had to be issued three months later, to vindicate the Committee's action;* and this one laid great stress upon the principle of non-intrusion by one Christian Society into the field of another, showing that the L.M.S. deserved special consideration in this respect from Church Societies, in view of its own unvarying loyalty to the principle. Of this loyalty two instances were given. One, in Tinnevely, has already been mentioned in this History.† The other was also in South India, where, some L.M.S. agents having unwittingly made converts in a recognized S.P.G. district, they were, on appeal to the L.M.S. Directors at home, at once withdrawn, and the new converts handed over to the care of the S.P.G. One result of the C.M.S. Committee's objections was that the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Philpott) advised a clergyman in his diocese who was invited to go out as bishop, to decline the offer, and he did so.

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Why
L.M.S.
deserved
considera-
tion.

The controversy went on fiercely in the Church newspapers. Bishop Wilberforce was pressing Archbishop Tait on one side; the L.M.S. was protesting on the other; and between them stood the C.M.S., torn by the internal differences of its friends on the question. Bishop Jackson of London came to the Committee and personally strove to induce them to give way; Bishop Ryan did the same; Dr. Miller, the famous Protestant orator, did the same; and the Archbishop at last summoned a conference at Lambeth Palace, between representatives of C.M.S. and S.P.G. The result was that Henry Venn and the Committee yielded so far as to acquiesce in the appointment of a bishop for Madagascar, provided that he did not reside at the capital; but no formal agreement to this effect was come to, and the controversy outside went on. Discussions also ensued regarding the man to be appointed. At length the Archbishop accepted the recommendation by the S.P.G. of the Rev. Henry Rowley, who had been a member of the Universities' Mission,‡ and submitted the name to the C.M.S. The Committee offered no objection, on the understanding that the arrangement suggested at Lambeth was acted upon. The L.M.S. now modified its attitude, and sent a cordial invitation to the C.M.S. to send a Mission itself to Antananarivo, evidently hoping that the presence of C.M.S. men might tend to prevent friction between S.P.G. and L.M.S.; but the Committee, with warm thanks, declined to go to the capital, and determined to concentrate their efforts more than ever on the northern districts.

Fierce
contro-
versy.

Mr.
Rowley
nominated
bishop.

But now a new difficulty arose. The Archbishop applied to the

* Both Memoranda are printed in the *C.M. Record*, Feb. and May, 1871.

† See Vol. I., p. 321.

‡ Now for many years Organizing Secretary of S.P.G.

PART VII. Foreign Secretary, Earl Granville, for a royal license to consecrate Mr. Rowley; and it was proposed that the consecration should take place along with that of three C.M.S. missionaries, Russell for North China, Royston for Mauritius, and Horden for Moosonee, at Westminster Abbey on December 15th, 1872. But Lord Granville, influenced evidently by the strong Nonconformist party in Parliament which formed an important section of the supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, took the unusual step—unprecedented, indeed, in the present century—of refusing the Queen's permission for the consecration of a bishop for Madagascar. It was only done at the last moment, and many went to the Abbey that day expecting Mr. Rowley to be one of the new bishops. Dr. Miller was the preacher, and he expressed his own personal disappointment at the turn events had taken. His text was Acts xv. 26, "Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ"—words that applied well to Russell, Royston, and Horden, and would have applied equally well to Rowley.

Earl
Granville
refuses
license.

There was of course a fresh outburst of indignation at Lord Granville's action. What right, it was asked, had the State thus to check the Church's progress? The Archbishop's letter to the S.P.G. on the subject was a singularly able and judicious document.* He pointed out that if the lay members of the S.P.G. had an equal right with the clerical members to vote that a bishop was wanted in Madagascar, the lay authorities of the State also had a right to a voice in the matter when State action in the form of a license was asked for. Moreover he pointed out that the L.M.S. had a special objection to an Anglican bishop consecrated by royal license, because the Malagasy would regard him as sent by the Queen of England to cast a slur upon the Nonconformist missionaries. He therefore suggested that the bishop should be consecrated and sent forth by the Scottish Episcopal Church, and then the Government would neither have a hand in it nor be able to stop it. This was accordingly done; and on February 2nd, 1874, the new bishop for Madagascar was consecrated at Edinburgh by the Scotch bishops. But it was not Mr. Rowley. The clergyman ultimately selected was the Rev. R. Kestell-Cornish.

Archbishop
Tait and
the S.P.G.

A bishop
consecrated
in
Scotland.

What should C.M.S. do? The C.M.S. was now in a difficult position; for with the strong views its Committee had always held as to the Royal Supremacy in Church matters—of which this History has afforded many illustrations—they would be naturally unwilling that their missionaries should be licensed by one who was in effect a Scotch bishop; and yet it was clear that a large part of the Society's constituency would not approve of the missionaries being unlicensed by the bishop, if a bishop were there. From this perplexing dilemma the Society was providentially delivered. At this time there was actually not

* Printed in the *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 346. The controversy is very well summarized by the biographers, but they make one mistake. They say the C.M.S. missionaries were in Madagascar before those of the S.P.G., which was not the case.

one C.M.S. missionary in Madagascar. Maundrell and Denning had both failed in health, and were in the course of being appointed to Japan instead; and Campbell was in Mauritius owing to the sickness of his wife. There seemed every reason therefore to conclude that a resolution to withdraw from Madagascar would not be inconsistent with the apparent indications of the Divine will; and this resolution was accordingly taken on April 13th, 1874.

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C.M.S.
withdraws.

It is not necessary to pursue the history of the Madagascar Mission further. Bishop Kestell-Cornish went out, and many other S.P.G. missionaries; a large and successful work was carried on; and apparently the good work of the L.M.S. was in no way interfered with. The relations between the different Missions, these two, and the Norwegian Mission, and the Friends' Mission, continued friendly; and for many years the Bishop sat on a Malagasy Bible Revision Committee of which an able L.M.S. missionary, Mr. Cousins, was chairman. The really hostile rivals were the French Jesuits, to whose intrigues most of the later troubles in Madagascar are due; and in view of much that is said and written by advanced High Churchmen in England, it is significant that an S.P.G. Mission of decidedly High Church principles and methods found itself in Madagascar working alongside Protestant Nonconformists in at least tolerable friendliness, but unable to find common ground with the emissaries of Rome. The whole history of Madagascar and its Missions supplies important lessons in missionary methods and policy, and deserves much closer study than this chapter has been able to give it, in view of current problems in Africa and elsewhere.

Subse-
quent
history.

It should be added that the Vohimare Christians who were the fruit of the C.M.S. Mission applied to the Bishop on his arrival for his care and recognition, and that in due course he visited them and included them in his flock. The Society was but a few years in Madagascar; but the Lord Jehovah in His goodness did not suffer it to earn a starless crown.

The C.M.S.
Malagasy
converts.

CHAPTER LIX.

INDIA: RULERS AND BISHOPS OF THE PERIOD.

A Galaxy of Brilliant Englishmen—John Lawrence Viceroy—Sir H. S. Maine and the Re-Marriage of Converts—Robert Montgomery in the Punjab—Durbars at Lahore and Agra—The Punjab Missionary Conference of 1862—Donald McLeod—Bartle Frere—Lord Mayo—Bishop Cotton: his Influence and Death—Duff's Departure—Bishop Milman—Milman at C.M.S. Stations—Chota Nagpore—Bishops Douglas and Gell—The Indian Government on Missions.

"Governors . . . sent by him."—1 Pet. ii. 14.

"Elders that rule well . . . counted worthy of double honour."—1 Tim. v. 17.

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IN resuming our survey of the India Missions, let us begin by viewing their environment during the period covered by the present section of our History. It was a remarkable era in the modern life of the great dependency. The material and social progress which had been so marked under Lord William Bentinck and Lord Dalhousie, but which had been checked by the tremendous convulsion of the Mutiny, now appears again, flowing with stronger stream than ever. Not so, however, the missionary progress. Advance, indeed, there is, and much to encourage; but we have already seen that the period was one of diminished interest and zeal at home, and India, like other Mission-fields, had to suffer accordingly. If the promise of the 'fifties had been fulfilled in the 'sixties, if Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, had doubled their previous contribution of men instead of halving it,*—what might not have been achieved, *Christo duce*, under such rulers as India now enjoyed, and with the Native mind opening as never before to Western influences! But the Church at home was absorbed in internal controversies, and the vast populations waiting to be evangelized were left, as William Wilberforce had phrased it seventy years before, "to the tender mercies of—Brahma!"

A lost opportunity.

A galaxy of great rulers.

Never has India had such men at the helm of affairs as during this period. Sir John Lawrence and Lord Mayo successively Viceroys; Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir Donald McLeod

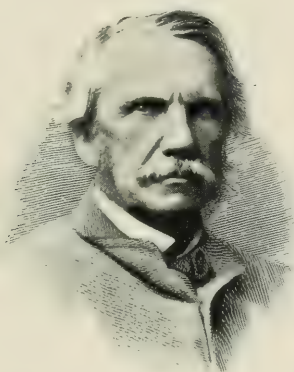
* See p. 336.



SIR ROBERT MONTGOMERY



SIR HERBERT B. EDWARDES



LORD LAWRENCE.



SIR BARTLE FRERE.



JAMES THOMASON

Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab.

Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar.

(Photograph by permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co.)

John Lord Lawrence, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab; Viceroy of India.

(Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

Sir H. B. E. Frere, Governor of Bombay.

James Thomason, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces.

Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab; Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay; Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras; Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; Sir Richard Temple, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces; —all within our period: where and when has there been such a galaxy of brilliant Englishmen, seeking the best interests of the people they governed, and many of them openly avowing themselves servants of the Most High God? And this without counting a host of commissioners and chief secretaries and high military officers working under them—a Henry Durand, a Robert Napier, a Henry Norman, a Reynell Taylor, an Edward Lake, an Arthur Cotton, a Robert Cust, a P. S. Melvill, an H. E. Perkins, a Charles Aitchison, a Henry Ramsay—the time would fail to tell of them.

We left Lord Canning Viceroy at the end of 1861. At the beginning of 1862 he quitted India, and came home, like his great predecessor Dalhousie, to die. His successor was the Earl of Elgin, the author of the Treaties of Tientsin and Yedo, upon which rested for so many years our relations with China and Japan respectively. His brief period of rule is chiefly notable for the final separation of the Government from the patronage of idolatry. This had practically been effected long before,* but now an Act was passed transferring the charge of all temples and mosques still managed by Government to Hindu and Moslem trustees respectively. But Lord Elgin only lived till November, 1863, and then died at Dharmasala. On November 30th, as Sir John Lawrence, then a member of the Council of India in London, was sitting in his room in the India Office, Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, looked in and said, "You are to go to India as Viceroy. Wait here till I return from Windsor with the Queen's approval." Warmly did the Queen approve, and warmly did the whole nation greet the new appointment. Only nine days after, John Lawrence started for India; and on January 12th, 1864, he landed at Calcutta. His five years' term of office was fulfilled to the very day; for it was on January 12th, 1869, that he received his successor on the steps of Government House.

Lawrence's Viceroyalty was marked by no great events. It was a time of peace, save for two or three "little wars" on the frontier. But there were calamities of other kinds. A terrible famine in Orissa swept off a million of people. Another famine, in the North, was less destructive, owing to the energetic measures of the Government. A great cyclone in 1864 carried death and disaster all along the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and, as we shall see, brought sorrow and mourning to a C.M.S. Mission. Inflated prosperity having been enjoyed by the great merchants when the American Civil War compelled Europe to look to India for its

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Lord
Elgin
Viceroy.

Sir John
Lawrence
Viceroy.

Events of
Law-
rence's
period.

* See Vol. I., p. 296.

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Material
and social
progress.

cotton, a tremendous financial collapse occurred when peace again opened the ports of the Southern States. A succession of deficits baffled the skill of successive Finance Ministers at Calcutta, until Sir Richard Temple, appointed to that office by Lawrence as the latter was leaving India, and adopting a policy which Lawrence had in vain recommended to its previous holders, began the epoch of surpluses. Yet amid all these troubles the material and social improvement of India was progressing. Lawrence bent all his energies to carry on the great works which Dalhousie had originated. In India, as Mr. S. Laing (one of the Finance Ministers) said, "water is more than gold; it is life"; and gigantic schemes of irrigation turned parched deserts into fruitful fields, and moreover provided waterways by which food could be conveyed to the starving people in days of famine,—schemes connected with the name of Colonel R. Strachey in the North and of Sir Arthur Cotton in the South,—schemes anticipated by Lord Shaftesbury in one of the greatest speeches he ever delivered in the House of Lords (July 5th, 1861). Moreover, the railway and telegraph systems were largely extended; sanitary reforms were pushed forward, in the teeth of much native prejudice; barracks fit for British troops were erected on a large scale, with reading-rooms, workshops, gardens, and *prayer-rooms*; education was vigorously fostered, especially for the poor villagers who most needed it. Dr. George Smith, then the leading editor in India, often criticized Lawrence's political views; but of these measures for the benefit of the people he wrote: "He is great in the work he has done; he is great in the moral spirit in which he has done every act; in the lofty principle which has guided him; in his noble private character, which towers above that of any of his predecessors."* Of his foreign policy this is not the place to speak; but it may be observed in passing that the phrase "masterly inactivity," first applied to it by one of its own advocates in the *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1867), and now usually contrasted with a finer Imperialist policy, is very far from really expressing Lawrence's views and practice.

Law-
rence's
view of
Missions.

Lawrence, says Sir R. Temple,† "rejoiced to mark the progress of Christian Missions belonging to all Protestant denominations. This progress he deemed to be very considerable, and to be fraught with results that ought to stimulate the zeal of the Church in Great Britain." That zeal, indeed, was not stimulated as it should have been, and therefore the results achieved are significantly specified by Sir R. Temple. Lawrence, he says, "placed a high value on the labours of the missionaries," (1) "as bringing about the conversion of large numbers among tribes that had not yet fallen under any one of the dominant religions in the East"—such as the Santals and Kôls,—and (2) "as diffusing by

* *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 589.

† *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 331.

means of education the leaven of Christian morality among the masses of the rising generation." Exactly so: the conversion of tribes outside caste, and the moral enlightenment, but not the conversion on any considerable scale, of Hindus and Mohammedans. Further, "he held also that the existence of the Missions, and the example set by the lives of the missionaries, produced a good effect politically, by raising the national repute of Englishmen in the esteem of the Natives." Here we see the statesman's view of the subject. Lawrence, as a Christian man, desired to see India converted to Christ; but if the apathy and niggardliness of the Church at home made extensive results hopeless, he knew that God could still use the few true men that did go to India for lower and yet not unimportant purposes. And though the opponent of Neutrality, he advocated and practised Toleration. After the Mutiny he restored to the Mohammedans the Great Mosque at Delhi, the Great Mosque at Lahore, and the Pearl Mosque at Agra, when some intemperate Christians would have destroyed them; and when a Hindu Rajput chief turned Mohammedan, and his abdication was demanded by his nobles, Lawrence interposed, and insisted that so long as he governed well, his people must be loyal and obedient without reference to his creed. Thus Lawrence was an example of David's principle, "He that ruleth over men must be just." And all the while, Christian missionaries were cheered by the knowledge that, as Temple again says, "their cause had the heartiest of friends at the head of the Government."

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Law-
rence's
principle of
toleration.

One of the great men who served under John Lawrence must here be mentioned as the man who delivered Christian converts in India from serious disabilities regarding marriage. This was Sir Henry Sumner Maine—a godson of Archbishop Sumner—the greatest of Anglo-Indian legislators; the greatest, indeed, observes Dr. George Smith, "of all European and American jurists." "Except the missionary," continues Dr. Smith, "who applies the divine dynamics of Christianity to its people and their progress, India has never had a statesman who has more widely or permanently influenced it for good through the irresistible pressure of Law."* With his general legislative work this History is not concerned; but the Act of 1866 on the Re-marriage of Native Converts calls for a passing notice. If a Hindu was converted to Christianity, and his wife—perhaps a child-wife "married" to him from infancy who had never lived with him—refused to join him, was he to remain celibate, with temptations of which we in England have little idea? or if he married a Christian woman, was he to be liable to a prosecution for bigamy? There were other cases of hardship, but this will suffice as an illustration. Maine remedied them by legalizing re-marriage in such circumstances. His Bill was opposed by the Romanists and by some Anglican

Sir H. S.
Maine.

Act for
Re-
marriage
of Con-
verts.

* *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, pp. 251, 274.

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The controversy
thereon.

Maine's
principles
of even
justice.

Churchmen; but he proved with immense learning that the Early Church had dealt with similar difficulties in similar ways, on the basis of 1 Cor. vii. 15. Among those who supported his view were the S.P.G. missionaries in Tinnevely, headed by Caldwell. Their pronouncement on the subject was one of the ablest that appeared. It should be observed that the Act, though permitting divorce, was not intended to promote it. Many Heathen wives would have gladly joined their newly-converted husbands, but were prevented by their families from doing so. The Act only provided release for the husband if the wife appeared before the judge, apart from her relatives, and then by her own mouth refused to join him; and several other skilfully-devised precautions were provided. In the issue, as Maine predicted, the Act proved most effective in reuniting separated couples.* But even more important than the Act itself were the great principles of justice laid down by Maine in his powerful speeches on the subject. A good many leading men, though not objecting to his proposals in principle, were inclined to pooh-pooh them, or to raise difficulties, because they were designed for the relief of such a small and contemptible section of the population as the Native Christians. If, said Maine, they had been for the benefit of Hindus or Moslems, they "would have been praised by all as eminently prudent, moderate, and equitable; but because the converts are Christians, every point is taken against them. . . . The very molehills of Hindu prejudice are exaggerated into mountains, and difficulties which in everyday Indian life crumble away at a touch are assumed to be of stupendous importance." And he concluded with these noble and memorable words:—

"We will not force any man to be a Christian; we will not even tempt any man to be a Christian; but if he chooses to be a Christian, it would be shameful if we did not protect him and his in those rights of conscience which we have been the first to introduce into the country, and if we did not apply to him and his those principles of equal dealing between man and man of which we are in India the sole depositaries."

Divided
opinion in
C.M.S.
Committee.

No wonder that the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (June, 1866) regarded the passing of Maine's Bill as "one of the most remarkable evidences of the progress which Christianity has made in India." But the C.M.S. Committee were seriously divided upon the provisions of the Bill itself; and repeated and prolonged discussions failed to produce unanimity. At length, on June 27th, 1865, a Minute was adopted, which, after noticing the Biblical arguments on both sides, stated that "as the majority of the Committee" (a very rare phrase in a C.M.S. Minute) "are of opinion that the existing law lays upon Christian converts a burden, and upon ministers a restraint, which the Word of God does not, in their opinion, impose, and as the proposed law is purely permissive, and leaves all persons free to act according to

* A good account of the controversy is given in the Memoir of Bishop Cotton, pp. 512—520.

their conscientious interpretation of Scripture, the Committee generally agree in the opinion that such a law as Mr. Maine proposes is called for by the present circumstances of India."

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Legal Members of Council like Maine, and sometimes the Financial Members too, were appointed from England. When Lawrence had appointments of his own to make, he constantly sent for the Punjab men he had done so much to train; and, not unnaturally, complaints were made of the "Punjabization" of India. Indeed the cry had arisen before Lawrence became Viceroy. Protests were made to Lord Canning about his selecting so many men from one Province; to which he only replied that "he was very sorry, but he should have to take more yet." Others might forget, but Canning did not, that but for the Punjab men, the Mutiny would have left no British India to be "Punjabized." The simple truth was that God honoured the men who had honoured Him. In the Punjab itself, two zealous Christians and promoters of Missions were successively Lieutenant-Governors, Robert Montgomery and Donald McLeod. The former we have met before in that office, as well as at his previous posts. He terminated his able and successful administration of the Province on January 7th, 1865, by a farewell Durbar at Lahore. A Durbar in India is an official levee on a grand scale. He had held a very interesting Educational Durbar two years before, at which medals and prizes were distributed to the sons of chiefs and nobles, and others, from the newly-established Government schools and colleges; the Commissioner of Amritsar, R. N. Cust, taking an active part in the proceedings. But the Farewell Durbar was a still more important function. Rajahs of protected states; Native chiefs, magistrates, assistant commissioners; leading Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs,—assembled to do honour to the man who had governed them so well, and in a remarkable address thanked him for all his efforts for the material and moral improvement of the Province. The missionaries also presented an address to him, signed by John Newton, the senior American Presbyterian, and Robert Clark, the senior English Churchman.*

Punjab men.

Robert Montgomery.

His great Durbars.

But a greater Durbar than this one had been held at Lahore only three months earlier, on the occasion of Sir John Lawrence's first visit as Viceroy to the Province of which he had formerly been Chief Commissioner. To that Durbar Mr. Bosworth Smith devotes a whole chapter of brilliant description. Lawrence's speech to the splendid throng of rajahs and nobles, delivered, as no previous Governor-General could have delivered it, in Hindustani, was indeed worthy of him. He concluded thus:—

Lawrence's Durbar at Lahore.

"I pray the great God, who is the God of all the races and all the people of this world, that He may guard and protect you, and teach you all to love justice and hate oppression, and enable you, each in his

* Full accounts of both these Durbars were given in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1863, and April, 1865.

PART VII. several ways, to do all the good in his power. May He give you all that
1862-72. is for your real benefit."

Chap. 59.

The Star of
India.

On this grand occasion the Queen's new Order of the Star of India was conferred upon one Indian prince. And who was it that was thus selected for exceptional honour? It was the Maharajah of Kaparthala, the chief of a small protected state, who had rendered essential service in the days of the Mutiny, and who was a believer in Christianity—though not baptized,—and heartily fostered the American Mission in his territory; one of his own sons, too, the Kanwar Harnam Singh, afterwards came out boldly and was baptized in 1873. In 1866 a still more splendid Durbar was held at Agra, when the Star of India was conferred on others, Indians and Englishmen; among the latter, upon men interesting to us, Donald McLeod, Edward Lake, Reynell Taylor, Richard Temple. Of this Durbar a graphic account appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* (April, 1867); and one circumstance was noted with special thankfulness. It was on a Saturday, November 10th, that Sir John Lawrence entered Agra in triumphal procession, amid thousands of admiring Natives on elephants, camels, and horses, in carriages, and on foot. What was done on the next day, Sunday? Nothing but the quiet ordinary services of the Church. The Durbar proceedings simply stood still until the Lord's Day was past. "Nothing more striking occurred at Agra than this," wrote the C.M.S. editor; "it was a homage to Christianity rendered by the English authorities in the presence of this vast gathering of the native population. It was a solemn avowal of our Christian faith, and the most eloquent testimony to the one true religion which is by inspiration of God."

Lawrence
observes
Sunday.

Punjab
Mission-
ary Con-
ference.

To return to the Punjab. In December, 1862, was held the Punjab Missionary Conference of various societies and denominations. This Conference was especially interesting for the prominent part taken in it by civil and military officers. The committee for arranging it included Donald McLeod as President; Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel Edward Lake, Mr. T. D. Forsyth, Mr. E. A. Prinsep, and Captain McMahon; as well as R. Clark, French, and Bruce, as C.M.S. missionaries; John Newton and C. W. Forman, the leading members of the American Presbyterian Mission; and two chaplains, Hadow, of the Church of England, and Ferguson, of the Scotch Church. There was a good deal of discussion in official circles as to whether a Conference so conducted ought to be allowed. As John Lawrence wrote from England, "there were people who believed that it was an unwise proceeding and productive of mischief." Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, asked Lawrence's advice, which was, "Let it alone"; and as Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, thought the same, let alone it was. And so far as History records, no "mischief" ensued. Only thirty-five missionaries were present, but "great numbers of influential men, mostly connected with the Government," attended. One of the C.M.S. missionaries wrote that it was "characterized

Decided
attitude of
godly
officials.

by the bold, determined words and actions of many devoted laymen. Edwardes, McLeod, Lake, Farquhar, Cleghorn, MacLagan, McMahon, Perkins, Forsyth, Cust, and many others, joined hand in hand and heart with heart in all that was done. The Rajah of Kaparthala entertained the whole Conference at dinner." Among many subjects discussed, the most important were Divorce and Polygamy, Female Education, and Medical Missions; and one practical outcome was the formation of the Punjab Bible and Tract and Book Societies, which have done a remarkable work ever since. United prayer was a prominent feature of the proceedings. At the concluding meeting, of which the *C.M. Intelligencer* (August, 1863) gave a full report, admirable speeches were delivered by McLeod, Edwardes, Lake, and Prinsep; by John Barton (then of Agra) and W. Ferguson; and by Dr. Butler, the energetic head of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.

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1862-72.
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Donald McLeod, the President of this Conference, succeeded Montgomery as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. He was one of the two English *ferishtas* (angels) in the estimation of the people, the other being, as we have before seen, Reynell Taylor. A well-known Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Behari Lal Singh, owed to him his conversion to Christianity, and to Christ.* Another Indian said that "if all Christians were like Sir Donald McLeod, there would be no Hindus or Mohammedans." "He was above all things a lover of the people, and one who made all Natives love him and respect British rule for his sake. To him India owes the originating as well as the most perfect applying of these three great principles—the duty of caring for the aboriginal and non-Aryan peoples; the justice of the grant-in-aid system of public instruction leading to independent effort; the gradual training of the people to social reform and moral self-government."† He was succeeded in 1870 by Sir Henry Durand, another godly man, a great soldier and most able civil ruler, who had been an intimate friend of Judson in Burmah, and wrote a brilliant *in memoriam* article on the devoted Baptist missionary in the *Calcutta Review*.

Donald
McLeod.

Henry
Durand.

The Bombay Presidency, also, has been governed by great and good men. The first chief rulers of Presidencies to subscribe to Missions, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm—two of the noblest names on the roll of Anglo-Indian statesmen—were Governors of Bombay. Sir Evan Nepean had befriended the first American missionaries before the Charter of 1813 opened India. Sir Robert Grant, son of the elder and brother of the younger Charles Grant, is known as a hymn-writer. James Farish, an eminent civilian, who was Acting-Governor for a short time, was a hearty supporter of Missions, and in his years of retirement became an active member of the C.M.S. Committee. And now, from 1862

Bombay
Governors.

* Behari Lal Singh himself told this at the Liverpool Missionary Conference of 1860.

† Dr. G. Smith, *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, p. 136.

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Sir Bartle
Frere.

Frere and
Lawrence.

Frere and
Mac-
kinnon.

Frere's
testimony
to Mis-
sions.

to 1867, Sir Bartle Frere was Governor of Bombay. As a younger man Frere had come under the influence of the great Scotch missionary, Dr. John Wilson; he had taken charge of Sindh when it was first conquered, and had done almost as noble a work there as the Lawrences higher up the Indus; and now he proved "one of the best Governors Bombay ever had," as Sir R. Temple says,* and is likened by the same brilliant writer to Thomason: "Both felt enthusiasm for the cause of general improvement, and were hopeful regarding the character of the people and its future development." Bartle Frere and John Lawrence were wide as the poles asunder in practical character and on important questions of policy; but these differences may be left in their respective biographies, where they are fully described from opposite points of view. The rather surprising line taken by Frere in the Neutrality Controversy has been mentioned before.† But although so strongly opposed on this great question to Lawrence and Edwardes, he was a true and zealous friend of Missions, as missionaries in Sindh, Bombay, and the Deccan would warmly testify. His great services in connexion with East Africa will come before us hereafter; but one of the greatest, though an unconscious one, must be mentioned here. It was Frere who, when at Calcutta as a Member of Lord Canning's Supreme Council, befriended the young Scotchman, William Mackinnon, when he was scheming a new shipping business beyond his slender means; it was Frere who, when Governor of Bombay, granted a subsidy to Mackinnon's new line of coasting steamers; and thus it was that the British India Steam Navigation Company was launched, which first opened up regular communication with Zanzibar, and has conveyed the missionaries thither, and to Mombasa, ever since. And it was that same Scotchman, when he had become the wealthy Sir William Mackinnon, who established the British East Africa Company, brought Uganda under British rule, and, in conjunction with the Church Missionary Society, saved Uganda from abandonment in 1891.

One of Sir Bartle Frere's most valuable services to the missionary cause on his return to England was the publication, in a volume called *The Church and the Age*,‡ of his masterly and graphically written Essay on "Indian Missions." Its picture of an itinerant missionary visiting an Indian village, talking to the elders, distributing his tracts, and going away downhearted at the small impression he seems to have made,—and of the different effects really produced, though unknown to him, upon the different minds of his hearers,—is vivid beyond anything else of the kind ever published. Another service was his lecture before the Chris-

* *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 255.

† See p. 251.

‡ *The Church and the Age* represented the moderate Anglican party, as *Essays and Reviews* did the Broad party, and *The Church and the World* the Ritualist party.

tian Evidence Society in 1872, on "Christianity suited to all Forms of Civilization." It was in this lecture that, speaking "just as if he were a Roman prefect reporting to Trajan or the Antonines," he said:—

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"Whatever you may be told to the contrary, the teaching of Christianity among 160 millions of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is effecting changes, moral, social, and political, which for extent and rapidity of effect are far more extraordinary than anything you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe."

On January 11th, 1869, at a public dinner in his honour, John Lawrence bid official farewell to India. His last word was, "*Be just and kind to the Natives.*" Next day, his successor landed, and took over the reins of government. Of all the eulogies which the departure of the great Christian Viceroy called forth, none is more eloquent than that which E. C. Stuart, then C.M.S. Secretary at Calcutta,* penned in the Annual Report of the Corresponding Committee, and none is so suitable for transcription to these pages:—

Law-
rence's
farewell to
India.

"In reviewing the favourable conditions for the prosecution of the missionary enterprise, the present seems a suitable opportunity for expressing, on the part of this Committee, their conviction of the debt of gratitude which India owes in its highest interests to the wise, temperate, firm, and far-seeing rule of that illustrious man, who for the last five years has, under Divine Providence, so securely held the rudder, and guided the vessel, of the State. In Sir John Lawrence, as the Committee are well aware, an enlightened interest in Missions rests on a deeper foundation than merely the consideration of their important bearing on the social advancement of the country. But in this, the public acknowledgment of the benefits derived to the cause of Missions from Sir John Lawrence's administration as Viceroy, it is not private convictions, however sincerely held, and consistently acted upon, which they have in view. They refer principally to that humane and just policy which has ever treated the Natives of this country as men, with the same feelings, the same inalienable rights as ourselves. The missionary duty of the Church of Christ rests upon this principle. It is to men that the Gospel is sent, which is to be preached to all nations; and its first great missionary struck the key-note when on Mars' Hill he proclaimed the one God and common Father who had made of one blood all nations of men. And yet, so hard is it for us to see the truth which is opposed to our prejudices and imagined interests, that Missions have, in several notorious instances, been conducted on methods of forcible conversion and repression of the Native races, directly contradictory of this principle. Happily the days for the employment of the unhallowed means of fraud and force for the advancement of the Kingdom of Righteousness and Truth have long since passed away, so far, at least, as Missions in India are concerned.

Stuart's
eulogy of
Lawrence.

"Yet something of the old leaven may still cling to us, showing itself in a disregard of Native feelings, and an impatience at everything opposed to our national predilections.

"Of incalculable value, then, has been the example of a Governor whose whole administration has evinced a close study of the people, and

* Afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, and now in Persia.

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a scrupulous regard of their just rights. And in no way could Sir John Lawrence have more effectually advanced the true work of the missionary than by thus fearlessly upholding in his public capacity those principles of equity and good faith which the conscience of all men approves; his private life at the same time indicating the true sources of a Christian ruler's strength. For such benefits, as well as for the maintenance, by God's blessing, of the peace and tranquillity which, in the dark days of the Mutiny, he was so signal an instrument in restoring, the Corresponding Committee feel their Missions owe a debt of gratitude to the distinguished Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society, the late Viceroy of British India. They believe that his name, like that of Lord William Bentinck, will be handed down to many generations as a tower of strength to all who devote their labours, and are ready to sacrifice their lives, to the great work of India's regeneration."

Lawrence
in Eng-
land.

On Lawrence's return to England, the peerage "so long deserved, and so long delayed,"* was conferred on him by the Queen, at the instance of Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll. For ten years more he lived, presiding for three years over the first London School Board, engaging in other public works of usefulness, rendering valuable counsel to the Church Missionary Society—we shall meet him hereafter in the Committee-room,—and ever ready by voice and pen to promote the missionary cause. How he vindicated Missions in reply to the *Times* leader on the Day of Intercession we have before seen.† At a Wesleyan missionary meeting he uttered these memorable and oft-quoted words: "I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit India, that *the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined.*"

His testi-
mony to
Missions.

Lord
Mayo.

A shout of disapproval arose in England when it was announced that Lawrence's successor was to be the Earl of Mayo. He was Irish Secretary in Mr. Disraeli's Ministry; but he had not made any special mark in the world, and he was chiefly known for his scheme, in opposition to Mr. Gladstone's proposed disendowment of the Church of Ireland, of what was called concurrent endowment, that is, endowing the Roman and Presbyterian Churches as well. But Mr. Disraeli rarely made mistakes in the choice of men for difficult posts, and Lord Mayo proved one of the ablest, wisest, and most popular of Indian Viceroys. He did not profess to be a religious man in the sense in which Lawrence was one; but in all material developments and social reforms he carried on Lawrence's measures with an infectious enthusiasm to which Lawrence could lay no claim. One of his appointments was that of Sir Henry Durand to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in succession to Sir Donald McLeod; and it is a strange and sad coincidence that within two years all three died a violent death. On New Year's Day, 1871, Durand was killed by accident at Tank, on the Afghan Frontier, the elephant he was riding on passing under too low an archway. Just a year after, February 8th,

Three vio-
lent deaths

* Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. ii. p. 597.

† P. 410.

1872, Lord Mayo was stabbed to the heart by an Afghan prisoner in the Andaman Islands. On December 28th in that same year Donald McLeod was killed on the Metropolitan Railway in London, as he was going to attend a meeting of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. PART VII.
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So much for the Rulers of the State. Let us turn to the Rulers of the Church.

Bishop Cotton of Calcutta has already been introduced. His Episcopate continued nearly half through our present period. Calm, thoughtful, reasonable, impartial, his influence was more and more valued year by year. In his care for the English portion of his flock he was most exemplary; and the letters to the chaplains on various points, printed in his biography, are full of wisdom. But he was a missionary bishop too. The more he saw of Missions, the more thoroughly he believed in them, and the more warmly he advocated and vindicated them. Of both S.P.G. and C.M.S. *as Societies*—not merely the work they were doing,—he was the hearty friend and fellow-worker. Few bishops have taken a more judicious view of their relations to these “two arms of the Church of England,” as he called them. He distinguished carefully between his ecclesiastical and (in its legal and technical sense) spiritual position as head of the diocese, with direct relations as bishop to all the clergy and all the Christians, and his share, as an individual member, in the proceedings of the two Calcutta Committees, which, as lay bodies (though not necessarily composed of laymen), directed the temporalities of the Missions. When an Englishman who objected to be under a society applied to him for ordination, he declined to confer it unless the applicant joined the S.P.G. (C.M.S. was not in question), whose system, he said, “does provide for the combined subordination and independent action of the clergy in a manner which ought to satisfy any thoughtful Christian that he would have full scope for his activity and originality, within such limits as must be imposed if we are to have any order or discipline at all.” * Cotton’s views on some other points will come before us in other chapters. Here let us thankfully acknowledge the great service he rendered by what was a small thing externally, viz., the composition and authorization for use (extra-legal as this was) of his admirable collect, known as “Bishop Cotton’s Prayer for Missions,” and since so widely used. Here it is:—

Bishop
Cotton.

His atti-
tude to-
wards
Societies.

His Prayer
for Mis-
sions.

“O God, who hast made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of Thy whole earth, and who didst send Thy blessed Son to preach peace to them that are afar off, and to them that are nigh, grant that all the people of Heathen and Mohammedan lands may feel after Thee and find Thee; and hasten, O Lord, the fulfilment of Thy promise, to pour out Thy Spirit upon all flesh, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

* *Memoir of Bishop Cotton*, p. 411.

PART VII. Cotton's accounts of his visits to the Missions are very interesting, especially the comments he wrote to friends at home whom he knew not to be much in missionary circles. For example, thus he wrote to his successor at Marlborough, Dr. Bradley, now Dean of Westminster, after visiting Tinnevely :—

His eulogy
of Tinne-
velly.

"I can assure you that I have been deeply impressed with the reality and thorough-going character of the whole business; and I entreat you never to believe any insinuations against missionary work in India, or to scruple to plead, or allow to be pleaded, in your chapel, the cause of either the S.P.G. or the C.M.S. . . .

"The whole country is mapped out into regular Christian districts, each furnished with a substantial church, parsonage, and schools in its central village, and with small prayer-houses in the minor hamlets. A thoroughly good, simple vernacular education is given all over the country. . . . In every parish there are short services morning and evening, which all attend when not hindered by house or field work; and Bible-classes of men and women, systematically taught, some of which I examined, and found the women most correct and intelligent in their answers. Compare this, I entreat you, with the condition of women in a zenana!

"Industry, order, cleanliness, domestic purity, improvement in worldly circumstances, are all conspicuous among the Tinnevely Christians, and if they are still somewhat given to prevarications and untruthfulness, yet we must remember that this is the national vice of India, and that Christianity can no more eradicate it all at once than it eradicated by a sudden blow impurity from Corinth or Ephesus. . . .

"Altogether, I do not think any one can go through the Tinnevely Missions without being the better for it; and I feel that my own faith in the Gospel has been strengthened by the journey, and by the actual sight of what Christianity can do. 'I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee.'"*

It was natural that a man of Cotton's temperament should be specially interested in the remarkable intellectual movements among the upper classes of Natives at this time, their keenness for education, their dissatisfaction with the old superstitions, their movements towards social and religious reform—of which we shall see more in the next chapter. But he saw the weaknesses and dangers, as well as the hopes, of these movements. While some of his friends in England, viewing them from a distance, were enthusiastic about "the Educated Native," he, on the spot, saw the hollowness, the bumptiousness, and, still worse, the profligacy, of "Young Bengal." He saw how perilous was the tendency to throw off the restraints of even a false religious system without accepting the yoke of the new and true one. His able and impressive Charge of 1863 dealt most wisely with this whole subject. At the same time, he was eager to promote every effort to bring this rising and influential section of the community to

* *Memoir of Bishop Cotton*, p. 367. Cotton contributed an article on Tinnevely to the *Calcutta Review*, which is extremely able and graphic, as an account both of the Province and of the Missions. It is reproduced in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1865.

Cotton and
the Edu-
cated
Hindus.

a knowledge of the Truth. He saw the importance, therefore, of Higher Education as a mission agency; and it was at his instance that the Church Missionary Society established the Cathedral Mission College at Calcutta. In 1864 he arranged a course of lectures in the Cathedral "On the Need, Evidences, and Difficulties of a Supernatural Revelation." He gave the first himself, and was followed by Archdeacon Pratt, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, and three missionaries, one of S.P.G. and two of C.M.S.* "It was an impressive sight," writes Cotton's biographer, "a sight full of hope for the future, when a congregation of non-Christian Bengalis voluntarily assembled in the metropolitan church of India to listen to the grounds of the Christian's hopes, and to be urged to accept the Christian's faith as the one answer to spiritual cravings."† The same lectures were afterwards delivered by the same lecturers in the Scotch Free Church College, to a much larger gathering (800 against 250), which was partly due to the better situation of the College in the native part of the city, and partly, no doubt, to the great influence of Dr. Duff, who had only left India a few months before.

Bishop Cotton was in the fulness of his energy and the ripeness of his experience when he was summoned in a moment from the scene of his earthly labours. In September, 1866, he was visiting stations in Eastern Bengal. On October 6th he was at Kooshtea on the Ganges, to consecrate a cemetery. In his address at the service he reminded his hearers "that such consecrations were for the benefit, not of the dead, but of the living; that departed souls suffered no injury if their bodies were left on the field of battle, or if in any other way they were unable to receive the rites of burial." Returning to the river steamer for the night, he had to embark by stepping across a slippery plank. His foot gave way; he fell into the flowing stream; he was never seen again; and his body was one of those that never "received the rites of burial." But his soul was with the Lord he loved. "The waters which engulfed him in a moment," wrote John Mee in the next C.M.S. Report, "have kept the dread secret of his mortal resting-place, but his light has so shone before men that they glorify his Father in heaven." The Minute of the C.M.S. Committee on his death spoke of his "eminent wisdom and zeal," and of "the largeness and soundness of his views of Protestant missionary principles, especially with reference to the organization of the Native Christian Church."

India had lost another great man three years before Cotton's death, by the final return home of Alexander Duff. The two men were very different; but they thoroughly appreciated one another. Duff pronounced Cotton the greatest of Indian bishops, and described him as combining the qualities of all his pre-

Cotton's sudden death.

Alexander Duff leaves India.

* The C.M.S. men were E. C. Stuart and J. Welland.

† *Memoir*, p. 401.

PART VII. decessors,—“the classical scholarship and the legislative and
 1862-72. organistic faculty of Middleton; the gentle, kindly, amiable, con-
 Chap. 59. ciliatory manners of Heber; the calm, quiet, practical sense of
 Duff on James and Turner; the warm attachment to the essential verities
 Cotton. of the evangelical system which distinguished Wilson.” Cotton,
 Cotton on when Duff left India, spoke of him in his Charge as “that
 Duff. illustrious missionary” whose “special glory” it was that “when
 the new generation of Bengalis, and, alas! too many of their
 European friends and teachers, were talking of Christianity as an
 obsolete superstition, soon to be burnt up on the pyre on which
 the creeds of the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Mohammedan
 were already perishing,” he, Duff, “burst upon the scene, with
 his unhesitating faith, his indomitable energy, his varied erudition,
 and his never-failing stream of fervid eloquence, to teach them
 that the Gospel is not dead nor sleeping . . . but marching forward
 in the van of civilization.”* Of Duff’s “fervid eloquence” one
 of the noblest examples is his farewell address to the Bethune
 Society, representing all educated non-Christian Bengal.† He
 had met its members many times on the common ground of
 science or of philanthropy. Now he told them plainly that it
 was not for such things that he had come to India and lived in
 and for India, but because he had a message for India, a
 message which, if believed, and accepted, could save their souls.
 In magnificent oratorical sentences he enlarged on the glory and
 beauty and power of Christianity, and ended by avowing that
 when his body should be consigned to the tomb, the only befitting
 epitaph would be, “Here lies Alexander Duff, by nature and
 practice a sinful, guilty creature, but saved by grace, through
 faith in the blood and righteousness of his Lord and Saviour
 Jesus Christ.” And so we bid farewell to the great Presbyterian
 missionary, whose work has profoundly affected all successful
 Indian Missions, and not least the Missions of the Church
 Missionary Society.‡

The death of Bishop Cotton proved to be an important epoch
 in the Church history of India. Of the twelve men who had
 been appointed to Indian sees up to that time, not one had been
 a High Churchman of modern type (Middleton was of an older
 school), and six of them had been decided Evangelicals. But
 now Palmerston was dead; the Russell Ministry had been beaten
 on its Reform Bill; Lord Derby had come in, with Lord Cran-
 borne (the present Marquis of Salisbury) as Indian Secretary;
 and one of Cranborne’s first acts was to appoint Robert Milman
 Bishop of Calcutta. Milman, who was a nephew of the poet and
 historian then Dean of St. Paul’s, was a Buckinghamshire rector
 and Cuddesdon lecturer, highly esteemed by Bishop Wilberforce,

* *Life of Duff*, vol. ii. p. 394.

† *Ibid.*, p. 387.

‡ Through Duff’s agency forty-eight Indians of the upper classes and castes
 had been converted to Christianity. Of these, in 1871, nine were ministers,
 ten were catechists, seventeen were professors and higher-grade teachers.

Duff’s
farewell
address.

New epoch
in Indian
Church
affairs.

Bishop
Milman.

and known in Oxford diocese as a preacher and a conductor of Retreats for clergy. His going to India marked the advent of new ecclesiastical principles; and from that time the majority of the Government chaplains have been men of distinctly High Church views.

But Milman proved in many ways an excellent bishop. In devotion to his work, and utter abnegation of self, he has never been surpassed. And he took the true view of an Indian bishop's functions—so different from that of the only one of his predecessors who was in any sense a High Churchman—that they were distinctly missionary, and that he was “responsible before Christ for the Heathen round about him.” Before leaving England, he came to the Church Missionary House (February 7th, 1867), and met the C.M.S. Committee and, at his own request, the Secretaries of some of the Nonconformist Societies with which the C.M.S. had friendly relations. The men chosen to address him on the occasion were of a stamp to make an impression: not only Lord Chichester and H. Venn, but also Sir Robert Montgomery, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Mr. James Farish, who had been Acting-Governor of Bombay; Mr. J. F. Thomas, who had been Secretary to the Government of Madras; and the Rev. W. Arthur, the brilliant Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Bishop Waldegrave of Carlisle commended the new bishop in prayer. Bishop Milman expressed warmly his desire to foster the C.M.S. Missions; and assuredly he did, during the nine years of his episcopate, put his desire into action. “We revered him,” said E. C. Stuart long afterwards, “as a true Father in God, who entered into our work with all the cordiality of a brother missionary.” Both they and he found, in short, that widely as they differed on some important points, they loved one Lord and were seeking the extension of one Divine Kingdom. His Memoir contains many interesting notices of the C.M.S. Missions he visited—sometimes in company with his chaplain Edgar Jacob, now the energetic and universally respected Bishop of Newcastle. Here are two or three fragments from his journals:—

Milman
and C.M.S.

Milman's
visits to
C.M.S.
Missions.

(Annfield, October, 1867.) “The whole visit very interesting. I was much pleased with this instance of a Christian village in the midst of the vast surrounding Heathendom.”

(Meerut.) “A great Mission belonging to the C.M.S. Very earnest and promising.”

(Secundra.) “Wonderfully complete and well conducted.”

(Lucknow, November.) “Mission-schools well taught and well attended.”

(Allahabad.) “Much good work carried on. Mission on the whole successful.”

(Benares.) “The C.M.S. work seems very good and thorough. They gave me a hearty welcome, and I gave them all the help and commendation I could. I am thankful for the comfort thus given and received.”

PART VII. (Taljhari, December.) "A most interesting and successful Mission, 1862-72. worked admirably by Mr. Storrs. There is a great door and effectual Chap. 59. open."

(Anritsar, December, 1868.) "The most promising of the C.M.S. Missions which I have seen. The wives of the missionaries are most active and efficient, and much success accompanies their labours."

Observe the dates of these entries, and compare the dates in our Fifty-first and Fifty-second chapters. This was the very time when the great Evangelical attack on the advancing Ritualism in England was being delivered. That attack was abundantly justifiable, and in appearance it was successful. Though it failed in Parliament, it succeeded in the Law Courts, and partially also in the Ritual Commission. Yet was Ritualism checked? After thirty years, is it less powerful in England? But suppose the same Evangelical energy had been thrown into the India Missions which the new High Church bishop was visiting and praising, what might not have been the result in the Evangelical Churchmanship of India to-day! and what might not have been the reflex influence at home!

As our notice of Bishop Cotton included a reference to a distinguished Presbyterian, so must our notice of Bishop Milman. It was during Milman's episcopate, in 1867-8, that Dr. Norman Macleod went to India as a deputation from the Established Church of Scotland. That visit gave striking opportunities for the exhibition of Christian unity. At Madras a great meeting was held under the presidency of Bishop Gell, and attended by the Governor, Lord Napier; and four missionaries, representing the S.P.G. (Rev. A. R. Symonds), the C.M.S. (David Fenn), the L.M.S., and the Wesleyans, spoke successively, giving an account of their respective Missions. A similar gathering took place at Calcutta, where Bishop Milman presided, Sir John Lawrence attended, and five missionaries represented the Baptists, the Scotch Free Church, the L.M.S., the C.M.S. (E. C. Stuart), and the S.P.G. (K. M. Banerjea).*

One important incident of Bishop Milman's Episcopate must not be passed over. It has been mentioned before that, after the Mutiny, Pastor Gossner of Berlin had desired to transfer his interesting and successful Mission among the Kôls of Chota Nagpore to the Church Missionary Society, his own funds having failed; and that the C.M.S. Committee, in lieu of taking it over, had granted it £1000 out of the Special India Fund. After Gossner's death, a new Committee at Berlin sent out a band of younger men, who looked down upon the older missionaries for their lack of university education. The latter appealed in 1864 to

* It was in Milman's time, also, that another remarkable Scotchman visited India, Dr. A. N. Somerville, who in his old age went round the world as a "special missionary." He was the first, by many years, to do a work of the kind; and much blessing followed his preaching. See Dr. G. Smith's very interesting Memoir of him, *A Modern Apostle* (Murray, 1891).

Where
was Evan-
gelical
energy?

Norman
Macleod in
India.

The Chota
Nagpore
German
Mission.

Bishop Cotton to receive them and their flocks into the Church of England, as Gossner had desired.* Cotton and Archdeacon Pratt visited them; and Cotton's journal gives a graphic account of their methods of work and church services. He was present at the baptism of 143 candidates with a Lutheran ritual which would have alarmed many good people at home; and he wrote: "None of the great functions of St. Peter's, with Pío Nono and all his incense and peacock's feathers, could excel in conception or in impressive solemnity the scene in the crowded church, the white-robed candidates thronging the steps, the minister baptizing in the midst, and the choir chanting out the triumphant hymn of Ambrose and Augustine." "The effect of that grand verse, '*The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee*,' sung just as these people, reclaimed from savagery, were received into the love and care of Jesus Christ, was quite sublime." Cotton declined to receive this interesting community into the English Church without first appealing to the Berlin Committee; but he wrote to Berlin, and also to H. Venn to prepare the C.M.S. to take them over. The C.M.S. Committee, however, were unwilling to involve the Society in so serious a dispute, and thus be the instrument of division in the recognized field of another society; and for five years things remained as they were, the controversies continuing and causing much scandal in India. Charges of misuse of funds (which proved to be frivolous) were brought against the older missionaries; their supplies from Berlin were stopped; and they were ordered to hand over the churches, schools, and houses. At length, in 1869, they and a large body of the Kól Christians appealed to Bishop Milman; and he, after a careful examination of the circumstances on the spot, received them into the Church, confirming the converts and giving the ministers English orders. He incurred much obloquy for doing this, and so did the S.P.G., under whose charge the Mission was placed; but it is hard to see how they could have acted otherwise than they did. The same toleration and recognition which are always extended to the organizers of secessions from Church of England Missions ought surely to be accorded to movements in the opposite direction, even though the agents be an S.P.G. and a Bishop Milman.

In the Diocese of Bombay, Bishop Douglas succeeded Bishop Harding in 1869. Douglas had been Dean of Cape Town, and had been of great assistance to Bishop Gray in his conflict with Colenso. He was an advanced High Churchman, whereas both his predecessors at Bombay, Carr and Harding, had been decided Evangelicals. His views on missionary topics were in many respects very different from those of the C.M.S., and he set them forth ably in his Charges and in published letters; but he heartily co-operated with the C.M.S. Missions in his diocese, as is shown

Cotton's visit.

C.M.S. declines to interfere.

Bishop Milman adopts the Mission for S.P.G.

Bishop Douglas at Bombay.

* Gossner had written to the C.M.S. before his death, again proposing the transfer.

PART VII. by several notices of his visits to the stations printed in the
1862-72. Reports, and he pleaded with the Society to send more men.
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Bishop
Gell at
Madras.

Meanwhile, good Bishop Gell still presided over the diocese of Madras, to its great advantage. His visits to the Missions have always been highly valued; and his successive Charges bore emphatic testimony to the blessing that had been vouchsafed to the Missions in his diocese. In the first sixteen months of his episcopate, he confirmed 4219 Native Christians, and ordained eight Native clergymen; and similar functions marked his successive visitations for many years. He fostered all the Society's efforts for the organization and self-support of the Native Church; and in 1868 he manifested his appreciation of the Native clergy by appointing four of them Bishop's Examining Chaplains, viz., W. T. Saththianadhan and J. Cornelius (Tamils, C.M.S.), D. Samuel (Tamil, S.P.G.), and G. Matthan (Malayalam, C.M.S.).

Official
Report on
Moral and
Material
Progress of
India.

The growth of the Native Christian community was now generally recognized. A very remarkable testimony concerning it was afforded by the Report of the Secretary of State and Council of India upon the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India in 1871-2, published at the beginning of 1873, and therefore coinciding with the date to which our present Part brings the history. This Report, which was drawn up by Mr. Clements R. Markham, assisted by R. N. Cust, was received with unfeigned thankfulness by the friends of Missions everywhere. It gave a systematic account of the Missionary Societies in India and their work; it acknowledged the co-operation of missionaries with the Government in the promotion of social, moral, and educational progress; it commended their linguistic attainments and literary achievements; it emphatically praised the mission schools and colleges; it presented figures showing the substantial and continuous increase in the number of converts; it stated that the favourable view taken by missionaries of both the direct and the indirect effects of their labours was not theirs alone, but was "accepted by many distinguished residents in India and experienced officers of the Government;" and it closed with these memorable words, which have been quoted and printed over and over again, but which cannot be omitted from this History, and which are especially suitable as a conclusion to a chapter on Indian rulers:—

Its testi-
mony to
the value
and suc-
cess of
Missions.

"The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by these six hundred missionaries, whose blameless example and self-denying labours are infusing new vigour into the stereotyped life of the great populations placed under English rule, and are preparing them to be in every way better men and better citizens of the great Empire in which they dwell."

CHAPTER LX.

INDIA : BABUS, BRAHMOS, BORDERERS.

Hinduism and Western Thought—Education without Religion—The “Educated Native”—The Brahma Samaj—Keshub Chunder Sen—His great Orations—Keshub and “Ecce Homo”—Keshub in England—“2 John, 10, 11”—Keshub’s Progressive Samaj—The “New Dispensation”—Educational Missions as a Counterpoise—Cathedral Mission College—“Borderers”: Pathetic Cases.

“They profess that they know God; but in works they deny Him.”—Titus i. 16.
 “Ye will not come to Me.”—St. John v. 40.



ONE of the remarkable features of the period under review, in India, was the religious movement of which the most conspicuous development was the Brahma Samaj. Missions in India—at least efforts to evangelize the educated classes—have been profoundly affected

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Brahma
 Samaj.

by that movement, and it therefore calls for special notice in this History.

Hinduism has never satisfied the more thoughtful Hindus; and from time to time religious leaders have arisen, deeply feeling the helplessness of such a system to give them peace or to promote virtue, and protesting against its grossness and its puerilities. A sentence from the *Bijak*, a work embodying the teaching of one of the most famous of these reformers, Kabir (circa 1400), will suffice to illustrate what such men felt:—“Of what benefit is cleansing your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablutions, bowing yourselves in temples, when deceitfulness is in your heart? If the Creator dwell in tabernacles, whose residence is the universe?” A century later came Chaitanya, preaching *bhakti* (faith) as against *karma* (works),—strange to say, simultaneously with Martin Luther in Europe; but his *bhakti* only meant devotion to Krishna, whose legendary immoralities are the burden of even children’s songs throughout India, and such a “faith” without “works” only plunged its votaries into deeper vice. In the early years of the nineteenth century appeared Ram Mohun Roy, the remarkable Hindu whose timely assistance to Duff we noticed in a previous chapter. In 1820 he published a book entitled *The Precepts of Jesus a Guide to Truth and Happiness*; but he maintained that the same teachings were to be found in the ancient

Hindus
 not satis-
 fied with
 Hinduism.

Ram Mo-
 hun Roy.

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Hindu writings, the *Upanishads*,* and he propounded a kind of Unitarianism, based partly on them and partly on the New Testament. It is a humiliating fact that one of his first followers was a Baptist missionary, Adam—who in consequence was called “the second Fallen Adam.” In the very year that Duff landed at Calcutta, Ram Mohun Roy founded a society for the promulgation of his views, and called it the Brahmo Samaj, the “Assembly of Believers in Brahm”—*Brahm* being the neuter form indicating the Supreme Divine Essence.

Effects of
English
Education.

The influence of Western thought was now beginning to tell. Christian Missions were in their infancy—except in the far South, among the illiterate peasants; but their teaching was like a handful of heaven cast into a huge mass, and sounder ideas about the unity and the goodness of God, the evils of idolatry and caste, the supreme greatness of Christ, gradually spread, even where there was but little indication of the change. A silent revolution was going on; and it is going on still. English education was only in its infancy prior to the Mutiny; but it was rapidly overthrowing, in those who came under its influence, belief in the old superstitions. The most elementary scientific teaching destroyed at once, in them, a host of popular delusions. But it gave nothing instead. The fables of the Brahmans could no longer be borne with; but the facts of the Gospel, which might have replaced them, were withheld in the Government system. “Empty, swept, and garnished” was the condition of “Young Bengal”; and the demon of superstition was succeeded by “seven demons more wicked than himself,” of whom the demon of infidelity was only one.

Education
without
religion.

Education, indeed, without religion, only tended to supply innumerable illustrations of St. Paul’s words, “Knowledge puffeth up.” The one object of the young Hindu student was to pass examinations and obtain degrees; and this not for pure love of knowledge, but because success was the high road to Government employment. If he failed to obtain (say) his B.A. degree, he would advertise himself as a “Failed B.A.,” to indicate that he had at least been under examination. As for religion and morality, the vast majority “cared for none of these things.” They lived for the world and the flesh. Not a few, however, who were more thoughtful, became avowed atheists; and this tendency was much fostered by the influence of some of the English professors in the Government Colleges, who made no secret of their total unbelief. While “neutrality” did not permit Christian teaching and influence in a Government institution, it did not forbid open sneers at Christianity. A Native in high educational office said to Mr. French, “It would spoil all my chances of promotion if I became a Christian. I should be detested and despised by my

Neutrality
of English
professors
too often
infidelity.

* Not the *Vedas* proper, i.e. the ancient sacred poems, which were not known to him, but the philosophical writings of later date.

European superiors. Besides, some of the Government school-teachers are like Heathens. When we used to read Milton, and an allusion to the Bible had to be explained, my teacher would mock and make all sorts of fun." * Milton is a classic, and could only be dealt with by sneers; but it may be asked, What sort of manuals were used? The English Principal of the Government College at Krishnagar published a *World's History*, for the use of students. Such a work could not quite ignore a historical fact like the rise of Christianity; but this is literally all that it said on the subject:—

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Strange
attempts
to ignore
Christi-
anity.

"It was in the early time of the Roman Empire, in A.D. 0 [*sic*], that Jesus Christ was born at Jerusalem [*sic*] near Phœnicia [*sic*]; and in the course of 350 years the religion of Jesus Christ became the religion of the Roman Empire, persuading all men without the use of the sword." †

One wonders what sort of explanation this gentleman was accustomed to give of "A.D."! Some English pieces for learning by heart, such as Jane Taylor's poems, were recklessly altered, in order to exclude Christian teaching. For instance, "that young Christian" was altered into "that young soldier"; and even the name of Solomon was struck out, and "the wise man" inserted instead.‡ At the same time, other school manuals in the vernaculars reproduced Hindu writings in both prose and verse that were so indecent as to be untranslatable into English, and moreover full of superstitious teaching. There were in fact, as Dr. Murdoch said, Englishmen in India who would tolerate "any superstition except Christianity."

Some of the best Natives perceived what a wreck of faith Western Education was effecting, and expressed themselves mournfully about it. In 1864 a Bombay paper, the *Indu Prakash*, contrasted the new faith which enabled Christian converts, when they lost their old one, to face the loss of all things, even the loss of their nearest and dearest, with the emptiness resulting from secular education. "Education provided by the State," it said, "simply destroys Hinduism; it gives nothing in its place. It is founded on the benevolent principle of non-interference with religion, but in reality it is the negation of God in life. Christians, holding a faith pure and rational in its essentials, may receive the highest education, and be only the more confirmed in their faith. But education must destroy idolatry, and State education in India, benevolent in its idea, practically teaches Atheism. . . . As soon as this is generally felt, the cry will go up to England, 'Father, father, give us faith!' . . . If England will not hear our cry, then will the shriek go up to Heaven, 'Father, Father, give us faith!'" § That is the language of a non-Christian. Well might Sir Herbert Edwardes, in quoting it in Exeter Hall in 1866,

Evil effects
feared by
good Na-
tives.

* T. V. French's Annual Report for 1871.

† Quoted in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1876.

‡ *Ibid.*, August, 1872.

§ *C.M. Record*, January, 1865.

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exclaim, "It seems to me like a cry from the edge of the bottomless pit. It comes from the heart of a people from whose eyes the veil is falling, and who find themselves without God in the world!"

The Indian
classics:
how
known.

Meanwhile, English scholarship had revealed to Indian students their own classical literature. Its very language, Sanscrit, was all but unknown until men like Sir William Jones, H. Colebrooke, and H. H. Wilson recovered it; and Professors Max Müller and Monier-Williams have done more to introduce the Vedas to the "Educated Hindu" than all the Pundits of Benares put together. It was in the period we are reviewing that Max Müller published his *Chips from a German Workshop*; and in that work he quotes a learned Hindu writer in the *Calcutta Review* who doubted if a single complete copy of the Vedas existed in Hindustan. The idea now so prevalent in England that the abominations of modern Hinduism are merely excrescences on a pure Vedic faith held all along by thoughtful Hindus is quite unfounded. The "pure Vedic faith"—if so it may be called—is a modern discovery of English philologists and students of Comparative Religion. It was Dr. Mill, the Principal of Bishop's College in Bishop Daniel Wilson's days, who explained to the Calcutta Pundits the relative dates and characters of their own sacred books.* As for popular Hinduism, equal misconception exists in England among those who profess to know. The missionary who inveighs against its cruelty and grossness is branded as uncharitable and narrow-minded; but it is not missionaries who have spoken the most severely of it. Let us hear the words of one advocate of free-thought and opponent of orthodox Christianity, who was also an honest man, Mr. Moncure Conway:—

Moncure
Conway on
Indian re-
ligion.

"When I went to the great cities of India . . . the contrast between the real and the ideal was heart-breaking. In all those teeming myriads of worshippers, not one man, not even one woman, seemed to entertain the shadow of a conception of anything ideal, or spiritual, or religious, or even mythological, in their ancient creed. . . . To all of them the great false god which they worshipped—a hulk of roughly-carved wood or stone—appeared to be the authentic presentment of some terrible demon or invisible power, who would treat them cruelly if they did not give him some melted butter. Of religion in a spiritual sense there is none. If you wish for religion, you will not find it in Brahmanism."†

Three
classes of
educated
Natives.

To return to the "Educated Native." This creation of Western influence was divisible into three classes, viz., (1) those who still tried to retain some belief in their old superstitions, and at all events clung desperately to old rites and observances; (2) those who cast aside all religion, joining in family religious ceremonies to avoid reproach, but despising both the Brahmanism of their fathers and the Christianity of which (being Government students) they knew nothing,—and who generally became more unblush-

* *Chips*, vol. iv. p. 375.

† Quoted by Dr. Murray Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*, p. 220.

ingly profligate than the old Hindus ; (3) those who, having some desire for a religion and some sense of morality, were trying to build up an eclectic system for themselves. Observe that all these alike contrived to retain their caste. That was essential for peace and comfort at home and among friends. The third class might write and speak against caste, and might try and modify its strictness ; but they took care not to break it, and so become excommunicate. Its old power, indeed, was much weakened by the onslaught of Western civilization. The railway was a great leveller. A holy Brahman might start back in horror from entering a carriage in which low-caste folk were already seated ; but when he found that while he hesitated the train had started without him, he took care, the next time, to pocket his scruples. When the Calcutta municipality brought fresh water into the city, the Brahmans at first protested that they could not drink from pipes which also supplied others ; but after a time they found it convenient to declare in solemn conclave that "impure objects are made pure by paying the value of them," so that if only they paid the water-rate regularly, they might safely drink the water!* Nevertheless, caste still remained a merciless tyrant ; and Young Bengal took good care not to provoke it needlessly.

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Effects of
Western
civilization
on caste.

Let us now notice the third of the three classes more closely. The Brahmo Samaj made little progress until it was joined, about 1840, by a wealthy and influential man, Debendra Nath Tagore. Under his leadership the society denied the authority of all the old sacred books, and, following Theodore Parker and F. W. Newman, substituted Intuition for Revelation. An organ, the *Indian Mirror*, was started, public services were established, and missionaries were sent out from Calcutta to preach the new views in other great towns. What those views were at any particular time, it is hard to say. The Brahmoss confessed that they had "no certainty, no fixity" ; they "knew not whither reason would take them" ; when they discarded the Vedas "they cut the cables, got loose from their old moorings, and drifted about wherever wind and tide led them."† But the *Mirror* acknowledged their obligation to Christianity. "The Brahmo Samaj," it said in 1868, "will always regard the true spirit of Christianity, as taught by Christ, as a friend, not a foe. We live and move and breathe in a Christian atmosphere, and the Brahmo Samaj is drawing its warmth and vitality from it, though it has grown on Indian soil."‡ By this time, however, the Brahmo Samaj, which aspired to be "the future Church of India," had, small as it was, split into two parts. A young and brilliant leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, who had joined it in 1857, had introduced a bolder spirit into the society. He had persuaded Debendra Nath to forbid idolatrous

Brahmo
Samaj: its
early days.

Keshub
Chunder
Sen.

* Vaughan, *Trident, Crescent, and Cross*, p. 230.

† Statement by a Brahmo to Dr. Duff, quoted by the Rev. J. Barton in an address to the Cambridge C.M. Union. *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1865.

‡ *Ibid.*, July, 1868, p. 223.

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rites at his daughter's wedding, and even to discard the sacred Brahmanical thread; but the old president would go no farther, and indeed became more conservative with advancing age. At length, in 1864, the action of Keshub in permitting the marriage of a young widow-girl to a man of different caste precipitated a rupture; and he and the more radical members were virtually expelled, and thereupon formed a new society. The Adi (original) Samaj from that time showed a tendency to retrograde towards Hinduism, and lost its influence; and Debendra Nath ultimately withdrew into the mountains and lived as a Hindu hermit. Keshub's society, on the other hand, which called itself the Brahmo Samaj of India, increased in strength, and soon attracted the attention of Europe as representing a movement of apparently great promise. The interest excited by it culminated when Keshub, on May 5th, 1866, in the theatre of the Calcutta Medical College, delivered his memorable lecture, "Jesus Christ, Europe, and Asia."

His new
Samaj.

His great
lecture.

His view
of Christ

This remarkable address was printed in the *Mirror*, and on reaching England was immediately published in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* (September, 1866). It is a truly eloquent eulogy on the character and work of Christ, as "the greatest and truest benefactor of mankind," as "the originator of that mighty religious movement which has achieved such splendid results in the world." "Humanity," continued the lecturer, "was groaning under a deadly malady, and was on the verge of death. A remedy was urgently needed to save it: and Jesus Christ appeared in the fulness of time." But he calls Him "the son of an humble carpenter," and as being inspired "by the divine Spirit working within Him" and "laying down His life that God might be glorified"; yet "verily above ordinary humanity." Then he sketches in a very picturesque way the history of the Church. The Resurrection of the Lord is not alluded to, and obviously not believed; nor is Pentecost. The disciples are represented as crushed by their Master's death, but roused again by the martyrdom of Stephen. The preaching of St. Paul, the sufferings of the early Christians, the triumph and then the corruption of the Church, the "debasing system of Popery," the "restoration of primitive Christianity by Luther," the "holy zeal and self-denial" of the missionaries who "have diffused the blessings of enlightenment from China to Peru," all pass before us. "East, west, north, and south—on all sides we see the glory of Christ." "Tell me, brethren," exclaimed the orator, "is Jesus of Nazareth, the carpenter's son, an ordinary man? Is there a single soul in this large assembly who would scruple to ascribe extraordinary greatness and supernatural moral heroism to Jesus Christ and Him crucified? Was not He above ordinary humanity? Blessed Jesus! Immortal child of God!" He then went on to accord high praise to the missionaries who had brought the knowledge of Christ to India, and to denounce "the reckless conduct of pseudo-Chris-

and of
Christians.

tians." "Behold," he exclaimed, "Christ crucified in the lives of those who profess to be His followers." He complained that the average Englishmen regarded all Natives as *foxes*, "wily, fraudulent, and mean," adding that it was no wonder that the Natives regarded Europeans as *wolves*, "vindictive, ferocious, and blood-thirsty." But he still hoped that "in Christ" Europe and Asia, the East and the West, might "learn to find harmony and unity."

The sensation caused by such an address as this may be imagined. "Another step," remarks Mr. Vaughan,* who heard it, "would have landed him within the Kingdom. Alas! that step was not taken. To stand still in such a matter was impossible. To advance would have been to bow to the Divinity of Jesus and accept His vicarious sacrifice. Retrogression was the only alternative." Apparently to soothe the feelings of some of his followers who thought he had gone too far, Keshub delivered another lecture on "Great Men," in which he classed our Lord with "Moses, Mohammed, Nanak, Chaitanya, and other regenerators of mankind." But the interest of Christian men in him did not flag. Dr. Norman Macleod relates his experience in going to hear one of Keshub's lectures in 1868.† He "arrived too late to get a seat, and had, together with Sir R. Temple, Dr. Murray Mitchell, and others, to stand on a table in the crowded verandah"; the Viceroy (Sir John Lawrence), the Commander-in-Chief (Sir W. Mansfield), and the leading civic functionaries and celebrities of Calcutta, being present, with a great throng of influential Natives. Admiration and hope, however, did not silence faithful testimony. Bishop Cotton was dead; but a year or two before this, in a lecture to the Bethune Society on the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, he likened the Brahmos to Socrates, standing between the Conservatives and the Radicals of Athens, and entirely failing in his purpose for lack of the guidance of Revelation—which, said Cotton, the Brahmos can now obtain from Christianity, but will not. Bishop Milman, in a very masterly and impressive lecture on Eclecticism and Brahmoism,‡ drew a most graphic picture of Alexandria and its rival schools of thought in the second century, following this up with a skilful comparison of the Eclectics of that day to the Brahmos of Calcutta. He showed that Eclecticism "owed whatever light it really possessed to the illumination of the Christian truth against which it protested and upon which it looked down." "It had no real supply for the wants of the human heart. It was not a power which could move high and low, rich and poor. It had no life in it, and so no power of reproduction. It receded like a thin vapour from the glorious mountain of God and His truth. It was gone, and left no trace." "But Christianity remained, conquering and to conquer . . . for the Christian, tender-hearted as he was, could part from father and mother, brother and sister, wife and

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The last
step not
taken.

Bishop
Cotton's
lecture.

And
Bishop
Milman's.

* *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross*, p. 217.

† *Good Words*, November, 1869.

‡ *Ibid.*, November, 1870.

PART VII. child,—much more would he face the prison, the lion, the fire, for
 1862-72. the Truth's sake." Just what the *dilettante*, timid, irresolute
 Chap. 60. Bengali Babu could not do! Yet he could, if the empowering
 — Spirit worked in Him. And two men came forward to do battle
 with Brahmoism who had actually suffered the loss of all for
 Christ's sake—Krishna Mohan Banerjea and Nehemiah Nilkanth.
 Banerjea and Nehe- The former published an able treatise entitled *Dialogues on Hindu*
 miah reply Philosophy, urging on the Brahmos the all-important question,
 to the Brahmos. "Where is saving truth to be found?" The latter issued two
Letters to the Brahmos, in which he told his own experience, and
 showed how it was Revelation and not Intuition that had led
 him to the truth. Did the Brahmos boast of having thrown aside
 the idle tales and immoral legends of old Hinduism? Well, but,
 he asks, "whence have we got better light than our learned and
 philosophic fathers who believed and sang those filthy stories?
 Will you say that we got it by our reason? I for my part dare
 not say so, for I remember my own past history full well. I got
 this light from Christianity."*

Ridgeway compares Keshub and the author of "Ecce Homo." The *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, by Mr. Ridgeway's pen,
 took a line of its own. In an article in the number next following
 that which contained Keshub Chunder Sen's famous lecture,
 Ridgeway, addressing himself, not to Indian, but to English
 readers, drew a parallel between the Brahmo leader and the
 author of *Ecce Homo*. Whether he was aware at the time that
 the writer of that anonymous work was Professor Seeley, son of
 the Evangelical publisher by whom the *Intelligencer* itself and the
 other C.M.S. periodicals were then issued, does not appear; but
 he significantly contrasts the anonymous English author, "born
 in a Christian land and amidst Christian opportunities," with the
 Brahmo lecturer, "born amidst the pollutions of Heathenism
 and disgusted with them." "They meet on the same platform;
 but there is this great difference between them—one is ascending
 and the other descending the mountain." It was a natural
 reflection, but it proved an incorrect one. The Brahmo did
 appear to be ascending, but he soon turned round, and went
 downwards again. As regards Professor Seeley it was not so far
 wrong. Many Christian readers of *Ecce Homo*, admiring its
 beauty and acknowledging that it taught them much, fondly hoped
 that the unknown author was *ascending*, and looked out eagerly
 for his next book, trusting it would reveal a higher position. It
 was long coming, and when it did come, the position was a lower
 one.

Keshub in England. In 1870, Keshub Chunder Sen visited England. The question
 at once arose, How should orthodox Christians receive him? He
 was welcomed with open arms by Dean Stanley and the "Broad"
 Churchmen; by most of the leading Nonconformists, such as

* Large extracts from Nehemiah's Letters are given in the *C. M. Intelligencer* of August, 1868. Banerjea's Treatise is described in the number for October, 1868.

Dr. Henry Allon; and of course by the Unitarians, in whose chapels he repeatedly preached. Evangelical Churchmen greeted him courteously at private gatherings, just as they would greet even a Mohammedan or a Buddhist; but they declined to receive him as a Christian brother. Lord Lawrence brought him to the C.M.S. Annual Meeting, and there were those who urged that he be invited to speak; but this was overruled. Among the speeches that he heard that day was one of the best that Bishop Crowther ever made; and another by Colonel Field,* an address of rare spiritual power, teeming with striking facts illustrating the influence of the full Gospel upon Indian hearts and lives. But towards the end of the meeting, when (apparently) Keshub had left, Joseph Welland of Calcutta, who had known him well there, spoke of him thus:—

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At C.M.S.
Meeting.

Welland
upon him.

“The venerable man who was at the head of the Samaj shrunk before the tyranny of caste, and there was a time in the history of the movement when the result in that respect seemed doubtful; the Reformer who is now visiting this country ultimately came forward and declared himself boldly against that great evil. The movement proceeded step by step, and Jesus Christ was spoken of as the greatest of the prophets, and there seemed to be a nearer and nearer approach to Christianity. The Babu obtained great influence over the minds of many of his countrymen, and at last he built a temple, where, Sunday by Sunday, there was carried on the worship of what they conceived to be the one true God. To missionaries labouring in India these are matters of the deepest interest. It seemed to them as if the Spirit of God were again moving on the face of the waters, and as if there were about to spring up out of the chaos of Hindu idolatry a glorious system of eternal happiness and peace. For the present, however, we have grave cause of difference with our friend; for there lies buried on the foundation-stone of that temple which has been erected for the worship of God, language which puts away the Lord Jesus Christ as very and eternal God, and puts away the Bible as the inspired Word of God. No man, it is there declared, shall ever be worshipped in this church, and no book shall ever be received in this church as the word of God. And therefore it is that, while we stretch forth willingly the hand of friendship, we withhold the hand of Christian fellowship; and however men may call us bigots and narrow-minded, and whatever may be said on the other side by certain dignitaries of our Church and men of high position, we will continue to maintain that there can be no Christian fellowship unless men hold right views of the Lord Jesus Christ.”

Mr. Ridgeway now came out with a notable article in the *Intelligencer* (July, 1870). It is simply entitled, “2 John, 10, 11”; and the casual reader who did not look out the passage thus referred to, and only glanced at the first few pages, might imagine that the editor, being short of matter, had filled up his space with one of his Tunbridge Wells sermons. It begins, however, *more suo*, with

Ridge-
way's
notable
article on
2 John, 10,
11.

* Now Sir John Field, K.C.B.; for many years Hon. Sec. of the Evangelical Alliance. He had just returned from Abyssinia, where Sir Robert Napier put him in command of the advanced brigade in the campaign against King Theodore.

PART VII. an "up-to-date" illustration, which does not look like a pulpit
1862-72. utterance:—
Chap. 60.

"The adulteration of articles of food in this country has now become so prevalent that it has attracted the attention of the legislature, and an animated debate in the House of Commons has exposed to the public eye the delinquencies of dishonest tradesmen, and held them up to general contempt."

"But," he presently goes on, "there are deeper wrongs even than these." "Is there," he asks, "any adulterating process going on, so that the bread for the soul, like the bread for the body, is being subjected to a subtle deterioration?" And so on through several pages. Then, suddenly, "The proceedings at one of the meetings held at Exeter Hall during the last month have arrested our attention." It is not stated what the meeting was, but the speech of the (unnamed) chairman, which is highly praised for its fearless advocacy of the Bible in education, is contrasted with a speech that followed, by—Keshub Chunder Sen. Another meeting is then alluded to in the same guarded way, in which exactly similar circumstances occurred.* Then, follow some remarks on such "strange conjunctions on religious platforms"; and the article suddenly closes with a significant extract from a letter that had come from India:—

What and
who were
they?

Effect in
India of
Keshub's
reception
in England

"We are very much concerned at the tidings which are reaching us of the reception given in England to Keshub Chunder Sen. . . . Telegrams and letters tell of his wonderful popularity, of the thousands who hang on his lips, of the cordial sympathy of the great and good in his 'great mission for the regeneration of India,' &c. The effect of all this out here is pernicious in the extreme. Educated Natives have for years been telling us that Christianity is dying out in Europe. . . . 'Why,' say they, 'should you urge on us a religion which your own countrymen are discarding?' It wanted nothing more than the reception Keshub is receiving to confirm this impression. . . . A letter has just come from England, from one of Keshub's party, in which the writer states that a gentleman in London assured him that the missionaries are a set of low and ill-taught fellows, who palm off upon the Natives an exploded form of Christianity, whilst all the sensible and educated people at home are really one with the Brahmos in sentiment."

Perhaps we can now understand why Ridgeway, at the risk of being thought narrow-minded, wrote the article, and why he entitled it "2 John, 10, 11"; for, turning to our New Testament, we read these words of the Apostle of Love:—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." It is highly significant that

* The two meetings were the Anniversaries of the Ragged School Union and the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, and the two chairmen were Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Haldane of the *Record*! No wonder Mr. Ridgeway felt obliged to utter his warning in a guarded and indirect way! Keshub's speeches at the two meetings, as reported in the *Record* at the time, seem quite unobjectionable.

on the very next pages of that same number of the *Intelligencer* are letters from E. C. Stuart and J. Vaughan at Calcutta about the conversion to Christ of a young widow lady there, a near relative of Keshub Chunder Sen himself, and the violent proceedings—not of old-fashioned Brahmans—but of the *Brahmos*, in their efforts to keep her back from baptism. “While Keshub,” writes Stuart, “is disporting himself in England as the Reformer and the Apostle of progress, here in Calcutta his relatives and confraternity are denying to a poor woman the most inalienable rights of personal liberty.”

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Brahmos
oppose
baptism of
a relative
of Keshub.

The Progressive Brahmo Samaj, as Keshub's society was called, now became year by year a greater power. The number of actual members, as indicated by the Census returns of 1871, was not large, only a few hundreds even in Bengal; but this was hardly a fair test of its influence, any more than the number of baptized Christians was a fair test of the growing influence of Christianity. Externally the Samaj assumed more and more the character of a semi-Christian Church. The services consisted of prayers, hymns, the reading of passages from various sacred books, the Bible not excepted, and a short discourse. Sometimes they were described as cold and heartless; sometimes, when new members were received, there were scenes which visitors likened to revival scenes in Christian lands.* Rites of initiation and communion were instituted, in avowed imitation of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Christian words were adopted, or rather *adapted*, such as “justification,” “sanctification,” “regeneration,” and the like. At the same time, social and educational reforms were promoted. Industrial schools were projected for artisans, and schools also for women and girls; and a Brahmo Marriage Act was obtained, legalizing the union of different castes, but forbidding the marriage of girls under fourteen. But the drift of the movement was manifestly away from Christianity, and not towards it; and the correspondence of the leaders with Unitarians and others in England, and their own occasional visits to England, did not check this drift, but rather quickened it. For instance, when Babu Protap Chunder Mozumdar, Keshub's chief lieutenant,† and editor of the *Indian Mirror*, came over in 1875, he interviewed Professor Tyndall at Belfast, on the occasion of the Professor's famous address as President of the British Association. Mr. Mozumdar told Tyndall that the Brahmos felt the need of “a few axioms of religion,” and, when the great scientist objected to the

Progress of
the Samaj.

Its imita-
tion of
Christian
services.

Mozumdar
and Pro-
fessor
Tyndall.

* “Keshub had imbibed Vaishnava ideas. . . . The introduction of faith (*bhakti*), emotional religion, and devotional fervour into the Brahmo system was a real advantage. It infused warmth and light into a cold, inanimate theology.”—Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 503. “One direction in which the devotional side of the movement developed itself was in the rapturous singing of hymns in chorus, sometimes in procession through the streets.”—*Ibid.*, p. 510.

† And successor. It was he who represented the Brahmo Samaj at the Chicago Parliament of Religions.

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word "axioms," asked for "a few fundamental principles," urging that without them there was in India no basis for ordinary morality. But Tyndall could only reply that he "feared he should be found an atheist," and approved of Carlyle's expression, "That long paraphrase which we shorten in the word God." It is to the credit of the Babu that he went away unsatisfied.* Meanwhile, in India, the missionaries of the true Gospel felt bound more and more to oppose the teachings of the Samaj; and Dr. Dyson in particular, then Principal of the Cathedral Mission College (C.M.S.), attacked them in a series of very able pamphlets.

It will be well to bring the story of the Brahma Samaj down to a later date, although by so doing we come much beyond the limits of our period; for it will obviate the necessity of returning to the subject hereafter, save in passing allusion.

Small eclectic bodies generally bear within them the seeds of division; and as the Progressive Samaj was a secession from the original body, so in its turn it had to suffer from another secession. Keshub's growing pretensions were resented by some of his followers, especially when he permitted himself to be addressed as a mediator with God, some of his followers kneeling to him and saying, "Lord, be thou our intercessor," and writing to him in these words, "Merciful Lord, leave me not: O Divine Teacher, save me!"† At length a crisis occurred. In 1878, Keshub gave his young daughter, under fourteen (the age his own Act had fixed), in marriage to the young Rajah of Kuch Behar, who was also under age. At this strange inconsistency, the more progressive members openly revolted, and, led by Babu Ananda Mohan Bose, M.A., a Cambridge wrangler, founded for themselves a new society, the Sadharana (constitutional) Brahma Samaj. Keshub, however, continued his fervent addresses, some of which seemed to indicate a change in the right direction. In April, 1879, he delivered one on "India asks, Who is Christ?" which was described as "an extraordinary effort of eloquence." India, he said, was "destined to become Christian," and "could not escape her destiny." "Gentlemen," he exclaimed,—

"You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered, and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you? is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, not the British Government. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty Prophet to conquer and hold this vast empire. None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus, ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Jesus shall have it!"

Two years later, in January, 1881, the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth (now Bishop of Exeter) heard Keshub's annual address in Calcutta Town Hall, and thus wrote:—

"The huge hall was crammed: I should say 3500 men, and some six

* See the whole narrative, extracted from the *Indian Mirror*, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1876.

† From a Brahma pamphlet. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1876.

Keshub's
strange
inconsis-
tency.

Seceders
from the
Samaj.

Another
eloquent
speech by
Keshub.

ladies—thoughtful, earnest-looking men—almost all Hindus. He spoke for an hour and forty minutes—a torrent of eloquence. He denies the Godhead of Christ, though, with this grave and grievous lack, which overshadowed all, nothing in parts could be more impassioned than his language of devotion to Christ. He thinks himself the prophet of a *New Dispensation*, as he calls it, which is to affirm the unity of all earnest creeds, of Hindu, Moslem, and Christian, who worship God.*

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The "New Dispensation" was Keshub's fresh title for his society. Its adoption was followed by strange and sad developments. The imitations of Christian formularies and observances became mere travesties. In putting forth a new creed, he actually threw it into the form of *thirty-nine articles*.† Some of the articles themselves are good; but while No. 20 is "I believe Jesus Christ to be the chief of all prophets and teachers," No. 25 is, "I believe in the inspiration . . . of Keshub Chunder Sen." A sacramental feast was instituted, at which the ritual was quiet and reverent, rice and water being used instead of bread and wine, and the verses in St. Luke xxii. relating the institution of the Lord's Supper being read; for, said the organ of the New Dispensation when this was begun, "Are the Hindus excluded from partaking of the holy eucharist? Wilt Thou cut us off because we are rice-eaters and teetotalers? Spirit of Jesus, that cannot be!"‡ But then there was a hymn, of fifteen verses, of which the following are five:§—

The New
Dispensa-
tion.

Imitation
of the
Lord's
Supper.

"Jesus dances, Moses dances, Devarshi Narad dances playing on the harp."

"Old King David dances, and with him Janak and Yudhisthur."

"The great Yogi Mahadeo dances in joy, and with him John and his disciples."

"The Bible and the Vedas dance together with the Bhagavat; the Puran and the Koran dance joined in love."

"The scientist and the ascetic and the poet dance, inebriated with the new wine of the New Dispensation."

Dances not unlike those of the Egyptian dervishes were instituted; and, worse still, a strange theatrical performance, in which Keshub himself exhibited juggler's feats. The Sadharana Brahma Samaj loudly condemned these extravagances, and their author.|| But a few months after this, in January, 1884, he died, at the early age of forty-five. His death did not much affect the general movement: many independent Samajes have since been established in different parts of India; but they belong to a later period.

Death of
Keshub.

One fatal flaw mars, and has ever marred, all these attempts to form a religion apart from the true Christ, the Son of God and the Saviour of Men. They none of them take any account of *sin*, as manifest in the alienation of the heart from God, as involving

The fatal
flaw.

* *C.M. Gleaner*, July, 1882.

† Printed nearly in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1881, p. 533.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 518.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

|| See extracts from their organ, the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1884.

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guilt in His sight, as incurring His just judgment, as irremediable by human agency or effort. None of them provide a ransom from the penalty of sin; none of them suggest a deliverance from the power of sin. And therefore they exclude those essential truths of the Gospel, the Godhead of Christ, His propitiatory Atonement, and the work of the Holy Ghost. All true religion in fallen man begins with a true sense of sin.

Eminent
Hindus
still idolatrous.

No: the Brahmo Samaj could not satisfy men; and the great majority of those whom it influenced for a time either became open atheists or fell back into their ancestral superstitions. Even when Keshub Chunder Sen was at the height of his fame, we read of the Durga Puja, the annual festival in honour of the bloodthirsty goddess Kali, being celebrated with more pomp and parade than in previous years. We read of "a distinguished M.A. of the Calcutta University sitting for hours in public at Kali's famous shrine, attired as a devotee of the goddess, in silent contemplation of her virtues."* We read of the funeral of a rajah's widow, at which the family idol, "a hideous stump," was placed on a silver throne, and publicly worshipped by men of the highest standing in Calcutta.† And we read of the Brahmoist organ itself mourning over the declension of "Young Bengal":—"Yesterday we saw thousands of educated youths in all parts of the country marching valiantly forward in the path of reform, and crushing all the evils in the land; to-day hundreds may be seen stealthily retracing their steps and ignobly vowing allegiance to ancestral divinities."‡

How to
cope with
the evil.

Importance of
Educational
Missions.

It was the conviction of most good and thoughtful Christian men that the best way to cope alike with Heathenism, Infidelity, and Unitarian Eclecticism among the upper classes of Hindus was to provide definite and regular Christian teaching for such as could be brought under it, and to effect this by the establishment of Christian Colleges on Duff's system. In the C.M.S. Missions, this was what Robert Noble had been doing at Masulipatam, with marked blessing; this was what French and Shackell and Barton had been doing at Agra; and at many other stations there were High Schools of various grades. But the Society, indeed the Church of England, had, in the early 'sixties, nothing of the kind at Calcutta. Bishop's College was in the main a theological institution for Christians. The High Schools of the Established Kirk and the L.M.S. were at that time of a lower grade. There was only the Free Church Institution, founded by Duff after the Scotch Disruption. Bishop Cotton earnestly begged the Church

* C.M.S. Report, 1872, p. 63.

† They were actually named in the Calcutta papers. Among them were Dr. Rajendra Lal Mittra, C.I.E.; the Hon. Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I.; and the Hon. Krista Dass Pal, Editor of the *Hindu Patriot*: the two latter being Members of the Legislative Council.—*C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1884.

‡ Quoted by Vaughan, *Trident, Crescent, and Cross*, p. 221.

Missionary Society to establish such a College; and the appeal was supported by Professor E. B. Cowell, then Principal of the Sanscrit College, and now Professor of Sanscrit at Cambridge. E. C. Stuart, then C.M.S. Secretary at Calcutta, sent home a scheme for using for this purpose the Cathedral Mission Fund left to the Society by Bishop Wilson; and in 1864, Mr. Barton being in England, the subject was thoroughly considered. The scheme was strongly opposed by a few members of the Committee, notably by General Alexander, whose fervent protests against Educational Missions, renewed again and again through many years, are still a vivid recollection. But ultimately it was resolved to establish "the Cathedral Mission College," for matriculated students of the University only, with Barton as Principal, assisted in lectures by R. P. Greaves, J. Welland, and S. Dyson, as part of their evangelistic work. The College was duly opened in January, 1865, with every token of at least outward success, one hundred and fifty men being at once enrolled out of a much larger number of applicants. Much prayer accompanied the experiment. "This Institution," wrote Greaves, "begun with a sincere desire to promote the glory and further the cause of our blessed Saviour, will, I doubt not, have the fervent prayers of our friends at home. Nothing is further from the intentions of all connected with it than that it should be merely an educational establishment. We desire that it should be, as far as possible, leavened with the word and spirit of Christ, and that the influence we may hope to gain over the pupils should be, so far as God vouchsafes His blessing, a sanctifying and saving one."

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C. M. S.
plans.

Cathedral
Mission
College.

There was indeed good reason for hope that "the Gospel in the Class-room," as the *Intelligencer* called it, would prove as much the power of God unto salvation as the Gospel when preached in any other way.* This History, condensed as it is, and so little able to enter into details, has recorded many instances of direct conversion to Christ from missionary colleges and schools. But the indirect influence of Christian education is greater still. Again and again has it proved that men converted through purely evangelistic agencies had already the knowledge of the Gospel which enabled them to understand the preacher's meaning, and that this knowledge they had gained in mission schools. Where there is faithful teaching, the one only thing that stands between any of the students and Christ is *their own will*; and that it is beyond the power of any missionary or mission agency to control. How many conversions from sin to righteousness, from self to the Saviour, take place in a year in a public school or a college in England, however devoted the master may be? Yet the external conditions here are far less unfavourable than in the case of a Hindu youth tied and bound by the

Results of
Educa-
tional Mis-
sions.

Why
more?

The will at
fault.

* See the numbers for April and May, 1872, in which Educational Missions are vindicated on Scriptural principles, and a mass of evidence adduced of the blessing vouchsafed to them.

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chains of caste, and of a religion which rules the daily life of his home in a way that not the strictest Evangelical Christianity rules an English home. Mr. C. C. Fenn, who himself was once the Principal of the (old) C.M.S. College in Ceylon, wrote thus in the Society's Annual Report of 1870 :—

“There comes a time in the school life of almost every one of these youths when his conscience is awakened, and bids him renounce all and give his heart to Christ. But too often he cannot make up his mind to face the appalling trials to which such a course will generally expose him. He is not prepared to be turned out from house and home, and lose the friendship and favour of all that are naturally dear to him. So he stifles his convictions as best he may.”

And he quotes a Punjab missionary without naming him :—

“They will read the Bible daily, and will even meet together for prayer, and actually address the one true God through Christ. They will hold debates among themselves, at which the majority will argue eloquently on the side of Christianity. They will come to me, and declare themselves Christians in heart, and by some clever shift will deny that in their particular case there is any necessity for outward baptism. They endeavour to reform their lives. Some of them become truthful, honest, and pure ; and in fact will do all but the one thing needful—take up their cross and follow Christ.”

Borderers.

In this way the large class of educated Natives called in many missionary reports “Borderers” has been produced. Of course a considerable number of scholars in mission schools and colleges become absorbed in the careless and worldly section of the community. That is inevitable. Only a few remain conscientious Hindus ; and few, as has been ascertained, join the Brahmo Samajes. Even if they are thoughtful enough, *they know better*. They become Borderers. In their hearts they know Christianity to be true ; but their wills are not moved. The Holy Ghost may have striven with them ; but they have resisted His gracious motions. Or, they not only believe Christianity : they openly avow that they do ; and they shape their lives accordingly ; but they cannot face the tremendous crisis of baptism. Let us look at a few cases :—

Remark-
able cases
of almost
Christians.

“In my visits I have met with several secret believers in Christ. One gentleman, intelligent and well educated, said he could not brave the storm of obloquy and persecution he should have to endure in embracing Christianity. Even his European superiors, he said, would oppose him in such a step. He hoped, however, to be baptized on his dying bed.” (Rev. A. P. Neele, Burdwan, 1858.)

“The Lord, they say, will save them through Jesus Christ without baptism. *One Babu wants to be a Christian missionary without being baptized.* ‘If I be baptized,’ he says, ‘I shall lose my influence among the Hindus. Without baptism I can do more for Christianity than as a baptized Christian.’ Another kneels down with us in private prayer and Bible-readings, and prays most earnestly to be saved through Jesus Christ, in Whom alone he puts his trust for salvation. A third asked leave to open a Bible-class in the Government School, out of school-hours ; and as there

was no missionary there, he taught the class himself. A fourth has opened his house for prayer and reading the Bible." (Rev. C. F. Reuther, Fyzabad, 1869.)

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"Walking one day with several well-educated Natives, I mentioned, in course of conversation, the late progress of Christianity in Madagascar; when one, in the hearing of all, declared that he would gladly join any general movement in the direction of Christianity." (Rev. W. Ridley, now Bishop of Caledonia; Peshawar, 1869.)

"Two young men came, and stated that they believed in the Bible, and sought to live in accordance with its teaching. They had given up idols, yet could not bring themselves to be baptized, as their parents would die of grief. They asked, 'Was not John the Baptist a good and a saved man? Yet he was not baptized. Cannot we, like John the Baptist, remain unbaptized, but live as Christians?'" (Rev. C. S. Cooke, Malegam, 1870.)

"A Hindu gentleman took us on the roof of his house, and there, with the utmost sincerity, declared his unreserved acceptance of the doctrines of the Gospel. He had long, he said, been feeling his way to the truth. Jesus, he admitted, was truly divine, and the only Saviour of a ruined world. But we saw the cloud which darkened his features when the decisive step was urged upon him. A mountain of difficulty at once rose up before him: he saw the cross and trembled, yet he promised to take it up. 'Wait,' he said, 'three months.' We waited three months, and three times three; and then, what? He joined the Brahmo Samaj." (Rev. J. Vaughan, Calcutta, 1870.)

"Their lack of moral courage is owing to a pernicious belief that one may be a very good Christian without baptism. . . . Some of them have meetings called Bible clubs. Most of the members seem in real earnest. The most advanced is held at a house near mine, at which the members baptize one another by laying on of hands, and commemorate the dying of our Lord once a year, on Good Friday, by partaking in common of what they term the Lord's Supper." (Rev. S. Dyson, Calcutta, 1870.)

"One of this class only lately begged that he might be permitted to kneel at the Holy Table in our church, and partake of the sacred emblems of the Body and Blood of Christ. It did not strike him as at all strange that he should feel the need of the outward and visible sign of the one Sacrament, while he repudiated that of the other." (Rev. J. Vaughan, Calcutta, 1871.)

"They are, in everything but the name, professing Christians. They attend our classes, meetings, services. They speak of the Church as 'their Church,' and subscribe to our Native Church Fund. . . . They long for baptism, but shrink from breaking caste." (Rev. J. Sheldon, Karachi, 1871.)

"Had a long conversation with a Native gentleman of wealth and position, whose son is in England studying for the bar. He and his wife are believers in Christ. Every day he gathers his family around him, and reads with them the Word of Life. But with him, too, alas! baptism is the boundary he cannot pass." (Rev. J. Vaughan, Calcutta, 1873.)

"A Punjab missionary, while conducting divine worship, noticed among those present several Heathen pupils. They joined in the responses. On coming to the Apostles' Creed he stopped, and solemnly warned all present against the hypocrisy of professing a belief they did not entertain. Notwithstanding this, the Creed was audibly pronounced by every one of them. The missionary firmly believes they were sincere: yet they do not come forward for baptism." (Annual Report, 1873.)

What can be more pathetic than cases like these? They are

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Has edu-
cation
failed?

but a very few, culled at random, out of three or four Annual Reports. Hundreds more are to be found in those yearly volumes; and they are but a fraction of the whole. It is not for us to judge such men. They are in the hands of Eternal Justice and Almighty Love. But let us not forget that they are almost entirely the fruit of Educational Missions. That is to say, the teaching and the influence have *not failed*, for they *have done all that teaching, or preaching either, can do*. What is needed is a change of heart; and to effect *that* is beyond the power of either school teaching or bazaar preaching.

"Hinduism," said a learned and venerable Hindu, "is sick unto death." "What," asks Sir M. Monier-Williams, "is to become of the people when their ancient faith sinks beneath their feet?" This is how he answers his own question:—"Only two other homes are before them—a cold Theism and a heart-stirring Christianity. Both are already established in India. But Christianity is spreading its boundaries more widely, and striking its foundations more deeply. It appeals directly to the heart. It is exactly suited to the needs of the masses. In Christianity alone is their true home."

CHAPTER LXI.

INDIA: AGENCIES EVANGELISTIC AND PASTORAL.

The True Classification of Missions—Church Ministrations for the English in India—Native Clergy—Memorable Ordinations—Industrial Villages—Education for Children of Native Christians—Evangelistic Itineration—Evangelistic Work in Towns—Vernacular Schools—Higher Education: its Results; its Difficulties—Women's Work—Literary Work—Work among Mohammedans—Missionary Conferences—Decennial Statistics.

"There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all."—1 Cor. xii. 6.



IN reviewing the Society's India Missions during our present period, it may be convenient and interesting to take them, not, as in former Parts, geographically, but topically, i.e., examining in succession the varied methods and agencies employed, with illustrations from the incidents of the period. In this way we shall obtain a fresh view of the "diversities of operations." And we will leave the biographical element, the personal narratives of missionaries and converts—which we have found so important a feature in all our studies—for another chapter.

There are various methods of classifying the various branches of missionary effort, evangelistic, educational, medical, literary, &c.; but the true division is between work among non-Christians and work among those who have come out from Heathenism and profess Christianity, in other words, between evangelistic work and pastoral work, or, as before illustrated from St. John xxi., the "fishing" and the "shepherding." The former is of course the first in order of time; but it will be convenient in this survey to take the latter first, to inquire what was being done to "shepherd" the Native Christians who were the fruits of the Missions in India, and afterwards to notice—if a different metaphor may be used—the various forms of assault upon the great fortresses of Hinduism and Mohammedanism.

During the period under review, however, there was another department of Christian work undertaken by the Society which falls into neither of the two main divisions. This was the provision of Church ministrations for English people and

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How to
classify
Mission
agencies.

English
churches
at the chief
cities.

PART VII. Eurasians in the three Presidency cities. At Calcutta and 1862-72. Madras we have seen the importance of this before. The "Old Church" at Calcutta, which Kiernander built, which Charles Grant saved from Kiernander's creditors, and where David Brown, Henry Martyn, Thomason, Corrie, and Dealtry ministered for many years in the first half of the century, had been in those days the headquarters, so to speak, of C.M.S. in India. At Madras, the "Church Mission Chapel," in Black Town, in John Tucker's time especially, had occupied a similar position. Both these churches were attended, and valued, by influential English congregations. The former, however, did not then belong to the Society; and the latter was primarily a mission church for Tamil services. But from time to time proposals had been made by the Trustees of an old endowment at Calcutta, called the Evangelical Fund, by which the Old Church was supported, for its transfer to the C.M.S.; and this was effected in 1870, exactly one hundred years after the church was built. Since then the Society has appointed the Incumbent. Generally, the Society's Calcutta Secretary has been either Minister or Assistant Minister; and when Joseph Welland was in charge, his powerful preaching drew to the church a large proportion of the leading English residents. At Madras, a new church in the European quarter, Christ Church, had drawn away the English congregation from the old "Tucker's Chapel," as it was called. The patronage of this church was in the hands of the Colonial and Continental Church Society; and in 1871 that Society appointed John Barton Incumbent, on his going to Madras as C.M.S. Secretary. At Bombay, the Government having, in 1867, offered a site for a new church, and £2000 towards its cost, if the Society would complete it and undertake the ministrations, the Committee granted the further money needed from an old balance of the Jubilee Fund; and in 1869 the church at Girgaum was opened, and has ever since remained a centre of C.M.S. work.

The Old
Church,
Calcutta.

Christ
Church,
Madras.

Girgaum
Church,
Bombay.

Usefulness
of these
churches.

None of these churches have drawn from the Society's general funds for the maintenance of either the ministry, the services, or the fabric. All are locally supported. But they have proved very valuable as rallying points for Evangelical Churchmanship and as affording facilities for Evangelical preaching and teaching; especially since, as mentioned in a former chapter, the modern developments of advanced High Church doctrine and practice found a footing in India. Without them, many Church people in the three great cities might have been unable to enjoy the simple worship, and to profit by the plain Gospel teaching, to which they were accustomed. It is, indeed, not the direct work of the Church Missionary Society to provide for their needs; but they on their part have been led by the connexion to take a sympathetic and prayerful interest in the Society's Missions, and to render them material support. Such churches, too, have given the C.M.S. Secretaries opportunities of spiritual work which have refreshed

their spirits amid the important but necessarily (more or less) secular duties of their administrative office.

Strictly speaking, too, it is only in a partial sense that a Missionary Society is responsible to provide Church ministrations for even the Native Christians who are the fruit of its work. It is right that poor villagers and Sunday-school children in England should give out of their poverty to send the Gospel to the Heathen ; but it is not right that they should be called upon to maintain the ministry and the worship of their fellow-Christians. At the same time, an infant Native Christian community cannot be deserted ; and even if its members could from the first entirely defray their Church expenses and support their pastors and teachers, the experience of the English missionary would still be needed for their guidance, for a time, particularly in the training of their ministers, evangelists, schoolmasters, &c. The plans set on foot by the Church Missionary Society to promote among them self-support, self-administration, and self-extension, have been described in a previous chapter. Here we have only to notice the condition and growth of the Native Churches in India during our present period.

The encouraging increase of the Native clergy during our period has been noticed before ; and the prospect of committing to them the greater part of the pastoral work led to a growing sense of the importance of training them well. The Society's only regular institutions for the purpose were the Cambridge Nicholson Institution in Travancore, under the Rev. J. M. (afterwards Bishop) Speechly, and the Palamcotta Preparandi Institution in Tinnevely, under the Rev. E. (afterwards Bishop) Sargent. In the North, the number of suitable students had not been large enough to suggest the necessity for a regular divinity school for them ; and the few clergy there had been only trained in an unsystematic (and yet practical) way, by working as catechists under a missionary and receiving his instructions. But in 1868, Mr. Welland began a small Bengali Preparandi Class at Calcutta ; and just at the same time, Mr. French, in England, was planning, as we have seen, a new Theological College on an important scale, to establish which, at Lahore, he and Mr. Knott went out in 1869.

Meanwhile, what was called "the Tinnevely system" was producing good fruits in the South. The system was as follows. The district missionary had in his district several village schools, in which both Heathen and Christian boys were taught together. On his rounds he would inquire for the most promising of the latter, and after examining them carefully, choose two or three to bring them in to his boarding-school at the station, where they would be further educated under his own eye. In due time, such of these as appeared to have given their hearts to the Lord, and to be fit for mission service, were drafted off to the Preparandi Institution, or to the Training Institution for schoolmasters ; and

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Pastoral
care of
Native
Christians.

Training
Native
Clergy.

The Tinne-
vely
system.

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Ordina-
tions in
Tinne-
velly.

by-and-by they would become mission agents, either catechists or teachers. It was from among these, after some years of practical experience and good testing, that the men for ordination were carefully chosen. In a former chapter we noticed the interesting ordinations held by Bishop Dealtry. On January 31st, 1869, an ordination unprecedented as regards the number of candidates was held by Bishop Gell, at Palamcottah. No less than twenty-two Tamils (15 C.M.S., 7 S.P.G.) received deacons' orders, and ten (3 C.M.S., 7 S.P.G.) priests' orders. Including the candidates, no less than sixty clergymen, English and Indian, were present at that service, an event at that time unique in the Mission-field. The sermon was preached by a Tamil clergyman (C.M.S.), the Rev. Devanayagam Viravagu, himself a convert from Heathenism. The examining chaplains were two Native clergymen, the Rev. Daniel Samuel, of the S.P.G., and the Rev. Joseph Cornelius, of the C.M.S. Of the eighteen C.M.S. men, ten had been born of Christian parents, and eight were converts from Hinduism. It was a token of Native Church progress that all of them were ordained for service under the Native Church Councils, not as the agents of a foreign Society. The new deacons had all, before being examined, sent in brief autobiographical sketches, telling the story of their own spiritual experience and call to the ministry; and these gave undoubted evidence of their true faith and devotion.*

Ordination
of Noble's
converts.

Several other interesting ordinations took place in India in our period. One memorable day was February 7th, 1864. On that day, at Masulipatam, Bishop Gell ordained the first two Native clergymen in the Telugu country; and those two were the first two converts in Robert Noble's School, baptized in 1852, Manchala Ratnam the Brahman, and Ainala Bhushanam the Vellama, both of whom had now for twelve years lived a consistent Christian life and done excellent service. It is interesting to observe that John Sharp† received priest's orders the same day. The examiner was the Bishop's chaplain, a distinguished Cambridge man, W. Saumarez Smith.‡ Robert Noble himself preached the sermon, on Ephesians iii. 8—a text we have before seen in this History to have been taken on memorable occasions.

The most important ordination of the period in North India was held by Bishop Milman at Amritsar on December 6th, 1868. One of the men ordained was Imad-ud-din, the celebrated Mohammedan moulvie, whose story will be told hereafter; and the service, for the first time in India, was partly in Urdu.

The Native
Clergy in
1872.

At the close of 1872, there were seventy-five Native clergymen in the Society's Missions in India, of whom fifty-five were in the

* Extracts are given in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1868, in an article entitled, "Are Missions a Failure?"

† Now Secretary of the Bible Society.

‡ Now Archbishop of Sydney.

South, viz., thirty-three in Tinnevely, fifteen in Travancore, four in the Telugu country, and three at Madras. In Western India there were four; and in all North India sixteen. The C.M.S. Committee saw clearly that their best hopes of progress lay in the work of these sons of the soil, and the Annual Reports continually lay stress upon it, quoting with thankful satisfaction the letters of the men themselves, as well as references to them in the letters of the missionaries. And there were not clergy only. Lay catechists and schoolmasters—for instance, Babu J. C. Singha, of Amritsar—were again and again highly commended. Now and again there were disappointments. In 1865, for instance, two Native ministers in the Bombay Mission, Daji Pandurang and James Bunter, withdrew from the Society on account of some grievance—though they both came back. Sometimes trusted lay agents failed; as, for instance, at Burdwan in 1863, when a catechist in whom much confidence had been placed was found to be leading an immoral life. But it is plain that these were exceptions. Among the Tamils, Joseph Cornelius and W. T. Satthianadhan were especially prominent and valued. The former was at this time acting as a kind of superintending pastor over a thousand Christians scattered over a large district in North Tinnevely. Subsequently, when at Madras, he was the translator into Tamil of several Christian works. Satthianadhan was pastor of the most important of three congregations at Madras. Very interesting communications from him appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer*.* In the North, Leupolt's delight at handing over the Sagra congregation, Benares, to a Native pastor, the Rev. Davi Solomon, in 1864,—and W. Smith's rejoicing over the opening of a second church for a small congregation in the heart of that city, in 1870, with the ordination of Samuel Nand to minister there,—are recorded with special satisfaction. So is W. S. Price's warm testimony to the excellence of Ruttonji Nowroji and Lucas Maloba—the one born a Parsee, and the other born a Brahman—the one brought to Christ by Nehemiah Goreh and Sorabji Kharsedji, as before related, and the other picked up as a beggar-boy by Price, and brought up in the Sharanpur Orphanage,—when the two, both of whom Price had baptized, were ordained together by Bishop Douglas, along with another Brahman, Shankar Balawant, on June 12th, 1870. Both were commissioned to be pastors of churches in the Deccan, at Aurangabad and Buldana, where the good work had been begun by volunteer evangelists from Sharanpur.

Sharanpur, it will be remembered, is a Christian village near Nasik. There was a good deal of discussion in our period

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Some disappointments.

But the majority excellent.

Christian Villages.

* A valuable letter from him, in reply to a paper of questions on the attitude of the Natives to Christianity and Western Culture, sent to him by H. Venn, appeared in the number for September, 1865. In December, 1871, there is an extremely interesting account of a round of visits paid by him to various Missions in South India, including his own former district, Tinnevely.

PART VII. respecting the Christian village system. Some urged that Native Christians ought to live among their Heathen countrymen, and thus be more ready to testify of Christ and His salvation. Others, perceiving the exceeding difficulty of this, owing to the converts being cast out of their regular trades or employments, justified their segregation as inevitable, and for their good. But there were Christian villages and Christian villages. Where the village consisted of a row or two of native houses within the Mission compound, so that the missionary was practically the ruler or patriarch of the settlement, the effect was to raise up a dependent community. Such, for instance, was Sagra, in the outskirts of Benares: and hence the gladness of Leupolt when the Sagra people were put under the pastoral charge of a Native clergyman. At several town stations the same system had existed from the first; and the Society now sought to commit all these small congregations to Native pastors, and thus reduce the doubtful results of segregation to a minimum. One interesting community was at an agricultural settlement called Basharatpur, near Gorakhpur. Of this village Bishop Milman wrote: "I wish to record my sincere admiration of the whole work of the C.M.S. here. The schools are good; the industrial education promising; the village agriculture apparently successful; the people well-mannered; the houses good." Another was a pretty Christian colony, with its church and circle of houses in a grove of fine mango-trees, a mile or two outside Allahabad, inhabited mainly by Christian clerks and workmen employed daily in the city. To this village was given the name of Muirabad, after its kind and generous patron, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Sir William Muir. Lady Muir laid the first stone of the church on May 17th, 1872. Sharanpur was industrial, and manufactured carts and carriages. In 1864 it gained a prize offered at an Industrial Exhibition at Nagpur for the best pony-carriage. The Tinnevely Christian villages were more independent than those in the North. While many of the Tamil Christians continued living in towns and villages with a population mainly Heathen, some gathered into villages of their own; and though for many of these villages the Mission provided a catechist or schoolmaster, or both, the Native Church itself in due time took this obligation, and fulfilled it. In Travancore it was much the same; and also, though in a less advanced form, in the Telugu country.

In and around Calcutta there were now several Native congregations connected with the Society. The largest was at Trinity Church, Mirzapore, the old headquarters of the Mission, in the heart of the city. A smaller one was at Christ Church, Cornwallis Square, a church originally built for K. M. Banerjea, but which came to the Society through Bishop Wilson's Trust. Then at Kidderpore, a southern suburb, a new church, St. Barnabas', was built and endowed in 1867-8 by Mr. W. Dent, a wealthy merchant, at a cost of £4000; and the first minister was the Rev. Modhu

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Sagra.

Basharat-
pur.

Muirabad.

Sharanpur.

Native
congrega-
tions at
Calcutta

Sudan Seal, whom we have met with before as a convert and catechist at Karachi. Thakurpuker, hard by, the former scene of Mr. Long's labours, was also put under his charge. At Kistopore, a village on the Saltwater Lake east of Calcutta, a congregation of simple fishermen was ministered to by the Rev. Rajkristo Bose, a converted Hindu, who had been baptized by R. P. Greaves, had laboured zealously as a catechist, and was ordained in 1870.

A Native congregation of a different character was provided with a pastor in 1870. It comprised the Christian servants, mostly Tamils, in the European families residing at Ootacamund, the chief sanatorium in South India. At that time there were over two hundred of them, of whom eighty-five were communicants. The pastor was a Tamil clergyman from Tinnevely. His principal trial with his people was the habit of intoxication, which is not uncommon among the servant class.

and
Ootaca-
mund.

The whole number of Native Christian adherents, of all ages, including candidates for baptism, connected with the Society's India Missions at the close of our period, 1872, was 70,000, of whom only 13,000 were communicants—a small proportion, indicating a low average of spirituality. It has much risen since then. There were then, in fact, in the South, no less than 13,000 unbaptized people "under Christian instruction," who are included in the figures; while in the Krishnagar district, the condition of the nominal Christian community was still very unsatisfactory.

Low pro-
portion of
communi-
cants.

One important branch of missionary work for the Native Christians was the education of their children, especially with a view to the best of them becoming teachers themselves in after years. But except in Tinnevely—the system of which has been already noticed—this work was still in its infancy in the period under review. The children attended the Vernacular Schools, and in some cases the High Schools; and some were received as boarders into the Orphanages, or into Boarding-schools for Girls like the well-known one carried on by Mrs. Sharkey at Masulipatam. There was also training for young men as school-teachers, at Benares and Krishnagar, and in Tinnevely and Travancore. One of the most interesting institutions calls for a passing notice—the Sarah Tucker Institution at Palamcottah, the foundation of which, in memory of John Tucker's sister, has before been mentioned. It was designed to train Christian girls as school-mistresses. From 1859 to 1865 it was carried on by one of the few ladies employed by the Society in those days, Miss Mary Richards, who had been infant-schoolmistress at St. Michael's, Bristol. After six years' service, she married an officer and retired. Then the Committee engaged Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Lash to go out and take charge. Mr. Lash was ordained by Bishop Gell; and at the beginning of 1868 the Institution started on a new lease of life. From that time it flourished greatly; and its influence became far-reaching over the Province of Tinnevely, when handsome donations from Miss H. Usborne enabled Mr.

Education
for Native
Christian
children.

Sarah
Tucker In-
stitution.

PART VII. 1862-72. Chap. 61. Lash to start what were called Branch Schools in several of the towns and villages, to be worked by Sarah Tucker students. These were day-schools for caste-girls, the daughters of Brahmans, Vellalars, &c., who were never sent to the ordinary village schools of the Mission. A solution was thus provided for the question, "When you have trained your Christian girls in the Sarah Tucker, where and how are you going to find them employment as teachers?" And many of these young Tamil women became, in their way, valuable missionaries in places where there was no Mission agency but the caste-girls' schools. In some cases they married catechists, and then opened schools of the kind in the places where their husbands were stationed.

Peter
Cator Exa-
minations.

Another agency for the good of the young Christian students of South India was furnished by the liberality of Mr. Peter Cator, who had been a judge at Madras, and who on his return to England joined the C.M.S. Committee. He invested a sum of money, the interest of which, amounting to £50 a year, was to be expended in prizes, chiefly, but not exclusively, for Bible knowledge, to be competed for by students in schools and colleges; and by the trust-deed he gave the administration of the fund to the C.M.S. Corresponding Committee at Madras. The first examination was in 1862, and ever since then they have attracted many competitors, and done much to foster Scripture study. The majority of the candidates are of course Native Christians, and they come from the institutions of various Churches and Societies, S.P.G. and C.M.S., L.M.S. and the Free Church of Scotland, &c.; but special prizes are offered to non-Christians, and thus a kind of evangelistic agency is provided, Hindu and Moslem boys being led to study the Bible carefully. Which circumstance may serve to turn our thoughts now to the other branch of our subject—evangelistic work among non-Christians.

Work
among
non-
Christians.

Village
preaching.

Evangelistic preaching, of course, was a primary and regular method at all stations. Even where a missionary had several schools to be visited and classes to be taught, he never—or scarcely ever—failed to "cast his bread upon the waters" by bazaar preaching, or village itineration, or some other form of direct proclamation of the Gospel, particularly at the great *melas* or religious festivals, when thousands were accessible. Village preaching pure and simple was already producing considerable fruit in the Telugu country. In 1872, J. E. Padfield wrote: "We have much cause for joy and rejoicing at the workings of the Spirit amongst the poorer portion of the rural population. The seed cast abroad in faith during twelve years is now rapidly springing up. From village after village the cry comes for a teacher of the word of life. No sooner is a fresh post occupied than urgent entreaties come from another still further on. . . . In my last tour, I brought away no less than fifty-two idols, given up by new inquirers." This Telugu

movement gradually spread into the adjoining great Native State of Hyderabad, usually called the Nizam's Territory. Not less interesting was another movement in the villages round Aurangabad, on quite the other side of that State, bordering on the Bombay Presidency. The Gospel was carried thither by Native Christians from Nasik, and from 1860 onwards there were a good many baptisms yearly. In 1870 this growing Mission was committed (as already indicated) to the excellent converted Parsee, the Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji.

One new field of systematic itineration must be noticed, which is connected with the name of a famous missionary. The North Tinnevely Itinerant Mission, started by Ragland, became gradually absorbed into the regular "Tinnevely system," as village after village "placed itself under instruction," and Native catechists and schoolmasters were stationed at them; and Ragland's plan was now applied to another field. David Fenn, one of his original comrades, began itineration on the same lines in the country districts around Madras in 1867, and was joined for short periods by R. C. Macdonald, V. W. Harcourt, George Maxwell Gordon, and W. P. Schaffter. Gordon, who has already been introduced in this History as a candidate for missionary service, was appointed by the Committee to this new Madras Itinerancy; and the letters printed in his biography* give a vivid picture of the tent life to which he took so kindly, and which prepared him for his more important labours in after years in the Punjab. He was for four years connected with Madras—which period, however, included his visit to Australia (of which more hereafter) and other changes for the benefit of his health; and ultimately he was compelled to abandon the climate of South India. The Itinerancy was carried on for several years, and became known as the Palaveram Mission, from the name of the district chiefly worked; and to its care were transferred some old S.P.G. congregations in the neighbouring Punamalli district.† In 1880 the whole work was handed over to the Madras (C.M.S.) Native Church Council.

The ordinary station missionary has many ways of spreading the glad tidings of salvation besides bazaar preaching and cold-weather itineration. His groups of vernacular primary schools not only give direct teaching to the children, but give him opportunities from time to time of coming in contact with the parents. The catechists working under his direction bring him inquirers for private conversation. He makes friends with the leading Natives in the town, and they soon know what his one absorbing thought about them is.‡ The town work, however, has never been so

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Madras
Itinerancy.

George
Maxwell
Gordon.

Evange-
listic work
in towns.

* *George Maxwell Gordon, the Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab*, by the Rev. A. Lewis. (Seeley & Co., 1889.)

† Transfers and exchanges between the two Societies were not infrequent. The S.P.G. *Digest*, which is on the whole a model of accuracy, does not happen to mention this one.

‡ A graphic picture of "domiciliary visitation," as calls on Native gentlemen are termed, is given in Vaughan's *Trident, Crescent, and Cross*, p. 259.

PART VII. outwardly successful as the village work. It influences individuals rather than communities. In Benares or Agra, for example, there are no whole villages or clans to "come under instruction," as in the South. All the circumstances are different. Leupolt of

Results at
Benares.

Benares, on retiring in 1872 after forty years' service, made an analysis of all the baptisms there during that time. The total number baptized was 1451; but of these, only 131 were direct converts from Heathenism, won either through preaching or through school work. Of the rest, 655 were the children of Christians, either of those same converts or of others who came to live at Benares; and these children had grown up and become a part of the Native Christian community of the North-West Provinces, either in Benares or elsewhere. The remaining 665 were orphans, taken into the Orphanage in famine times, thus brought under Christian teaching and influence, and in due time admitted to the visible Church. Of the mission agents taken into employ from time to time, seventy-seven had been orphans, and fifteen converts from Heathenism. This analysis gives a good idea of the particular lines on which, in North India, the Visible Christian Church was growing. At the same time, interesting converts were being gathered in some places from among very low and despised people. H. W. Shackell, the Cambridge scholar who had been sent to the Agra College to use there his sanctified learning, found his happiest and most fruitful work among the *mehtars*, the sweepers and scavengers of the city; and J. Vaughan, at Calcutta, was bringing lepers to Him who could say to their souls, "I will; be thou clean."

Work
among the
lowest
classes.

Education
as an evan-
gelistic
agency.

Of evangelistic methods, one of the most important is Education. There cannot be a greater mistake than to distinguish, as is so often done, between Educational Missions and Evangelistic Missions. What is meant by the latter phrase, no doubt, is bazaar or itinerant preaching; but this is only one branch of evangelistic work. Education, if for non-Christians, is another. Opinions may naturally differ as to the value of education as an evangelistic agency; but the one purpose of Missionary Societies in undertaking it is that it shall be so, and this ought never for one moment to be disputed. Of course many missionary educational institutions, such as Boarding Schools, Training Institutions, Divinity Colleges, &c., are for Christians, and these are not in question. What we have to do with are schools and colleges for non-Christians. Of these there are three kinds, Vernacular, Anglo-Vernacular, and English. In the first, the native language alone is used; in the second, English is taught, and used; in the third, a knowledge of English is assumed, and all lectures are in English. The first class of schools date from the earliest commencement of Missions; the second and third date from Dr. Duff's great experiment.

Vernacular
Schools.

Vernacular Schools are part of the ordinary machinery of a mission station in India; and in 1872 the C.M.S. was carrying on about eight hundred of them, containing about 26,000 boys and

7000 girls. During our period, a new plan was worked by the Christian Vernacular Education Society, an organization started as a memorial of the Mutiny by Christian men of various Protestant denominations. In some parts of India, particularly in Bengal, there were some thousands of little independent native schools, taught, of course, by Heathen teachers. The C.V.E.S. offered these teachers a capitation grant (only one anna, or three halfpence, monthly) on the attendance of their scholars, on condition that the school was put under the supervision of a Native Christian Inspector, who should have charge of a "Circle" of such schools, and give Bible lessons to the children in them at his discretion. This ingenious device was successful, and in a few years 4000 children were thus receiving Christian teaching.* The same society did useful work by establishing Training Institutions for Vernacular Schoolmasters. In these schemes Henry Venn and the C.M.S. Committee took a keen and sympathetic interest.

But Missionary Education is generally understood to mean High Schools and Colleges in which English is taught, and also used as a vehicle of instruction; and, in particular, in which students are prepared for the examinations of the Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, and Madras Universities. The success of these examinations, and of institutions that prepare students for them, in attracting "Young India," we have seen in our preceding chapter; and most of the Missionary Societies were now fully convinced of the importance of establishing good schools and colleges on a Christian basis, as a means of bringing boys and youths of the middle and upper classes under Christian teaching and influence; that is, of carrying out Duff's system more and more vigorously. The whole problem was frequently discussed in the C.M.S. Committee, and in the pages of the *C.M. Intelligencer*. It is not necessary here to do more than notice briefly what the Society was practically doing in this direction. In North India, three of its institutions were affiliated to the Calcutta University, which enabled students who had matriculated to prosecute in them their studies for the degrees of F.A. ("First Arts") and B.A., thus continuing under Christian influence and teaching while so engaged. These were Jay Narain's School at Benares, St. John's College at Agra, and the new Cathedral Mission College at Calcutta, the establishment of which, at Bishop Cotton's suggestion, was noticed in our last chapter. Besides these there were Anglo-Vernacular Schools at several stations, teaching up to the Entrance Examination but no further. In Western India there was the Robert Money School at Bombay, an institution of this second-class type. In the South, the only affiliated college was Mr. Noble's School at Masulipatam; but there was a High School at Ellore, also in the Telugu Mission, and another at Palamcottah; and there was the

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The
C.V.E.S.

Colleges
and High
Schools.

C.M.S.
Colleges.

* See an account of the system in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1868; also an eloquent eulogy of it by Sir Herbert Edwardes, in his *Life*, vol. ii. p. 404.

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Non-
Christian
masters.

Unfair to
judge by
conver-
sions.

Yet the
conver-
sions have
been im-
portant.

Noble's
Caste
School.

Harris School at Madras for Mohammedans, and the Cottayam College in Travancore. All these needed able and scholarly men at their head,—men also of real spiritual power, to use earnestly and wisely such opportunities of winning souls for Christ. One drawback was the inevitable necessity of employing Heathen and Mohammedan assistant-teachers, because Native Christians of sufficient education were still comparatively few, and there was a keen competition for them. Of course the non-Christian masters taught only secular subjects, such as mathematics;* but still the personal influence of Christian masters was earnestly desired, and every effort was made to substitute them for the others.

It would be unfair to judge these Schools and Colleges by the number of direct conversions among the students. No man applies such a test to a Public School or College at home: it is enough for even the most particular parent if the institution to which he sends his son is conducted on sound religious principles; yet is a clerical headmaster of a great English School less responsible before God for his boys than a missionary who is Principal of a School in India? Even if there be no direct conversions, the School, if rightly conducted, is an evangelistic agency: that is, it makes known the Gospel and invites the scholars to embrace it; and bazaar preaching can of itself do no more, and in fact does less. Moreover, the influence of such a School on the general preparation of the non-Christian mind is by no means to be despised. Still, the missionary *aims* at conversions, and prays for them; and in scarcely one—if one—of the C.M.S. High Schools was he disappointed, though in most of them the number was few. From the old Tinnevely English School, under its blind master Mr. Cruickshanks, thirty-six scholars came out boldly and confessed Christ in baptism during his twenty-seven years—a notable result if cases are *weighed* as well as counted—Sathianadhan was one of them. From Robert Noble's School came several converts, including nine Brahmans, whose influence for good as leaders, clerical or lay, in the Telugu Church has been incalculable. Here a specialty of Noble's work may be referred to. He allowed the caste system to prevail, to this extent—that a low-caste or no-caste boy was not admitted. It was his view that to admit such an one would be like receiving a ragged-school boy at Eton; but the cases are not quite parallel. The C.M.S. Committee were not happy about Noble's system; and while in deference to him, they forbore to direct it to be changed, they did direct that at the Ellore School in the same Mission there should be no conditions

* But in many primary village schools, all the daily teaching is necessarily given by non-Christian masters, including the reading and learning of Scripture. There are not nearly enough Christian masters to man such schools; but the regular religious instruction is given by visiting superintendents who are Christians. It was in this way that all missionary education in India originally began (see our Fifteenth Chapter); but now, year by year, more Christian teachers are available.

as to caste. This order, though not affecting him, led Noble to think he had lost their confidence; and his resignation was with difficulty averted. About the same time, in the North, John Barton was acting on the opposite principle, and braving serious difficulties at St. John's College, Agra, rather than exclude a scholar (a Christian boy) of the sweeper class. Out of five hundred pupils, two hundred left, mostly boys in the upper classes of the School; but Barton declined to yield, and in this decision he was strongly supported by Bishop Cotton.* The result was the starting of an opposition school by the Brahmans; but St. John's soon recovered its position, and an important victory over caste tyranny had been gained. In justice to Noble, however, it should be added that the power of caste is not so great in the North of India as in the South.

Another difficulty in the working of High Schools arose from the conditions under which Government grants-in-aid were made. It was part of Sir Charles Wood's great Scheme of Education in 1854 † to assist voluntary schools—whether missionary or otherwise—by grants-in-aid, on such conditions as might secure efficiency; and thus to promote the more rapid spread of education by enlisting non-official zeal in the cause. Lord Ellenborough and Sir G. Clerk, in pursuance of their anti-Christian policy,‡ tried to alter this; but an able Minute by Mr. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, prevented their succeeding, and when Sir C. Wood again came into office under Lord Palmerston, his wise policy was resumed. Some of the local Indian Governments, however, made very onerous conditions for the grants, as for example, that the missionary in charge must teach secular subjects for four hours a day. The C.M.S. Committee engaged in vigorous controversy on these points, and obtained, through Sir C. Wood, important concessions from the Bengal and Madras Governments. In the Punjab, no concessions were called for; the judicious and Christian rulers of that highly-favoured Province were too sensible of the value of missionary co-operation to burden their grants with conditions that could not be accepted. The Missionary Societies were also pressing the authorities to expend more of the money voted for Education upon Primary Vernacular Education, and less upon the Higher Education of the few who could well afford to pay for it themselves; and the Duke of Argyll, when Secretary of State for India in 1870, responded favourably to a weighty memorial on the subject. Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, was also favourable; but the Education Departments in India were not. The results we shall see hereafter.

Work among women was progressing, though slowly. Most of the Societies now had Women's Branches. The C.M.S. had not, as the Committee looked to the Female Education Society and the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society to supply

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Barton ignores caste at Agra.

Grants-in-aid from Government.

Work among women.

* *Life of Bishop Cotton*, p. 289.

† See p. 240.

‡ See pp. 223, 246, 251.

PART VII. the need; and we have before seen how, in view of this, they
1862-72. declined the offers of ladies to go out in direct C.M.S. connexion.
Chap. 61. But the C.M.S. owed more to these two Societies than the being
 relieved by them of an important branch of work. It owed to them
 the wives of some of the missionaries. Long before our present
 period, as far back as 1839, Leupolt of Benares married Jane C.
 Jones, of Burdwan, the very first lady sent out by the F.E.S. to
 India. The work of single women, indeed, was still in its infancy
 even at the end of our present period; and the few employed
 by the I.F.N.S. were mostly Eurasians, trained in the Calcutta
 Normal School. In 1869, the I.F.N.S. had five English
 ladies at Calcutta, and Eurasian or Native teachers at Benares,
 Lucknow, Meerut, and Lahore; and in Travancore Miss
The wives. Blandford had begun in 1863. But the missionaries' wives were
 doing the great bulk of the work, Mrs. Sandys at Calcutta in
 particular; and here and there a missionary's widow, as Mrs.
 Andrews at Madras; while there were wives of Native clergymen,
 like Mrs. Sorabji of Poona and Mrs. Satthianadhan of Madras,
 who were showing what valuable influence a Native Christian
 lady might exercise.

One branch of missionary work which is now recognized as
 among the most important—Medical Missions—is still younger
 than Zenana Missions. In the period under review they were
 scarcely beginning in India. The one C.M.S. medical missionary,
Medical Elmslie of Kashmir, will be introduced in the chapter on the
Missions. Punjab.

Another important branch, by no means young, but rarely
 noticed, is the translation of Scriptures into native languages, and
 the preparation of Gospel tracts for distribution, and of works on the
 non-Christian religions for the use of the more educated of their
 professors. All this comes under the Evangelistic department of
 Missions. Then also there is the translation of the Prayer-book, of
 hymns, of devotional and theological books, and the preparation
 of an indigenous Christian literature; all which, being for the
 benefit of the Native Christians, belongs to the Pastoral department
 of Missions. In all these labours, the C.M.S. missionaries have
 taken an active part. They have combined with the missionaries
 of all Protestant Societies in the preparation, and in the revision, of
 Versions of the Bible in the various languages; and they have com-
Work of bined with other Churchmen, particularly with the S.P.G. mission-
translation aries, in translating the Prayer-book. Revisions of one or more
and prepa- Versions are always going on, with a view to removing imper-
ration of fections. India in the nineteenth century has in this respect been like
Christian England in the sixteenth. It is much to be wished that some
books. systematic record of all that has been done were available.* An ex-
 tremely interesting article in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1873,

Bible and
Prayer-
book.

* The S.P.G. *Digest* contains a complete and valuable list of all the translations and publications done by its missionaries, or in which they have taken part.

by Ashton Dibb, C.M.S. missionary in Tinnevely, gives a history of the successive versions of the Tamil Bible, under the title of "The Tamil Book and Its Story." A very vivid idea of the difficulties of the work can be gained from this article. Among controversial works, the most important have been those by Dr. Pfander, on Mohammedanism and Christianity, referred to in our Forty-second Chapter; and those of the Rev. Dr. Imad-ud-din on the same subject, to be noticed hereafter. Tracts of all kinds were of course very numerous. One of them is worthy of special mention. In 1863, there suddenly appeared all over South India—no one knew how—a document in four languages headed, "Rama Victorious: Proclamation of Vasanta Rayar," announcing the immediate advent of the "Illustrious King" (*Vasanta Rayar* in Tamil) to overthrow British rule and bring in general prosperity. Sargent of Tinnevely immediately wrote and printed a tract entitled, "Truth Victorious: Glorious News of the True Vasanta Rayar," in which, in the form of dialogues between different readers of the proclamation, he most cleverly exposed its fallacies and pointed to Christ as the real coming King.*

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Contro-
versial
works.

Sargent's
tract.

But publishers were wanted as well as writers; and Missions in India owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Auxiliary Bible Societies, Tract and Book Societies, and Christian Knowledge Committees, established in the Presidency cities in connexion respectively with the Bible Society, Tract Society, and S.P.C.K., at home. They and their work will call for further notice in a future chapter.

Book So-
cieties.

Two branches of missionary work in which the Society was engaged—or rather, missionary work among two special sections of the population—have such peculiar features that they are more conveniently treated separately than under the foregoing divisions. (1) During our present period, and indeed a little before it, the Society was led to seek the evangelization of some of the Non-Aryan Hill Tribes, Santals, Gonds, Kois, &c. To these, however, a chapter will be devoted in our next Part, so we pass them over now with this bare mention. (2) Efforts to reach the Mohammedans ought to be separately noted, although they have already been incidentally referred to in various parts of this chapter. In the cities of North India, such as Agra and Lucknow, where Moslems are numerous, the general missionary operations are directed as much to them as to the Hindus. The same language, Hindustani, suffices. But in Bombay where the vernacular is Marathi, and in Madras where it is Tamil or Telugu, Hindustani is still needed for the bulk of the Mohammedans, and therefore missionaries have to be told off for work among them. Intermittently and inadequately, however, has this been done; and great has been the faith and patience called for in the few that have given themselves to it. The Harris School at Madras was

Work
among
Non-
Aryan
tribes.

Work
among
Moslems.

* A full account of this curious episode, with extracts from Sargent's tract, appeared in the *C.M. Gleaner* of May, June, and July, 1874.

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Deimler at
Bombay.

avoided by the Moslems for whose benefit it was established, on account of the Bible being read and taught; and now and again the suggestion was made that Hindus should also be received—which the Committee again and again negatived. At Bombay, J. G. Deimler laboured for many years with great perseverance, preaching in the streets in Hindustani, and attending at the book-shop to converse with visitors there—a good plan in Moslem lands. He had two or three faithful catechists, converts from Islam, one of whom, Daoud Mokham, was on one occasion stabbed in the street and seriously wounded. Many inquirers appeared from time to time: most of them from doubtful motives, who sorely disappointed the missionary; a few who came out boldly for baptism and remained faithful to the Lord. Deimler also gave special attention to the rescued slaves from East Africa who were brought to Bombay by British cruisers, as we have already seen. But it was in the Punjab, and on the Afghan Frontier, that the most important work among Mohammedans was done; and that we take in a separate chapter.

Mission-
ary Con-
ferences in
India.

We have thus passed in brief review the various methods of C.M.S. work in India—"diversities of operations" indeed. It is a happy thing that the missionary brethren themselves, of many societies and denominations, have found it well to confer with one another from time to time regarding these varied methods, and to compare notes regarding the progress of their respective Missions. In the Presidency cities there are organized Conferences meeting monthly for the discussion of various topics; and gatherings on a smaller scale are held in some other places where more than one Mission is represented. But especially interesting and profitable have been the larger Conferences, either for all India or for a Province. The first of these, the Bengal Conference held at Calcutta in 1855, has been before mentioned. So also has the Punjab Conference held at Lahore at the end of 1862. There was also one for the North-West Provinces, at Benares, in 1857, and one for South India, at Ootacamund, in 1858. But the first General Missionary Conference for all India, held at Allahabad at the end of 1872, calls for special notice.

General
Conference
at Allah-
abad.

The idea of such a meeting occurred to the Rev. John Barton, of the C.M.S., and to Mr. H. E. Perkins, then a civil officer of rank, while on the voyage back to India after furlough in 1871; and they mentioned it to the Rev. John Newton, of the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, who was also on board. On reaching India they conferred with other brethren; and the result of much correspondence was the assembling of 136 members (122 missionaries and 14 independent persons) at Allahabad at Christmas, 1872. They represented nineteen Societies, of which the C.M.S. sent 25 members; the American Presbyterians, 21; the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, 18; the L.M.S., 13; the Free Church of Scotland, 12; the Baptists, 10; and so on. Among

them were 28 Natives of India. No important body was un-
 represented, except the S.P.G.—much to the detriment of
 Church of England Missions as a whole.

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The proceedings of the Allahabad Conference are contained in a stout octavo volume of 575 pages, published at Madras in 1873. It is by far the most comprehensive account of Indian Missions that had appeared up to that time; and it is only now exceeded in value by the similar Reports of the two other General Conferences that have been held since—for the meeting has become a decennial one. The subjects at Allahabad were grouped under seven heads, viz., Prayer for the Holy Spirit, Preaching, Education and the Educated Classes, Medical Missions, the Native Church, the Press, and Miscellaneous. Among the most notable papers were, on Preaching to Hindus, by Dr. John Wilson of Bombay (a perfect masterpiece); on work among Mohammedans, by T. V. French and Imad-ud-din and Safdar Ali (two converts to be mentioned in a future chapter); on Higher Education, by S. Dyson, and by Miller of Madras (both most able); on Missions to Women, by Mrs. Winter, wife of the veteran S.P.G. missionary at Delhi, and daughter of T. Sandys (C.M.S.) of Calcutta—(she was not present, but sent her paper); on the Training of Native Agents, by T. Spratt of Tinnevely; on the Native Church in South India, by W. T. Saththianadhan; on the Indian Church of the Future, by John Barton; on Industrial Missions, by A. Wenger of the Basle Mission; on Bible Translation, Vernacular Literature, &c., by Dr. Wenger, Baptist, by T. S. Wynkoop, American Presbyterian, and by J. E. Payne, L.M.S.; on Hindrances, by J. M. Thoburn, American Episcopal Methodist (now bishop); on Progress and Prospects, by M. A. Sherring, L.M.S. Among other C.M.S. men who took part were R. Clark, B. Davis, W. S. Price, H. W. Shackell, J. Vaughan, J. S. S. Robertson, &c. The subject on which most difference of opinion appeared was naturally Higher Education; but except the Baptists and one or two American Presbyterians and Methodists, almost all were strongly in favour of it. The chairmen were senior missionaries of seven leading Societies in turn. The Bishop of Calcutta (Milman) was invited to preside on the first day, but declined. There was a Communion Service, J. Barton and J. S. S. Robertson administering in the Church of England form. The final address on the last day was given by Dr. Murray Mitchell of the Free Church of Scotland. An Appendix to the Report contains Statistical Tables, Statistics of Vernacular Literature, and a notice of Roman Catholic Missions.

Subjects
 and
 speakers.

The Decennial Statistical Returns of Missions in India, a
 summary of which this Report gives, were first planned by Dr.
 Mullens of the L.M.S. in 1851. They have since been collected
 at the end of each decade. The two decades, 1851-61 and 1861-71,
 correspond roughly with the preceding and present sections of
 our History, and the figures, therefore, well illustrate the results
 of the work during the two periods. In 1851, the total of Christian

Decennial
 Statistics.

PART VII. adherents connected with Protestant Missions was 93,739. In 1862-72. 1861 it was 138,577. In 1871, it was 211,497. The *rate* of increase, therefore, was higher in the latter decade than in the former; and the details show that although the largest absolute increase in the second decade (our present period) was, as might be expected, in the Madras Presidency, the largest relative increase was in the Bengal and the North, principally due to the successful Missions to aboriginal tribes. The increase in the C.M.S. Missions in this second decade was from 51,000 to 70,000.

Church's
failure to
seize a
great op-
portunity.

But the failure of the Church at home to take advantage of the openings and opportunities of the period in India is significantly and sadly illustrated by the fact that the number of C.M.S. missionaries, which in the preceding period rose from 54 to 107—just double,—only rose in the eleven years of the period now before us from 107 to 109, an increase of two! The lesson is a plain and a solemn one. Why did not Evangelical Churchmen, when challenged, as we have seen that they were at this time, to throw their whole energies into this or that home controversy, reply in the words of Nehemiah? In his day, it was a band of heretics and schismatics that challenged his attention; and his answer was, “I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and come down to you?” But did he neglect means of defence against them? Nay, every builder had his sword at his side, ready for use if attacked. But if they had left the building to go out and take the offensive against their foes in the field, where would the wall have been? It is often said that Church Extension is the best Church Defence. Certainly the preaching of the Gospel is the best way of championing the Gospel. And the fearless and unshrinking fulfilment of the one great Commission of the Divine Head of the Church would have been the surest way of spreading Evangelical Truth. For it is obedience that brings blessing.

CHAPTER LXII.

INDIA : DEATH AND LIFE.

Deaths of Missionaries in this Period—H. Baker, Peet, Hawksworth, &c.—Schaffter, J. T. Tucker, John Thomas—John Devasagayam, P. Simeon, V. Sandosham—T. Brotherton—Robert Noble—The Cyclone at Masulipatam—Noble's Converts—Other Losses—Deaths of Young Missionaries in the Punjab—J. W. Knott—Tulsi Paul—R. P. Greaves—T. Sandys and W. Smith—"From Death unto Life": Conversions—Safdar Ali—Native Christian Death-beds.

"That they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."—Rev. xiv. 13.

"Passed from death unto life."—St. John v. 24.



IN the beautiful prayer used at the meetings of the C.M.S. Committee of Correspondence, we ask God to support our missionary brethren "under spiritual distresses, temptations of the adversary, bodily sickness, domestic anxieties, and hope deferred." All these are trials indeed, in every part of the Mission-field. But there is another trial which might well deserve to be added to this list—the death of fellow-labourers; which of itself is sometimes the cause of every one of the others. It may be the death of a promising young recruit; it may be the death of one who has in a few years grown into his work, and seems marked out for a long career of blessing; it may be the death of a veteran who has deliberately put aside the attraction of an honoured old age in the homeland, and has determined to end his days among the people for whom he has lived and laboured. Of course, in every section of our History since the earliest, losses of all three classes of workers have had to be recorded. But in the period now under review, the India Missions lost, on the field, so many of their best men, that it seems well in this chapter to bring them together, to stand in succession beside their graves, and thus to recognize the more clearly the abundant goodness of the Lord in giving such men to the work.

South India was the chief sufferer by the deaths of veterans, or of men of experience but in the prime of life. Within five years, 1862-67, P. P. Schaffter, J. Hawksworth, J. Peet, R. T. Noble, J. T.

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Deaths
in the
Mission-
field.

Veterans
in South
India.

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Tucker, H. Baker, senior, and H. Andrews, were removed, one after the other, after services respectively of thirty, twenty-three, thirty-two, twenty-four, twenty-four, forty-seven, and eleven years; and three years later, in 1870, died John Thomas, after thirty-three years' service. Thus one group of Missions lost in eight years eight men after an average missionary career of twenty-eight years. Six of them died at their posts; one at sea when on his voyage back to his post after furlough; one in England, a few months after his arrival invalided. In the same period the senior Native clergyman of Tinnevely, and the two senior Native clergymen of Travancore, were also taken, after thirty-four, twenty-six, and twenty-three years' service respectively in the ministry, besides in each case several years of previous lay work as catechist.

Veteran
Native
Clergy.

Henry
Baker, sen.

Let us first look at the Travancore men. Henry Baker, senior, we met long ago as the fifth Englishman trained for holy orders by the Society. For forty-seven years he laboured with untiring zeal, only taking one furlough in the whole of that time. In a small boat rowed by three coolies, he was wont to traverse the rivers and lagoons of Travancore, preaching to the Heathen, visiting the schools, encouraging and instructing the converts, as year by year they increased by hundreds. Several of the churches and schools which he visited he had erected at his own expense, his little private means being wholly devoted to the work. He may be called the Psalmist of the Anglican Church in Travancore, his perfect knowledge of the Malayalam language, and also (which is not usual in South India) of the classical Sanscrit—of which many words occur even in the Dravidian tongues—enabling him to write real native poetry. He died quietly and without pain, July 22nd, 1866. His son, Henry Baker, junior, perpetuated for twelve more years his honoured name in the Mission; his widow, one of the well-known Kohlhoff family of S.P.C.K. Lutheran missionaries in Tanjore, lived on, a true mother in Israel, for ten years beyond that; three of his daughters married missionaries; his daughter-in-law long linked the name of Baker with the work; and his grand-daughter does so still.

Joseph
Peet.

We have taken Baker first, as the oldest veteran; but Travancore lost in our period two admirable missionaries before him. Joseph Peet was one of the most remarkable men ever on the Society's roll. We have already, in our Forty-fifth Chapter, had just a glimpse of his work in the fanatical Brahman town of Mavelicara. Let us now see the principles on which he worked. They were very definite, and some of them would not be endorsed by all; but he stated them afresh after more than twenty years' experience, and they are worth recording:—

His state-
ment of
principles.

- "1. That he should not undertake any indirect labour that might unfit or prevent him doing the work of an evangelist; and therefore,
- "2. That he could not advocate Mission orphanages and similar establishments, these being the work of a Christian Church; whereas

his business is to raise that Church from, in the first instance, the adult population. PART VII.
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"3. From historical knowledge, years before he came to India, he had learned to know, and, in India, afterwards saw, the practical evil of establishing workshops, &c. By this the first missionaries in Bengal voluntarily placed their Mission, in Hindu estimation, on a caste level with the despised low classes and outcastes; and, not to speak of the folly of hoping to compete with Indian mechanics, those low castes would necessarily oppose it, for trying to deprive them of the profits of labour. Chap. 62.

"4. Another principle has been, never, as a rule, to give temporary support to any adults, under the plea that embracing Christianity deprives them of the means of gaining a livelihood. It is a home-supported mistake, which at least generates a puny, stunted, slavish spirit. It creates a hot-bed race, usually requiring a constant dependence on Mission support, which failing, the people are scattered to the winds; and at best it produces an unfitness to bear, or to honour, the cross of Christ in the midst of an opposing blaspheming race.

"5. Above all, or including all, the principle of this Mission has been to repudiate and entirely ignore caste in every form."

The result of Peet's work was a Christian community of 2500 souls, assembling regularly in eleven substantial churches built by his exertions and in numerous smaller prayer-houses. Eight of the Malayalam clergy had been more or less under his training, and some of them were his spiritual children. One of the latest tokens of his ministry was a remarkable Brahman family of ten persons, father, mother, three grown-up sons, the wife of one of them, a mother-in-law, and three younger sons. The mother had had from her childhood doubts about the truth of the religion she was brought up in; but she never dared to mention them, until one day her husband was reading to her some Bible stories which, with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, had been given him by some Syrian Christians, when she exclaimed, "That is the truth I have long been seeking!" The whole family continued reading the Scriptures, and at length were discovered by a catechist, who brought Peet to them. They were all baptized together in 1861, amid tremendous excitement and the bitter reproaches of relatives and friends.* The father was baptized by the name of Cornelius Justus; and the sons, according to local custom, took the name of Justus as well as their own baptismal names, Joseph, Jacob, Matthew, John, Philip, Samuel. The mother was named Sarah, the young wife Mary, and her mother Elizabeth. All became consistent Christians; and the eldest son, Joseph, was sent to the Cambridge Nicholson Institution at Cottayam for training. In 1864, Peet was invalided to England; but he could not stay away from his people, and he entreated the Society to let him go back and die among them. Leave could not be refused, and within a few weeks of his arrival in England he sailed again for India.

Results of
his work.

Conversion
of a whole
Brahman
family.

* The full narrative, which is of thrilling interest, appeared in the *C.M. Record* of September, 1862, and the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1862.

PART VII. On August 11th, 1865, he entered into rest, with Charlotte 1862-72. Elliott's hymn upon his dying lips :—
Chap. 62.

Death of
Peet.

“ Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come ! ”

The inscription he had himself put on his first wife's tomb might well have been adapted to his own likewise—“ She lived for Christ. She died in Christ. She reigns with Christ.” Three months after his death, Justus Joseph, the young Brahman, was admitted by the Bishop of Madras to holy orders in the Church of England. How the great Enemy afterwards marred the good work, we shall see by-and-by.

John
Hawks-
worth.

John Hawksworth had been a Sunday-school teacher under Hugh Stowell of Manchester. One day, after attending the great Manchester C.M.S. Anniversary Meeting, he was visiting an old woman, and trying to interest her by telling what he had heard, and explaining how all might help, by prayer, contributions, collecting, &c., and in some cases by personal service. “ Why don't you go yourself ? ” suddenly said the old woman. It was God's call through a humble instrument. Hawksworth responded at once, offered to the Society, passed through Islington College, and went out in 1840. He proved a very superior man, and at one time he had charge of the Cambridge Nicholson Institution ; but his great work was among the slave population, and this has been already described in our Forty-third Chapter. He died of dysentery, universally beloved and lamented, January 23rd, 1863, at the age of forty-seven. He had married the sister of a fellow-student at Islington, John Mason (who was afterwards drowned in New Zealand), and Mason had married *his* sister. Mrs. Hawksworth remained in the Mission after her husband's death, and died in India. Two daughters were married to R. Collins and V. W. Harcourt.

Henry
Andrews.

Henry Andrews shared with Hawksworth the work among the slaves ; and having been a medical man before taking orders, he used his professional skill effectively for their benefit. When ill-health brought him to England, he deeply interested many meetings by his manly and vigorous speeches. On his return voyage to India, cholera broke out among the crew. Forbidding two young missionaries who were with him to risk infection, he ministered to the stricken sailors himself, caught the fell disease, and died on board, October 19th, 1866, in his fortieth year. Was not Andrews a true missionary martyr ? His excellent widow went on to India, and laboured for some years among the women and girls of Madras.

Matthan
and
Chandy.

Travancore also, as before mentioned, lost in our period its two senior Native clergymen, George Matthan and Jacob Chandy. Matthan, who was a Syrian Christian by birth, was educated at

Bishop Corrie's Grammar School at Madras and at the old C.M.S. Theological Institution there under J. H. Gray. He was ordained in 1844 by Bishop Spencer, and his name stands No. 8 on the roll of C.M.S. Native Clergy. He was greatly valued as a minister of Christ; and being a man of literary taste, he was able to enrich by his works the Christian vernacular literature of Travancore. His chief work of this kind was the translation of Butler's *Analogy* into Malayalam. He was Bishop Gell's Examining Chaplain for that language. He died March 4th, 1870. On August 2nd in the same year died his fellow-labourer Jacob Chandy, "blameless in life, faithful in death." Of the dying hours of both these brethren, touching accounts are given. It is in such accounts that we see the final proof of the reality of God's work in the Mission-field.

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Turning to Tinnevely, we find the commencement of our period—or rather the last month of the preceding period—signalized by the removal of the oldest member of the missionary band at that time, Paul Pacifique Schaffter. He was a Swiss, a Basle man in Lutheran orders, and went out in 1827. He joined in the secession that followed the disconnexion of Rhenius in 1835; but three years later he rejoined the Society. He was a district missionary of the old type, and did steady and excellent service. His two sons, W. P. Schaffter and H. J. Schaffter, became his worthy successors, and the latter is now the able Principal of the Tinnevely College. P. P. Schaffter's last letter to the C.M.S. Madras Corresponding Committee, written only a fortnight before his death (which occurred December 15th, 1861), contains a touching comparison of himself with St. Paul, evidently in reply to something the Madras Secretary had written to him:—

P. P.
Schaffter.

Was he
like
St. Paul?

"In a few particulars I have certainly some similarity with the great Apostle. Like him, I have been called by pure grace to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. Like him, I feel some desire to bring poor souls to the cross of Christ. Like him, I feel also that He assists my great weakness, and enables me in spirit and conversation in some degree to forget the things that are behind, and to stretch forward towards the things that are before—towards the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus. But this I believe is the portion of every missionary called by the grace of God. As to the other good and excellent gifts which shine so conspicuously in the Apostle, I know myself too well to lay any claim to them; and as I do not wish to think of myself higher than I ought to think, neither do I wish others to think so of me. I have a very merciful Saviour, and He enables me to walk in His ways. This is all I can boast of."

In 1866, J. T. Tucker died in England while on furlough. He had for more than twenty years been in charge of the Paneivilei district in Tinnevely. In that district and in that time he had baptized with his own hands over 2000 converts, besides 1000 more in a contiguous district, and not counting the children of Christians. He had seen forty devil-temples demolished by their former worshippers, and sixty simple village churches built upon

J. T.
Tucker.

His great
harvest.

PART VII. his own plans, besides the large central church at Paneivilei, in
 1862-72. which an average congregation of 1200 souls worshipped. Tucker
 Chap. 62. was not in any sense a brilliant man, or a leader of his fellows;
 but he was "single-minded, resolute, persevering, and it was ever
 in his thoughts to win men to Christ." He had been a young
 doctor before offering to the Society. What a mighty work he
 was permitted to do as a physician of souls, before he was called
 away at the early age of forty-eight! *

Another Tinnevely missionary, who laboured in the next dis-
 trict to Tucker's, Panikulam, and who also died (1871) while on
 furlough after twenty years' service, was John Whitchurch, one of
 the sons-in-law of Henry Baker, senior. He was another quiet,
 steady, spiritually-minded man.

But before him, in 1870, died one of the three greatest C.M.S.
 Tinnevely missionaries, John Thomas of Mengnanapuram (the
 other two being Rhenius and Sargent). We have before visited
 the "Village of True Wisdom" and its great church, the finest in
 South India, and its flourishing people, and its numerous Native
 clergy and catechists. In 1868, Thomas drew up a report embody-
 ing a retrospect of the thirty years' work which he had begun in
 1838.† In the Mengnanapuram district there were 125 villages in
 which there were some resident Christians, a few of them being
 entirely Christian. The number of professing Christians was
 11,000. In all the larger villages there were small churches or
 prayer-houses; also schools, every one of them taught by Christian
 teachers only; and fifty-four Native catechists were acting as quasi-
 pastors of the little bands of Christians under Thomas's supervision.
 Twelve of these he presented to Bishop Gell for ordination in
 January, 1869, on the memorable occasion mentioned in our last
 chapter. Practically Thomas was a bishop, in everything except
 the performance of distinctively episcopal functions. In the primi-
 tive Church, bishops often had smaller dioceses than the district
 of Mengnanapuram, though in area it is one of the smallest in
 Tinnevely. And certainly few of them had such a cathedral as
 St. David's Church, Mengnanapuram! The top-stone of its lofty
 spire was raised to its place in October, 1868, on the occasion of
 the visit of the Governor of Madras, Lord Napier of Merchistoun,
 with Lady Napier,—who not only saw the central station and its
 church and schools, but rode to outlying villages on purpose to see
 the less conspicuous work, and from that time gave unstinted
 testimony to the importance and value of Missions. It was
 little more than a year after that visit, and after the great ordina-
 tion, that John Thomas's fatal illness declared itself. Dr. Strachan,
 the experienced medical missionary at the neighbouring S.P.G.
 station of Nazareth,‡ treated him with loving and skilful care; but

* See his Memoir, entitled *Sowing and Reaping*, by the Rev. G. Pettitt (London, 1872).

† Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1868.

‡ Now Bishop of Rangoon.

John Whit-
church.

John
Thomas.

His virtual
episcopate.

His cathe-
dral.

His death.

he died on March 28th, 1870. Round his grave gathered the twelve Tamil clergymen, and a host of the people to whom he had been, not only a messenger from God, but a father and a friend.

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At John Thomas's dying request, his son, J. Davies Thomas, was appointed to succeed him. His widow and daughter also remained at Mengnanapuram, carrying on with loving devotion the Elliot Tuxford Girls' Boarding School; *and there they are still*, sixty years after Mrs. Thomas's first arrival there with her husband.

Tinnevely, like Travancore, also lost veteran Native clergymen at this time. On January 30th, 1864, died the Rev. John Devasagayam, the first ordained in South India, being No. 2 on the C.M.S. roll of Native clergy (No. 1 being Abdul Masih). His parents were Tranquebar Christians of Schwartz's time, and as a boy he himself had been a student under that great missionary. In 1815, when Rhenius went out to Madras, he was engaged by him as a catechist; and in 1820 he accompanied Rhenius to Tinnevely. In 1830 he was ordained by Bishop Turner of Calcutta; and during the greater part of his ministerial career he was pastor of Kadachapuram, where we have before seen him at work, and where he at length entered into rest, at the age of seventy-eight, after almost half a century's connexion with the Society. On the Sunday before his death, he was carried into his church in an arm-chair, to bid farewell to his people. He did not select his exhortation from the Gospel lesson of the day, as he had done before, but simply said:—

John
Devasaga-
yam.

His last
sermon.

“My dear friends, Jesus is precious. Don't despise Him as you have hitherto been doing. Don't despise Him by your acts. If you wish to do according to His will, you must earnestly pray to God to give you His Holy Spirit, to teach you and guide you in all your ways. This is all I should say to you. May God be with you all!”

Almost his last words were, “Tell the Madras Committee that I pray God to bless the Society more and more”; and the very last were, “Jesus is precious, precious, precious.” Some of the readers of this History were familiar in their childhood with the name of the Rev. John Devasagayam. Ought not a name then so justly honoured to be honoured still, to the glory of that “precious” Lord by whose grace alone he was made a faithful minister of the Gospel? Devasagayam's son, the Rev. Jesudasen John, was ordained in 1847, and laboured as a clergyman forty-two years. Another son, the Rev. Samuel John, is still a C.M.S. missionary at Madras. A daughter, Anna, became the wife of the Rev. W. T. Saththianadhan, and was widely known for her beautiful character and useful work. Their children, a clergyman, a Government Professor (Cambridge graduate), a clergyman's wife, and a layman's wife, are now among the leading Christians of Madras. The text we have before applied to English missionaries we may apply also to the old Tamil Christian veteran—“The

His sons
and
daughters.

PART VII. children of Thy servants shall continue, and their seed shall be
 1862-72. established before Thee.”
 Chap. 62.

P. Simeon. A few weeks after the death of Devasagayam, another veteran Tamil clergyman was called to his rest, the Rev. Paramanandham Simeon. He was not, like his older fellow-minister, a child of Christian parents. He was a convert direct from Heathenism, converted in 1835. He was the fourth Tamil ordained in connexion with the C.M.S., in 1851. He also was for some years in charge of a district, and himself baptized 1037 of his countrymen. Sargent wrote of him: “He was grave, studious, diligent, generous, and loving in his disposition. As pastor of a Native flock, he gained the confidence and esteem of his people.” He died in perfect peace, commending his wife and children to his Divine Master. His aged father came to see him, but was himself struck down by fever the day before his son was taken, and followed him into the presence of the Lord within five days, expressing with his latest breath his sure trust in Christ. “Such,” wrote Sargent, “was the end of two men, father and son, once worshippers of demons and dumb idols, then renewed and sanctified by the Spirit of Christ, and now, we trust, added to the multitude that no man can number who stand before the Throne and before the Lamb.” One of Simeon’s brothers was afterwards ordained, and, only a few years ago, two of his sons.

V. Sandosham.

One other Tamil clergyman must be mentioned, a man worthy to rank with that powerful and brilliant preacher, Paul Daniel, whom we met in our Forty-third Chapter. Vedhamanikham Sandosham’s early history is told in full detail in the autobiographical sketch which he had to write when a candidate for orders, which the Rev. W. Gray sent home to England, and which was (as an exceptional thing) published in the *C.M. Record* (July, 1862). He was one of the children of a Heathen family at Sathankulam, to whom a missionary gave a little medicine for the sick mother. The mother died, and the father and sons thereupon “got exceedingly enraged with the devil, pulled down the devil-houses in the house and garden, flung out the furniture, and ate all the victuals that had been prepared for the feast to the devil”—and began to read little books given them by the Mission. By J. T. Tucker and John Devasagayam they were instructed, and by the latter they were baptized—the father and seven sons—in 1842, receiving the family name of Sandosham (Joy). The experiences detailed in the rest of V. Sandosham’s sketch are singularly like the experiences of a young Christian in England, such as, fifty years ago, would have probably been recorded in a journal in much the same way. We see the good and industrious schoolboy, more anxious to win his master’s praise than to please God; we see him convicted of sin during an illness at the age of fourteen, crying to God for pardon, and vowing to live a godly life; we see him going in a right and humble spirit to Confirmation and Holy Communion; we see him sent to the Preparandi Institution,

His youthful experiences.

to be trained for mission service; we see him further convicted under the first sermon he heard from Sargent, and saying, "The whole of that sermon was preached for me"; we see him then in earnest prayer for the full blessing of the Spirit; we see him growing in grace. Then we see him married (early, of course, in India), commissioned as a catechist, preaching Christ up and down everywhere with all his soul and all his strength, and then presented for ordination in 1862. In due time he was appointed to a pastorate at Madras, and quickly won a great reputation as an earnest and powerful preacher. "As a preacher and speaker," wrote David Fenn, "I have often thought him the very first of Tamil ministers. His style was very simple; yet there was a freshness and fulness about all he said. I shall never forget an exposition he once gave at family prayers in my tent in North Tinnevely. He chose the Epistle to Philemon, and made you almost see Onesimus in the streets of Rome and Paul in his chains." This remarkable man died of small-pox, August 2nd, 1871.

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His powerful preaching.

Before leaving the Tamil country, we must not fail to mention one most devoted and highly-valued missionary, not of the C.M.S., but of the S.P.G.—Thomas Brotherton, whose life truly illustrated his name, for he was regarded by all the C.M.S. men as in a very special sense a brother beloved, a brother in evangelistic work and in the perfecting of the Tamil Bible. A Cambridge man (Corpus), he laboured in Tanjore, Tinnevely, and Madras, for thirty-three years. He died June 28th, 1869; and Bishop Gell, in his Charge delivered in the following October, used language regarding him which would be endorsed *ex animo* by men like Royston, Gray, Sargent, and Barton:—

Brotherton of S.P.G.

"His happy, open countenance, his very simple habits, his untiring readiness for work, his perfectly unselfish nature and good temper, combined with his thorough knowledge of the language, unfeigned piety, and earnest desire to spend himself in his Master's work of saving souls, made him a very model of an evangelist. His studious habits and tastes put him in possession of a considerable acquaintance with Hebrew and Syriac, which rendered his presence as one of the delegates for the revision of the Tamil version of the Scriptures peculiarly valuable."

We now go on to the third great division of the Society's South India Missions, the Telugu Mission, which also suffered at this time the loss of its surviving founder and leading spirit, Robert Noble. But the shadow of death first fell upon this Mission with peculiar suddenness and heaviness in another way. On the night of November 1st, 1864, one of the most terrible cyclones ever known in the Bay of Bengal swept along the eastern coast of India. The sea rose in its strength and broke over the wide flat delta of the rivers Kistna and Godavari, in the midst of which stands the town of Masulipatam. In that one night sixty miles of open country were ravaged by the resistless flood. The town was a complete wreck; scores of villages were swept away; and

Telugu Mission.

The great cyclone.

PART VII. some 30,000 people perished. Through the goodness of God no
 1862-72. missionary died, though Robert Noble and Mr. and Mrs. Sharp
 Chap. 62. had narrow escapes. But one of the best beloved of Noble's
 Its victims. Brahman converts, Mulayya, was drowned, with his young wife;
 also a sweet young Christian woman, the *fiancée* of another,
 G. Krishnayya; also the wife and child of Ainala Bhushanam, the
 convert who, with Ratnam (the two first-fruits of Noble's School),
 had been ordained to the ministry of the Church only a few months
 before; also no less than thirty-three girls in Mrs. Sharkey's
 delightful Boarding School. The sea totally destroyed the building
 in which these children were sleeping, and the waves swallowed
 up in a moment just one-half of them. In the morning the
 Its ravages waters had subsided; but now sickness and starvation stared the
 survivors in the face. Not only had furniture, books, and all
 sorts of private effects disappeared, but no provisions could be
 procured; the very wells had become filled with salt water, and
 the thousands of corpses quickly made the air intolerable. The
 details in the letters written at the time are indescribably sad;
 but nothing is more touchingly beautiful than the simple trust in
 the Lord manifested by the bereaved young men who had found
 Him their Refuge and Strength when they gave up caste and
 position and family to follow Christ, and now knew how to rest
 in His unfailing love. Robert Noble begged for prayer in these
 words—"Ask that we may glorify the Lord Jesus." That request
 was responded to in hundreds of English homes, for few calamities
 have called forth keener sympathy in the C.M.S. circle, especially
 because many ladies were interested in Mrs. Sharkey's Girls'
 School; and the prayers thus offered received, it is evident, an
 abundant answer in the faith and patience granted to the sorrowing
 survivors.

Death of
Robert
Noble.

Robert Noble had been ill for some time before the great
 disaster; and the shock did not make him better. Friends urged
 him to go home; but he had never left his post during twenty-
 three years, and he declined now to desert the bereaved Mission.
 But though it was thus not to be further bereaved through his
 return to England, the further bereavement did come in another
 form. On October 17th, 1865, nearly twelve months after the
 cyclone, the devoted educational missionary was called away to
 be with the Lord.

Robert de
Nobili and
Robert
Noble.

Very striking was Mr. Ridgeway's "In Memoriam" of him in
 the *Intelligencer*. It was entitled "A Contrast"; and the con-
 trast drawn was between two missionaries of the same name,
 Robert de Nobili, the great Jesuit of the seventeenth century, and
 Robert Noble, the Protestant of the nineteenth. There were points
 of likeness. Both gave their whole lives to India; both were
 celibate; both aimed at the Brahmans. The contrast lay in their
 methods. Robert de Nobili, the grand-nephew of a Pope and
 nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, was the author of the scheme for
 converting the Brahmans by becoming one of them. He and his

followers, De Britto and Beschi, not only adopted Hindu dress and food, but claimed to be Brahmans themselves of the highest rank, producing a forged parchment in Sanscrit characters which declared that the Roman Jesuits were descended from Brahma, and were an older line than the Brahmans of India; and they publicly took a solemn oath that it was authentic, and its statements true. De Britto also forged a "Fifth Veda," claiming to be equal in authority with the four great Vedas. In this clever work he mixed up Biblical and Brahmanical lore, in order to show that Christianity (if we can allow that honoured name to a system so promulgated) was the true development of Hinduism. A French version of it was made, entitled *L'Ézour Védam*, and sent to Europe; and Voltaire, entirely deceived by it, cited it to prove the superiority of the Vedas to the Christian Scriptures! The history of this strange imposition is given at full length by Jesuit writers, with entire approval of the principle that the end sanctifies the means. The results were large at first. Many Brahmans, and hosts of lower caste folk, did embrace the new religion; but a reaction came, the lie was discovered, and thousands went back to their old idolatry. Successive Popes, warned by the more honest Franciscans and Dominicans, issued brief after brief condemning the proceedings of the Jesuits; and at length the Bull of Benedict XIV., *Omnium Sollicitudinum*, in 1745 put an end to the Mission, and soon after that the Jesuit Order was suppressed—for a time—altogether. It is needless to dwell upon the "contrast" as drawn out by Mr. Ridgeway: Robert Noble of Masulipatam setting forth the simple message of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, and winning to Him only a little band of converts—but every one of those converts the true work of the Spirit of holiness and truth. There were but eleven of them; but nine of these were Brahmans, one a Vellama, and one a Mohammedan—a result more than worth all the labour of twenty-four years. For these men, and others converted subsequently, became the leaders of the Telugu Church, into which many thousands of lower class people have been admitted.

We have seen that Robert Noble's School had been stigmatized as a caste school, because he excluded from it those whose presence would have cleared out the very boys he wanted to reach. But no distinctions of caste were allowed inside the School. Just before the cyclone, the numbers were 102 Brahmans, 135 of other Hindu castes, 48 Mohammedans, 9 Christians; total 294. The real influence of the School and the Mission in proclaiming "the brotherhood of man" was seen when Noble's body was carried to the grave by six Christians, one of whom had been by caste a Brahman, one a Vellama, one a Sudra of a lower section, one a Pariah, while one had been a Mohammedan, and the sixth was an Englishman. In the whole history of Indian Missions there has been no more significant object-lesson.

The influence of the School was indeed not confined to the con-

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Jesuit
forgeries.

Voltaire
deceived.

The con-
trast.

The
brother
hood of
man
shown at
R. Noble's
burial.

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General
moral in-
fluence of
Noble's
School.

His old
pupils
honour his
memory.

Jani Alli's
address.

verts brought to Christ. Noble's non-Christian pupils were now occupying important positions all over the country, and exhibiting an entirely new standard of justice and uprightness. The Government, at least, knew how to appreciate this. Sir Charles Trevelyan called the School the Cambridge of South India. Government wanted just magistrates and honest revenue-collectors; and in the Northern Circars (as that part of the Madras Presidency is called) they were now to be found. And, though for themselves they had resisted the personal call of Christ—as hundreds of our most honoured statesmen and judges and officials have at home,—they had no enmity to their few brethren who had obeyed that call. Another object-lesson was presented when a public meeting was held to start a Noble Memorial Fund. A great company of old pupils, who were now gentlemen of rank and position, assembled, in a Christian schoolroom, with a non-Christian Hindu, Gudur Krishnara Pantulu Garu, in the chair, to do honour to a Christian missionary. The secretary of the movement was a Brahman convert, the Rev. Manchala Ratnam; and the address of the day was delivered by a young Christian convert from Islam, Jani Alli—so well known to us all in later days. That remarkable address is printed in full in Noble's Memoir.* Let us take a few sentences from it:—

“His conduct was quite consonant with his name. His name was most significant: he was *noble* by name, *noble* in mind, *noble* in action, *noble* in purpose. He was altogether *noble*, made of a *noble* stuff, and endowed with *noble* faculties. By his *nobleness* he was endeared to people of different ranks, creeds, and dispositions: he became the friend of young and old, rich and poor, master and servant, high and low, enlightened and ignorant. . . .

“Several times he was violently opposed by Europeans and Natives. He had open enemies to contend with, and treacherous friends to guard against. . . . He might well have groaned under his difficulties, and cried,—

“ ‘ My soul, with various tempests tossed,
Her hopes o’returned, her projects crossed,
Sees every day new straits attend,
And wonders where the scene will end.’

“But he had, with John Newton, ‘a frame of adamant and soul of fire.’ . . . And all the time an Unseen Hand was supporting and delivering him, so that in the end he rose superior to every obstacle, trial, and trouble; his enemies were vanquished and put to flight; and he lived to see the desire of his heart accomplished. Thus he has left behind him a glorious name and imperishable fame. It can truly be said in honour of his memory,—

Si monumentum quaris, circumspice.

“The real cause of our friend's true greatness was his love and gratitude to his greatest Benefactor, best Friend, most merciful Saviour, which were reflected in his love to the souls and bodies of his fellow-sinners. If there be any love and gratitude in our bosom to our friend

* *Memoir of Rev. R. T. Noble*, p. 333.

and benefactor, they can no longer extend to him, but can and ought to be manifested in aiding that cause for which he lived and died, and, so to speak, in which his spirit is sure to take delight." PART VII.
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When Noble first began work at Masulipatam, he was assisted by an Eurasian catechist from Madras who was familiar with the Telugu language, J. E. Sharkey. This excellent missionary, as he proved to be, was ordained by Bishop Spencer in 1847. He did not long survive Noble, but departed in May, 1867. His widow, whose much-valued Girls' School has been mentioned before, continued her work for eleven years after his death, and then also died at her post, universally beloved and lamented.

Mr. and
Mrs. Shar-
key.

Once more, the Telugu Mission was again bereaved in 1871 by the death of a young English missionary, John Conn, of cholera, while travelling with a still younger companion in a distant part of the country. Thus either the veteran or the young recruit may at any time be summoned into the presence of the King. J. Conn.

Coming to the Bombay Presidency, we must note the death, in 1862, of Mrs. Jerrom, widow of an excellent missionary of an earlier period, who carried on good schools after his removal; in the same year, of her step-daughter, Mrs. Rogers; of the latter's husband, the Rev. Edward Rogers, in 1865, after eighteen years of good service at Bombay and Malegam; of C. W. Isenberg, who died in Germany in 1864, shortly after leaving India, and whose long and useful career has been before us in a former chapter; of his son, C. W. H. Isenberg, who died, like his father, just after being invalided home to Germany, in 1870, after five years' service; in the same year, of Miss C. White, the admirable superintendent of Marathi Girls' Schools for thirty years; and in 1872, of Mrs. Carss, wife of the Principal of the Money School. Also, remembering that Sindh was at that time included in the Western India Mission, we must here mention Joseph Wareing Bardsley, of Worcester College, Oxford, one of the seven clerical sons of James Bardsley of Manchester, and therefore brother of the present Bishop of Carlisle, who died of consumption at a Bombay hill-resort in 1868, after a short but promising career of three years and a half. His widow is well known for her work down to the present day in connexion with the Church of England Zenana Society. Losses at
Bombay.

Joseph W.
Bardsley.

Next we go on to North India. Two great losses marked the period, outside C.M.S. ranks, but not outside C.M.S. interests and sympathies. Bishop Cotton was drowned, in the midst of his career of usefulness, in 1866, as related in a previous chapter. Archdeacon J. H. Pratt died of cholera in 1871, after an uninterrupted service in the Diocese of Calcutta of thirty-three years. He was a Cambridge mathematician (2nd Wrangler), and had been a Fellow and Tutor of Caius; and all his life he continued to engage with deep interest in scientific studies, writing from time

North
India.

Arch-
deacon
Pratt.

PART VII. to time papers and treatises on astronomy, natural philosophy,
 1862-72. &c. His most important work was *Scripture and Science not at*
 Chap. 62. *Variance*, which went through several editions, each new edition
 dealing with fresh phases of scepticism and sceptical criticism.
 He was untiring, as Archdeacon of Calcutta, in his efforts for the
 good of the English soldiers and civilians in India; and, as might
 be expected of a son of Josiah Pratt, he was a never-failing friend
 of all Missions, particularly—though in no exclusive spirit—of
 C.M.S. Missions. He ought unquestionably to have been ap-
 pointed bishop of one of the Indian dioceses. He could scarcely,
 indeed, have been more useful even in the higher office; but his
 great services to the Church in India would have been more fully
 recognized.

The C.M.S. Missions in the North were not so severely bereaved
 in our period as those in the South; yet there were grievous losses,
 and in some respects even more serious, because of the less
 advanced state of the work, and because the men removed were for
 the most part promising recruits who had, it was fondly anticipated,
 a career before them. The Punjab especially suffered in this
 respect. Our period opened with the deaths of three young men
 there of whom much had been hoped, viz., Robert B. Batty, Fellow
 of Emmanuel, Cambridge, Second Wrangler and Second Smith's
 Prizeman in 1853; Thomas Tuting, of Lincoln College, Oxford;
 and Roger E. Clark, of Trinity, Cambridge, a younger brother of
 Robert Clark,—after services respectively of nine months, five
 years, and three years. Batty sailed in October, 1860, and died at
 Amritsar in the June following, only six months before our period
 begins. His young widow became in after years the much-
 valued Secretary of the Coral Missionary Fund. The other two
 died at Peshawar. Tuting fell a victim to dysentery in October,
 1862. Three months more passed by, and then Roger Clark took
 the fatal Peshawar fever, and died, asking that on his tombstone
 might be inscribed the words, "Thankful to have been a
 missionary." Just then, another recruit for the Punjab arrived,
 Frederic Wathen, of Wadham, Oxford; and before three years
 had passed, in November, 1865, he also succumbed to dysentery.
 He had been a rowing man, and was one of his college eight when
 Wadham held a forward place on the river; he was a man of parts
 intellectually, had mastered Urdu quickly, had begun to work the
 important High School at Amritsar with energy and success, had
 started a bookshop in the city; and his whole soul yearned for the
 conversion of his boys to Christ. To these four University men
 must be added John Stevenson, a promising Islington man, killed
 by the Peshawar fever only six weeks after Wathen's death, after
 just a year's service. And within another six weeks, the Punjab
 Mission had to mourn for one of its two original founders, T. H.
 Fitzpatrick, who, however, had previously retired from the field
 invalided, and died in the Cumberland parish, Dalston, to which
 Bishop Waldegrave had just appointed him. Henry Venn

married him to John Barton's sister in September, 1865, and read the Burial Service over him in February, 1866. His one posthumous son is now a missionary at Madras.

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We have repeatedly noticed the general character of the period we are now reviewing as one of discouragement and disappointment; and it will be understood how all these inroads by death into the Society's attenuated ranks must have added to the general sense of depression. In this chapter we are only thinking of India, and we are taking the different provinces separately; but other fields also were suffering, and we must not forget that while each Mission felt its own losses acutely, Salisbury Square felt them all alike; and now and again in this period news came from different parts of India and of the world simultaneously of the removal of valued labourers. For instance, within a few weeks at the end of 1865 and beginning of 1866, the Committee were mourning the loss of Rogers, Peet, Noble, Wathen, and Stevenson, in India; of Pfander, the great missionary to Mohammedans; of Kissling and Hamlin in New Zealand; of Cockran in Rupert's Land; and a few months later, in the autumn of 1866, H. Baker, J. T. Tucker, and H. Andrews were called away one after another.

Reverting to North India, we come on to 1869-71. In September, 1869, the *Intelligencer* burst into an unusual wail of sorrow over the death of a young missionary, Robert Fitz-Frederick Trench, a very bright Trinity, Cambridge, man, nephew of Arch-
bishop Trench of Dublin, who went out in 1868 with an interesting young wife, a niece of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, the historian of the Reformation, and who died at Lucknow six months after his arrival. So few, wrote Ridgeway, are the assailants of Satan's strongholds, "that each new arrival is eagerly welcomed, and the old soldiers who have been long in the field rejoice as they see their young brother buckling on his armour, and wish him many days, and results of a more decided character than they have themselves been privileged to gather in; when lo! there comes a sudden stroke, and the promising missionary whose arrival had caused so much gladness—whose generous impulses, mingling with the experience of the elder missionaries, seemed so well fitted to impart a new enthusiasm,—is removed, and his place knows him no more. He came out to look on the grandeur of the work, and then to close his eyes; like Moses on the top of Pisgah, when he looked abroad upon the Promised Land, as in all its beauty and variety it lay expanded at his feet." And so he went on, applying these thoughts to the case of young Trench and the Mohammedans of Lucknow, and pouring out his soul, as in his editorial dignity he rarely did, on the mysteriousness of God's ways, "past finding out!"

Trench.

An editorial lament.

Then came another Peshawar death—that of the noble and beloved Knott, the Fellow of Brasenose, the trusted of Dr. Pusey, the Incumbent of Pusey's own church at Leeds, the "confessor" of Yorkshire Tractarians, the "confessor" in a

J. W. Knott.

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His brief
career in
India.

higher sense of Evangelical truth when the Lord opened his eyes, the rector of a rich college living giving up all to go out in Christ's name to India. We have before traced the story of this most remarkable man, and seen him start with T. V. French to establish the Lahore Divinity School. They arrived at Karachi, the port of Sindh, at the end of January, 1869. Knott gave a lecture there to English-speaking Natives—Hindus, Moslems, and Parsees, and a few Christians,—of which French wrote :—

"He was very powerful, almost prophetic, rapt into a kind of unearthly fervour which thrilled through his audience. I have seldom or never heard a more remarkable specimen of simple Christian oratory, or more burning and piercing words."

His sudden
death.

During the time of preparation for the proposed College and correspondence about it, both brethren engaged in temporary work—Knott at Peshawar. Besides helping in the Mission and studying the necessary languages, he frequently assisted in the chaplain's duties at that large military station. "Many," wrote T. P. Hughes, "were moved by his loving, eloquent, heart-stirring discourses. The Europeans considered it a great privilege to watch that heavenly face as it lighted up when speaking of the joys of heaven, and became grave and solemn as he warned of the terrors of hell." Unhappily, as human judgment would say, he stayed on too long in that fever-stricken valley, and worked too persistently, and on June 28th, 1870, he died suddenly, after a few hours' illness. The greatest grief was manifested by the whole English community; and the funeral was a very striking scene :—

His mili-
tary
funeral.

"The body was conveyed to the cemetery on a gun-carriage, lent by the officer commanding the Royal Artillery, and was carried to the grave by eight soldiers, who were members of a Bible-class which he had for some time conducted with marked results. Nearly every officer of the station was present, including the General and Deputy Commissioner, and upwards of 500 men of Her Majesty's 5th and 38th Regiments obtained leave to attend."

French on
Knott.

French's words regarding his beloved colleague are very striking :—

"His example was forcible and impressive, full of rich and striking teachings never to be forgotten. His prayer was, like his Divine Master's, 'with strong crying and tears,' and that both by night and day, a Jacob's wrestling indeed. Such expressions would break from his lips as this: 'Oh, when once my tongue is loosened, my lips opened!' At such times he would seem all on fire to utter his pent and struggling thoughts, meditated appeals and yearnings of heart after India's regeneration and the ingathering of her sons to Christ in the Kingdom of God. His removal has seemed a strange and almost unparalleled mystery. It is comforting to rest assured that God is His own interpreter."

Once again Peshawar fever claimed a victim when, in 1871, the young wife of the Rev. T. R. Wade was taken from his side just a year after her marriage. She, too, was a missionary of great promise, who was already superintending the girls' schools, and diligently studying the language.

Meanwhile, Bengal and the Valley of the Ganges were losing others besides Trench. In 1870, one of the best of the Native clergy, the Rev. Tulsi Paul, was called away. French's account of him when he was ordained by Bishop Cotton—his "majestic appearance," his studies in St. Augustine and Bishop Butler, his "wonderful preaching"—will not have been forgotten.* He was a convert from Hinduism, and had been a Christian twenty-four years, for half of which period he had been a faithful minister of Christ. In his later years he was pastor of Basharatpur, the industrial Christian village near Gorakhpur; and H. Stern, the superintending missionary of the district, called him "a Nathanael, in whom there is no guile." "During his last illness," wrote Stern,—

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Tulsi Paul.

"he was a bright example to us all; and he gave, to the very last, the most eminent proofs of the sincerity and power of his faith, and of his thoroughly Christian character. His greatest delight was in prayer and in having the Word of God read to him; and he brightened up particularly when the orphan girls sang to him some of the songs of Zion. The fifth chapter of the Romans was a favourite chapter with him. He was completely dead to the world, and lived in the anticipation of the realities of a blessed eternity."

Then, in the same year, on November 25th, 1870, died R. P. Greaves, the greatly-beloved missionary of Burdwan. We have seen a little of him before, and here it need only be added that he was one of the best Bengali scholars, writers, and preachers in India, and that, besides diligent educational work, he did good service in Bible revision and in composing Bengali hymns. His wife was a daughter of J. A. Jetter, the Smyrna missionary; and her untiring exertions since his death, in connexion with the Zenana Societies, are well known. One of Greaves's children in the faith should be specially mentioned—Rajkristo Bose. The conversion of this high-caste Hindu illustrates the diversity of God's ways of bringing men to Himself. A Hindu friend of his, who had heard of Christ and His salvation, and was strongly inclined to believe and embrace Christianity, mentioned the matter to him; but he only jeered, and ridiculed the religion of Jesus. Like Philip of old, the friend said, "Come and see." Bose thereupon began to read the Bible, and as he read it, "the entrance of God's word gave light." He came to Greaves, was instructed by him, and ultimately baptized. For twelve years he worked faithfully as a catechist; and in 1870, Greaves, only five months before his death, had the joy of witnessing the ordination of Rajkristo Bose to the ministry of the Church.

R. P.
Greaves.

In 1871, a young missionary, one of Thomas Green's Lancashire *protégés*, Samuel Carter, died after five years' service, and only a month after his young wife, to whom he had been only a few weeks married. His brother Joseph had died at Abeokuta thirteen years before, after little more than twelve months in Africa.

Samuel
Carter.

* See p. 269.

PART VII. But now the roll of North India missionaries, i.e. of living missionaries, was to be deprived of the names of its two oldest veterans. 1862-72. Timothy Sandys and William Smith both entered Islington College Chap. 62. in the first year it was opened, 1826. Both went to India in the same year, 1830. Sandys laboured forty-one years at Calcutta; Smith laboured forty-one years at Benares. In addition to all sorts of preaching and teaching, both did much valuable literary work, Sandys in Bengali, Smith in Urdu and Hindi. Sandys retired in 1871; Smith in 1872. And strange to say, both met their deaths by accident. Sandys was thrown out of a carriage while on deputation work in Lincolnshire, and died from the injuries he received, on November 8th, 1871. Smith survived him three years, and then was killed by a fall from a bridge over the Great Western Railway at Ealing on January 1st, 1875. The latter's death, therefore, does not properly belong to our present period; but two such similarly sudden calls "to go up higher," after careers in many ways so parallel, must be recorded together. We must also not bid farewell to these two honoured servants of the Lord without just referring to the gifts they gave the Church in their children. Smith was the father of Mrs. H. D. Hubbard and Mrs. G. H. Weber. Sandys was the father, by his first wife, of the present Public Orator at Cambridge; of an esteemed Indian chaplain; of an S.P.G. catechist at Delhi, who was killed in the Mutiny; and of Mrs. Winter, the admirable wife of the leading S.P.G. missionary at that city in after years.* His second wife, a sister of E. C. Stuart of Calcutta (now Bishop Stuart), has, like Mrs. Greaves, spent her widowed life in most valuable labours for the Zenana Societies. Of her children, a son and a daughter are now missionaries at Calcutta. It is delightful indeed to trace out this best and highest form of "heredity."

The best form of heredity.

Elmslie. One other deeply-lamented death marked the close of our period, that of Dr. Elmslie, of Kashmir, on November 18th, 1872. But this sad event will be more appropriately noticed when his work has been described, as it will be in our next chapter.

This chapter is entitled "Death and Life." On the face of its pages Death would seem to have been the more prominent. We have followed to their graves thirty-seven missionaries and six valued Native clergymen. Yet has not Life been in reality no less conspicuous—and this in more senses than one? The dying men and women themselves, whether veterans or recruits—were they not in possession of the truest and highest life already? and were they not in literal fact leaving a world of death to enter the world of the life that knows no ending? Especially must we realize this in the case of those who had been raised up, not merely out of the

"From death unto life."

* Mrs. Winter's daughter has been a teacher in the C.M.S. Alexandra School at Amritsar.

death of sin, but out of the darkness of Heathenism. But this is not all. Throughout our study we have seen these dying men themselves the channels through which the river of life has flowed to others. Think of Peet's Brahmans, of Hawksworth's slaves, of the thousands baptized by Tucker and Thomas and the Tamil brethren, of Noble's noble band. Yet it has not been the special object of this chapter to tell of conversions from Heathenism. They have only, as it were, come accidentally within the field of vision. The preceding and succeeding chapters tell us more of the fruits of the work. Let it here be added, however, that the period we have been reviewing—albeit, as we have seen, one in many ways of unusual depression—saw thousands of souls in India pass “from death unto life”; and as the eleven Annual Reports are successively turned over, we not only read of “so many baptized,” but of individual cases—scores and scores of them—of converts notable in some way.

For example, here is a young Parsee, a member of one of the leading families in Bombay, brought to Christ while teaching in the High School at Karachi. Here are two Brahmans of the highest grade from a famous centre of Brahmanism in Bengal, one of them, convinced of the falsity of their old system by the scientific teaching of a Government school, joining the Brahmo Samaj, finding no peace there, and then brought to Christ by his brother, who meanwhile had found Him in a mission school. Here are Heathen masters finding a Saviour and a Lord in the Mission High Schools at Gorakhpur and Jabalpur and Hyderabad, where they were reluctantly employed for lack of Christians. Here are Brahmans still coming out at Noble's College under his successor Mr. Sharp; and another at the similar school at Ellore, in the same Telugu Mission. Here is a Mohammedan officer in a Madras regiment, hearing of Christ from an L.M.S. missionary, baptized by a Baptist while serving in Burmah, and then taught by C.M.S. Telugu missionaries. And here, on one page of the Report reviewing the last year in our period, 1872, we find the following:—An aged man hearing the name of Jesus in a Calcutta street fifty years before, and at length led to Him by a bed-ridden nephew; a zemindar's son in Oudh, a Brahman, found dying by the roadside, deserted by his friends, but relieved and taught by the Christian catechist; a Moslem moulvie at Lahore receiving spiritual light while teaching the language to a missionary; a Kulin Brahman widow at Krishnagar; a Rajput at Kotgur; five Afghan youths at Peshawar; a Brahman Government schoolmaster who had been in the C.M.S. College at Agra; a Brahman at Malegam; another Brahman, and a Hindu religious teacher, in the district of Junir. Rich fruit to gather in one year!

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Some cases
of new life.

A group in
one year.

But let one story be told more fully. Safdar Ali was the son of a Mohammedan gentleman who had been Qazi (judge) of the Native State of Dholpur, but had come to reside at Agra; and the

Safdar Ali.

PART VII. boy not only attended the Government College there, and got a
 1862-72. good English education, but also studied the Mohammedan
 Chap. 62. religion closely, under his father's guidance. His mind was a
 philosophical one, and all metaphysical questions interested him.
 He read the Hindu books also, and the works of the old Greek
 philosophers in their Arabic dress; and although he soon found
 that even the orthodox Koran was incorrect when it touched
 scientific subjects, and that its statements were quite inconsistent
 with the undoubted facts of astronomy, physics, and medical
 science, he fortified himself with the common saying, "What has
 reason to do with revelation?" One study, however, he entirely
 omitted, that of Christianity. It was not worth while wasting
 time over such an obviously false and corrupt system; and even
 when Christian books came into his hands, he could not con-
 descend to read them. Jesus, no doubt, was a prophet; but had
 not Mohammed superseded him? On leaving the Agra College,
 Safdar Ali became a moulvie; and he was present at that great
 public controversy between Pfander and the leading moulvies, in
 1854, which was noticed in our Forty-second Chapter. He then
 obtained the coveted post under Government of Deputy Inspector
 of Schools, and was ordered to Rawal Pindi, in the Punjab.
 There he came across Sufi philosophers and fakirs, and, being
 much drawn to them, began to practise various austerities enjoined
 by their system. But all external observances seemed to him
 unreal, and he became persuaded that inward purity was the
 thing to be aimed at. To obtain this desideratum, however, an
 infallible director, the Sufis said, was necessary; and as he
 travelled about on his official duties, he diligently sought for such
 an one as he could trust. But all the sheikhs and fakirs
 seemed to him worldly and hypocritical, and at length he resolved
 to obtain leave of absence and make a pilgrimage to Mecca.
 While preparing for his journey, and arranging his books, he
 "chanced" upon the *Mizan-al-Haqq*, which he possessed but had
 never read. Whereupon the thought came to him that perhaps
 he had better study the Christian controversy also, and find out
 exactly how far Islam and Christianity were antagonistic, before
 proceeding to Arabia. This was the turning point of his life.
 Instead of going to Mecca, he spent all his leisure time for three
 years, from November, 1861, to December, 1864, in the close study
 of the Bible, the comparison of it with the Koran, and the study
 also of controversial works on both sides. In the first year he
 became convinced that the Koran was not from God, and that
 Mohammed was not the prophet of God. In the second year, he
 perceived more and more clearly the beauty of Christ's religion.
 "In the Holy Scriptures," he afterwards wrote, "I found a
 detailed statement of the diagnosis of spiritual disease, an account
 of its cause and origin, particular directions for its true and
 perfect cure,—all so accurate and correct, that I was assured of
 the Divine character of its medicinal prescriptions." Nevertheless

His early
studies.

At the
Agra Dis-
cussion.

Reads the
"Mizan-
al-Haqq."

Studies the
Bible.

all sorts of Biblical difficulties preyed upon his mind, and he could not find full conviction. "A mountain of anguish oppressed my sad heart. I rejected food, and neglected sleep." And in his distress he poured out his soul in verses, the burthen of which was,—

"Neither Hindu nor Moslem nor Christian nor Jew am I;
Sore perplexed is my soul to know what the issue will be!"

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His mental
distress.

In the third year, there came to Jabalpur, where Safdar Ali was now fulfilling his official duties, the learned Christian convert from Brahmanism, Pundit Nehemiah Nilkanth; and from him the inquiring Moulvie received essential help. Nehemiah took him also to the C.M.S. missionary there, E. Champion, who for many months continued the Pundit's instructions. At length, on Christmas Day, 1864, the long period of suspense and suffering came to an end, and Safdar Ali publicly and joyfully confessed Christ in baptism. Along with him was baptized a Moslem who had been his confidential friend all through, Kasim Khan; while another friend, Karim Bakhsh, who still had doubts, came forward a short time after, and also entered the Church of Christ.

Helped by
Nehemiah.

Baptized.

Safdar Ali's family, though well aware of his lengthened struggles, were completely astounded at the final result. His wife threw herself on the ground and remained lying there for three days, refusing to move or to take food; and eventually she and her father and her child left him entirely and went off to Agra. He met with utter contempt and reproach from his fellow-officials, and all sorts of petty annoyances were heaped upon him, —harder to bear, perhaps, than the actual persecution from which his position secured him. Nehemiah was his faithful friend and constant adviser, encouraging him to bear his cross without flinching; and among his English superiors there were four gentlemen who showed him much sympathy. On the news reaching England, letters were at once sent off by the C.M.S. Secretaries to comfort and strengthen him. In due course his reply came, and it was at once published in the *Intelligencer* (July, 1866), in which it occupies eleven columns. It begins thus:—

Deserted
by his wife.

"To the Gentlemen of High Offices,—Exalted, &c.

His letter
to C. M. S.

"After customary salutations, Greeting.

"With my respects and Christian love, I beg to inform you that your valued letter, dated March 17th of the current year, came to hand and I became apprised of its contents.

"I am thankful to the Lord of lords for the kindness and attention which have been shown me by all you gentlemen. For of His unbounded mercy and love, through the precious body and blood of His only Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, He has made us few strangers, who lived in a state of estrangement and separation from His elect ones, to be now participators with them of true faith, of perfect charity, and of assured hope, and members of His Church; and so has granted us intimate friendship in the way of external and internal agreement, conformity, and unity. And in like manner also, through

PART VII. your kindness in opening a correspondence, usually considered the half-
1862-72. way stage to personal intercourse, He has given me, before unacquainted
Chap. 62. with you, the opportunity of paying my respects to you in writing.

His retro-
spect.

“Indeed, the grace of a tender and merciful God towards one so wretched and helpless, has been boundless; for, as His goodness and care have been manifested and evidenced in me, by my creation, my preservation, and my security in body and spirit, from the beginning until now, continually and uninterruptedly, at all times and every moment; so, over and above all this, His illimitable grace and love are shown in perfection by His kind bestowal of the means whereby I have access to the high presence of Jesus Christ, the glorious King of kings, the most bounteous Lord. So that, although I, contemptible and unworthy that I was, in my recklessness and wickedness, was guilty of very grievous rebellion and refractoriness; and though, in spite of repeated checks, and successive testimonies of conscience, I disobeyed His commandments, and never even so much as looked at His Holy Word; yet that gracious and merciful One willed not to let me continue in the way of everlasting destruction, or to give me my way, or let me alone, that I might be laid hold of by eternal pains. On the contrary, in His exceeding love and pity He drew me gradually onwards, after a wonderful fashion, in an exquisite method and order, until He called me into that inestimable and incomparable love which is openly proclaimed to the whole race of Adam.

“‘If every hair of mine became a tongue,
E’en then the story of His love would be untold.’”

Then the letter relates in full detail the history of his mental struggles—from which account the above particulars are mostly taken. Then, when it comes to the point of his conversion, the Moulvie bursts forth as follows:—

His joyful
praises.

“And now, thousands upon thousands of thanks and praises be to God, the wise and the gracious, who, of His compassion and goodness, not on account of my pains and toils, but according to His own love and kindness, took pity upon the miserable and forlorn condition of me a sinner, and gradually, by the leading of His wonderful Word, by means of commentaries and expositions of learned Christians, and by the instrumentality of certain brethren who laid the truth before me, put to flight all my difficulties and doubts, my temptations and fears, and solved for me every question; thus clearing my mind of the darkness of all its doubts, and illuminating it with the light of counsel and understanding. He bestowed upon me full assurance, so that I knew His way to be the way of salvation, and accepted with confidence, as my master and leader, Him who is the infallible Pilot, the Guide of the erring, the Saviour of sinners, the Redeemer of the world, the most merciful One, the Lord of heaven and earth, the Sun of righteousness and Prince of peace, to whom all the prophets and apostles, since the world began, successively bore testimony; whose innumerable perfections and illimitable beneficence surpass the limits of understanding—our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose grace and mercy are everlasting. Amen.

“On the day when I obtained the full assurance of salvation, my relieved heart breathed forth these lines:—

“‘My Friend was near me, and I roamed far in search of Him;
My well was full of water while I was parched and thirsty.’”

And these also—

“ ‘Praise upon praise, to-day my journey is ended :
Now the last stage is reached—my pilgrimage is o’er.’ ”

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Who can read such outpourings as this unmoved? It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And from that day to this—thirty-four years—Moulvie Safdar Ali has continued a consistent Christian—“ wise, kind, earnest,” wrote J. Stuart of him in 1868, “ ever about his Master's business, yet speaking and acting in the quietest way, ‘ giving none offence,’ ‘ speaking the truth in love.’ ” On one occasion an Englishman, supposing him to be a Mussulman, began to attack the Bible before him, expecting a hearty response. But Safdar Ali knew much more of the Bible than the so-called Christian did, and by quiet, cogent argument compelled him to withdraw his statements.

His subsequent life.

But there is yet one more way in which Death and Life come before us. The missionary journals—more detailed thirty years ago than they are now—take us to the death-beds of Native Christians, and show us how they died. Turning the pages over, we come almost at random upon such as these:—An aged catechist at Madras, Vedhamuthu, who had been a pupil of Schwartz in the eighteenth century; who for years went about like a London City missionary, speaking to coachmen, horsekeepers, servants, and visiting the sick in hospitals; still preaching in the bazaar at 7 a.m. at the age of ninety-eight (at least that; probably more!); arranging on his dying bed about a small payment due by him for repairs of his house, and, on being reminded of the more important account to be settled at the bar of Heaven, exclaiming, “ Oh, *that* account is settled long ago; Jesus paid it all; while He is for me, who can be against me?” Again, a catechist in Tinnevely, seized with cholera during the morning service, saying, “ I am now to use what I have learned and taught to others for twenty-five years: Jesus has washed away my sin; I am going to receive the crown of glory,”—and dying in perfect peace the same afternoon. Again, a Tamil school-master of thirty years' standing, saying, in reply to the question whether he believed in Christ, “ I fully and fervently believe in Him,” and then lifting his hand as if grasping something, “ like an anchor, like an anchor.” Again, a sick convert uncertain as to the issue of his sickness: “ If I die, I go to Christ; if I live, Christ comes to me, to be with me and guide me still.” Once more, a subordinate officer in a Native regiment: no dying words of his recorded; but after his death the Heathen saying, “ *We are wont to turn away in disgust from the face of a dead man, but this face is calm and beautiful.*”

Deaths of Native Christians.

What shall we then say to these things? “ O Death, where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy victory? Thanks be unto God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.”

CHAPTER LXIII.

INDIA : A FLAG FOR CHRIST IN THE PUNJAB.

Shamaun's Flag for Christ—Imad-ud-din—Punjab Converts—Peshawar: Mr. and Mrs. Ridley—Afghan Fanatics—Dilawar Khan—Afghan Evangelists in Kafiristan—Fazl-i-Haqq—Imam Shah—Kashmir: Appeal to C.M.S. from Punjab Officials—Mrs. R. Clark the first Medical Missionary—Dr. Elmslie: his Work and his Death—The Lahore Divinity College.

"*Jehovah-nissi.*"—Exod. xvii. 15.

"*In the name of our God we will set up our banners.*"—Ps. xx. 5.

"*Valiant for the truth.*"—Jer. ix. 3.

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Shamaun's
Flag for
Christ.



HOW the Punjab was conquered "for England," and invaded "for Christ," we have before seen. The very first convert was a Sikh *Granthi*, a "reader" of the *Granth*, the Sikh sacred book, in other words a priest of the Sikh religion. He heard the Gospel, at a village near Amritsar, from the lips of Fitzpatrick and Daoud Singh, and the Spirit of God opened his heart then and there. He was baptized by Fitzpatrick on July 3rd, 1853, taking, by his own choice, the name of Shamaun (Simeon), because the words of the *Nunc Dimittis* had struck him. For fifteen years he was a faithful teacher of the new faith; and when he died, in 1868, he bequeathed all he had—a little house in Amritsar and about £26—to the Mission, "*to set up a flag for Christ.*" The fakirs of India, Hindu and Moslem, are wont to hang a flag, or even a bit of coloured rag, on the nearest tree, to indicate the presence of a religious devotee of one of the gods; and Shamaun thought that a flag should be raised for Christ likewise. His small dwelling was transformed into a catechist's house, with a large room for meetings, and there, day by day, the "flag" of peace was waved in the name of the Lord. In 1873, the site was required by the municipal authorities in connexion with some public improvements, and the compensation money granted for it was used to build a complete mission-hall and library in a more suitable part of the city; and there the "flag" has been waved ever since by both English and Native evangelists. Frances Ridley Havergal thus commemorated the incident:—

The golden gates were opening
For another welcome guest;
For a ransomed heir of glory
Was entering into rest.

The first in far Umritsur
Who heard the joyful sound;
The first who came to Jesus
Within its gloomy bound.

He spoke : " Throughout the city
How many a flag is raised,
Where loveless deities are owned,
And powerless gods are praised.

" I give my house to Jesus,
That it may always be
A ' flag for Christ,' the Son of God,
Who gave Himself for me."

And now, in far Umritsur,
That flag is waving bright,
Amid the Heathen darkness,
A clear and shining light.

First convert of Umritsur,
Well hast thou led the way ;
Now, who will rise and follow ?
Who dares to answer " Nay " ?

Oh, children of salvation !
Oh, dwellers in the light !
Have ye no " flag for Jesus,"
Far waving fair and bright ?

Will ye not band together,
And working hand in hand,
Set up a " flag for Jesus "
In that wide Heathen land,

To Him beneath whose banner
Of wondrous love we rest ;
Our Friend, the Friend of sinners,
The Greatest and the Best ?

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Shamaun's Flag for Christ is typical of all the work in the Punjab, particularly in the period we are now reviewing. Let the story, therefore, be accepted as providing a motto for this chapter.

At Amritsar, all the machinery of an important station was, during our period, being kept at work, by Robert Clark, W. Keene, J. Mortlock Brown, Townsend Storrs, and others. Bishop Cotton wrote warmly of the encouragement he derived from a sight of it in 1865 ; and Bishop Milman, not less warmly, in 1868 and 1872. Year by year a few converts were reported. " None," writes R. Clark, " can tell of the trials of our first converts, the indignities and insults they endured for the Master's sake, when singly and alone they were willing to give up all they had for Him when all were against Him." * One of these was Mian Paulus, the Mohammedian lambadar or headman of the small town of Narowal, who, like Shamaun, was a convert of Fitzpatrick's, and who himself conducted Sunday services, expounded the Scriptures, supervised schools with 200 scholars, and employed his own two sons as catechists under him—one of whom is the Rev. Mian Sadiq Masih, ordained in 1875. But the most important conversion of the period calls for fuller notice.

Amritsar
converts.

Dr. Pfander's public controversy with the Mohammedan moulvies at Agra in 1854 will not have been forgotten. We have seen in the preceding chapter that Safdar Ali was one of the moulvies then present. Another was Imad-ud-din, a man of good family, whose ancestors had for generations been leading men among the Mussulmans of the Punjab, and who, like Safdar Ali, had been a student of the Government College at Agra. Like Safdar Ali also, Imad-ud-din, who was not satisfied with the ordinary system of Islam, and was a sincere seeker after truth, became a Sufi. Of this part of his life he afterwards wrote :—

Imad-ud-
din.

As a seeker
after truth.

" As soon as I was entangled in this subtle science I began to practise speaking little, eating little, living apart from men, afflicting my body,

* Punjab and Sindh Mission, p. 53.

PART VII. and keeping awake at nights. I used to spend whole nights in reading
 1862-72. the Koran. I put in practice the various special penances and devotions
 Chap. 63. that were enjoined. I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking
 — by thinking on the name of God to write it on my heart. I constantly
 sat on the graves of holy men, in hopes that, by contemplation, I might
 receive some revelation from the tombs. I went and sat in the assemblies
 of the elders, and hoped to receive grace by gazing with great faith
 on the faces of Sufis. I used to go even to the dreamy and intoxicated
 fanatics, in the hope of thus obtaining union with God. And I did all
 this, besides performing my prayers five times a day, and also the prayer
 in the night, and that in the very early morning and at dawn; and always
 was I repeating the salutation of Mohammed, and the confession of faith.
 In short, whatever afflictions or pain it is in the power of man to endure,
 I submitted to them all, and suffered them to the last degree; but nothing
 became manifest to me after all, except that it was all deceit."

His reputation was now growing, and he was appointed to
 preach against Dr. Pfander in the royal mosque at Agra. But his
 inner soul became more and more agitated:—

"My only comfort was in engaging in more constant acts of worship.
 I retired into my private chamber, and with many tears I prayed for the
 pardon of my sins. . . . I sought for union with God from travellers
 and fakirs, and even from the insane people of the city, according to the
 tenets of the Sufi mystics. The thought of utterly renouncing the
 world then came into my mind with so much power, that I left everybody,
 and went out into the jungles, and became a fakir, putting on clothes
 covered with red ochre, and wandered here and there, from city to city,
 and from village to village, step by step, alone, for about 2000 cos (2500
 miles) without plan or baggage. . . .

"In this state I entered the city of Karūli, where a stream called
 Cholida flows beneath a mountain. I had a book with me on the doc-
 trines of mysticism and the practice of devotion. . . . I took up the
 book, and sat down on the bank of the stream, to perform the ceremonies
 as they were enjoined, according to the following rules:—The celebrant
 must first perform his ablutions on the banks of the flowing stream, and,
 wearing an unsewn dress, must sit in a particular manner on one knee
 for twelve days, and repeat the prayer called Jugopar thirty times every
 day with a loud voice. He must not eat any food with salt, or anything
 at all, except some barley bread of flour, lawfully earned, which he has
 made with his own hands, and baked with wood that he has brought
 himself from the jungles. During the day he must fast entirely, after
 performing his ablutions in the river before daylight; and he must
 remain barefooted, wearing no shoes; nor must he touch any man, nor,
 except at an appointed time, even speak to any one. The object of it
 all is that he may meet with God, and from the longing desire to attain
 to this, I underwent all this pain.

"In addition to the above, I wrote the name of God on paper during
 this time 125,000 times, performing a certain portion every day; and I
 cut out each word separately with scissors, and wrapped them up each
 in a little ball of flour, and fed the fishes of the river with them, in the
 way the book prescribed. My days were spent in this manner; and
 during half the night I slept, and the remaining half I sat up, and wrote
 the name of God mentally on my heart, and saw Him with the eye of
 thought. When all this toil was over, and I went thence, I had no
 strength left in my body; my face was wan and pale, and I could not
 even hold up myself against the wind."

As a
 Moslem
 preacher.

As a fakir.

His
 strange ob-
 servances.

The result was that he acquired fame as a fakir, and was resorted to by many Moslems :—

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“Many people of the city came to me, and became my disciples, and gave me much money, and revered me greatly. As long as I remained there I preached the Koran constantly in the streets, and houses, and mosques, and many people repented of their sins, and regarded me as one of the saints of God, and came and touched my knees with their hands.

His fame.

“But still my soul found no rest; and in consequence of the experience I had had, I only felt daily in my mind a growing abhorrence of the law of Mohammed. When I arrived at my home, after traversing 200 cos more, the readings of the Koran and my religious performances had become altogether distasteful to me; and during the next eight or ten years, the examples of the Mohammedan elders, and their holy men, and moulvies, and fakirs, whom I used to meet, and my knowledge of their moral character, and of the thoughts that dwelt in their hearts, and their bigotry, and frauds and deceptions, and their ignorance, which I used to observe, altogether combined to convince my mind that there was no true religion in the world at all.”

His distress of mind.

He now abandoned his fakir life, and became a master in the Government Normal School at Lahore, under Mr. Mackintosh, a religious man. Just then he heard that his old friend Safdar Ali had abjured Islam and been baptized. To try and win him back to the true faith, Imad-ud-din obtained the Christian Scriptures, and with Mr. Mackintosh he began to read the Gospel of St. Matthew. By the time he finished the seventh chapter, the deep conviction of its truth entered his soul; but for a whole year after that, he continued his studies, inquiring of both Moslems and Christians. He was much helped by the American Presbyterian missionaries at Lahore, John Newton and W. C. Forman; but Robert Clark had written to him at an earlier stage in his mental struggles, and to him, at last, Imad-ud-din went, finally resolved to give up everything and follow Christ. After his baptism he wrote the well-known Autobiography from which the above extracts are taken. It opens with these words :—

His Christian studies.

His baptism.

“May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ dwell on the whole world! The writer of this little Pamphlet became a Christian on the 29th of April, 1866, with the single object of obtaining salvation.”

And after detailing the writer's spiritual history, it describes his condition of mind after the great step had been taken :—

“Since my entrance into the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ I have had great peace in my soul. The agitation of mind and restlessness of which I have spoken have entirely left me. Even my health is improved, for my mind is never perplexed now. By reading the Word of God I have found enjoyment in life. The fear of death and of the grave, that before was a disease, has been much alleviated. I rejoice greatly in my Lord, and my soul is always making progress in His grace. The Lord gives peace to my soul. My friends and acquaintances, and my disciples and followers, and others, have all become my enemies. At all times and in all manners they all try to afflict me; but having found comfort in the Lord, I think nothing of this, for, in proportion as I am dishonoured

His peace at last.

PART VII. and afflicted. He gives me peace and comfort and joy. Amongst my
 1862-72. relatives, only my brother, Moulvie Karim-ud-din, and Munshi Khair-
 Chap. 63. ud-din, and my relative, Mohammed Hosein, and my father, still write
 to me, and show me any affection. With these exceptions all my rela-
 tives and friends are turned away from me. I therefore pray for them.
 May God give them grace, and open the eyes of their minds, that they
 also may be partakers of the everlasting salvation of the Lord, through
 the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen."

The triumph of God's grace was not yet complete. On New Year's Day, 1868, his aged father, one brother, and the brother's wife, were received into the Church together, leaving only one brother still unconverted. On December 3rd in the same year, they were all confirmed together by Bishop Milman. On December 6th the Bishop ordained him a deacon of the Church of England; and four years later, on December 15th, 1872, admitted him to priest's orders. By-and-by we shall have to praise God again for the Rev. Imad-ud-din.

His ordina-
tion.

Derajat
Mission.

At Kangra, under J. N. Merk, and at Multan, under G. Yeates, progress was slow. And the Derajat Mission, established by Colonel Reynell Taylor's liberality and T. V. French's devotion, was giving little encouragement. After French's failure of health and return to England, Robert Bruce was in charge at Dera Ismail Khan. In 1865, a new station at Bannu was opened by a young Islington man, H. S. Patterson, who, however, was soon invalidated home. Bruce was joined by D. Brodie, who laboured in the country five years. The Native agents working under them were interesting men. A converted Bengali Brahman from Duff's College at Calcutta was headmaster of the High School at Dera Ismail. Two converts from Islam were the Bible colporteur and the manager of the book-shop. Another converted Brahman, from Delhi, was at Bannu. But the most notable was John Williams, son of a Hindu convert of the Gorakhpur Mission, who, having the official medical qualification, came up to the Frontier as a Government doctor, and there was found by French when the Derajat was first visited. He was actually holding prayer-meetings and Bible-readings for the English soldiers quartered in "the desolate little fort built out in the howling waste," as French expressed it. It was proposed to him to become a missionary, and though the military authorities were reluctant to spare him, he left Government service, and joined the Mission on a lower stipend. At first he taught in the Dera Ismail school, but in 1868 the Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant Gray, offered to erect at his own expense a dispensary at Tank, a little town at the foot of the frontier mountain-barrier, if a Native missionary doctor were stationed there; and to this important outpost John Williams was appointed, and did a noble work for over a quarter of a century. One convert of his was a most remarkable case. A Kulin Brahman from Oudh had become a temple-keeper under the Maharajah of Kashmir,

A Native
Christian
doctor.

One of his
converts.

and while there became convinced of the helplessness of the idols which he daily washed and dressed. A Mohammedan soldier advised him to go and see the Akhund of Swat, the great Moslem Pope of the Afghans, and to him he went; but finding no satisfaction there, he wandered from place to place until, falling sick, he found himself in John Williams's hospital at Tank. From him the Brahman heard the glad tidings of salvation; and after careful instruction and probation he was baptized by Brodie.* Another notable convert in the Derajat was a youth of high Moslem family, a Syad (descendant of Mohammed), baptized by Mr. Bateman at Lahore in 1871. A third was Khem Chand, who was afterwards for some time in England, and subsequently became headmaster of the C.M.S. High School at Multan. But it was always difficult to persuade a Mohammedan that Christianity was worthy of the attention of a religious man at all. "Why," said one to a missionary preaching in the Peshawar bazaar, "ask us to give up our creed? We are more religious than the English. They only worship God once a week, and then they do not kneel down to worship Him!" This is too often one of the greatest difficulties in raising a "flag for Christ."

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Other converts.

Peshawar was proving, as could be foreseen, a Mission-field of singular difficulty. The Peshawar fever, also, was a serious foe. Three young missionaries died there within three years, 1862-65, as was related in the previous chapter; and two or three others were quickly invalidated. The principal labourers during our period were T. R. Wade until 1869, W. Ridley from 1866 to 1870, and T. P. Hughes, who began his twenty years' service in 1864. Ridley's brief spell of service among the Afghans is especially interesting to us as exhibiting those qualities which in later years seemed to fit him so eminently for the bishopric of Caledonia. His letters in 1867-69 are as graphic in style as those which are looked for now with such deep interest from the North Pacific coast. The mission-houses at Peshawar, which had been presented by the Christian officers who initiated the work, were—and still are—in the large British cantonments outside the city; but in 1862 the Commissioner, Colonel Reynell Taylor, allotted to the Mission, at a nominal rent, a part of the Gurkhutri, an old royal serai on the top of a hill within the walls, which has some interesting historical associations. The first Mogul Emperor, Baber, sojourned there on his conquering march into India in 1525; and from its stronghold Runjeet Singh's governor tyrannized over the surrounding tribes in the early years of the present century. It was not very suitable for the residence of Europeans, and the premises were at first used only for meeting inquirers, &c.; but E. C. Stuart of Calcutta, then Secretary of the whole North India Mission from the Bay of Bengal to the

Peshawar.

Mr. and
Mrs. Ridley.

* See the whole very curious narrative, by Mr. Brodie himself, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of January, 1879.

PART VII. Afghan Frontier, strongly urged, when he visited Peshawar, 1862-72. that one missionary at least should live there. Mr. and Mrs. Chap. 63. Ridley both went.* The move cut them off from intercourse

—
Their resi-
dence with-
in the city.

with English friends, for only one individual in the entire (non-missionary) European community would venture to drive across the fanatical city and visit them. Once or twice, however, on the occasion of a prize distribution at the school, some English ladies did dare to do so; riding on elephants, however, "so as to be out of the reach of the shining knives that seemed so dreadful to them"—as Ridley's picturesque language expresses it. But he and his brave wife found that they "gained in the confidence of the Natives" more than they "lost in the isolation from fellow-countrymen." Moreover the Afghan Christians dwelt in the buildings. "We live," wrote Ridley, "together under the same roof: the Christians below in what were once soldiers' quarters, and we in rooms built over them. We form one group at family prayers. One evening a week we all take tea together and discourse on the topics of the day." Mrs. Ridley, "having good health, and being free from the cares of a family," threw herself energetically into work among the women and girls, and into the study of the languages. She acquired Urdu and Pushtu sufficiently for her purpose, and then took up Persian; and to the astonishment of all who heard of it, she contrived to get into the zenanas of leading Mohammedans. The failure of her husband's health put an end to their self-sacrificing labours among the Afghans. God had another sphere for them, as we all know, among the Indians of British Columbia—a sphere in which would be required the same quiet courage, the same linguistic talent, the same devotion, at any cost, to the honour of Christ and the salvation of souls.

Mrs. Rid-
ley's work.

Perils from
Afghan
assassins.

The perils of Peshawar were not imaginary. In 1861, one of the missionaries, T. Tuting, had a narrow escape from being murdered. While he was speaking from the steps outside the preaching chapel, an Afridi rushed forward and struck at him behind with an Afghan sword two feet and a half long. A native servant, seeing the man, courageously threw his arms round him, and they fell and rolled down the steps together. It was a critical moment. Which side would an Afghan crowd take? The Lord who had averted the blow swayed their hearts, and they kept still while the Native police seized the assassin. Tuting, unmoved, opened his Bible at Matt. v. 44, "Love your enemies," &c., spoke a few words on the passage, and then quietly dismissed the people. In 1864, an accomplished American missionary, Isidore Löwenthal, was shot by one of his own servants; in 1865, a gallant English officer, Major Adams, was stabbed to death by an Afghan fanatic; and shortly after, Mr. Wade was laid in wait for by another, and

* The Gurkhutri mission-buildings are now occupied by the C.E.Z.M.S. Mission.

had a narrow escape. But if men of such a race were converted to Christ, what fine Christians they might make, and what a triumph it would be for the Gospel! This triumph was achieved in some cases. Let two or three Afghan Christians now be introduced.

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Dilawar Khan had been an Afghan brigand chief—an honourable calling in Pathan estimation. One of his devices was to seize wealthy Hindus on the east bank of the Indus who were about to be married, tie them up inside inflated cow-hides, paddle the water-tight vessel thus constructed across the river, carry the unfortunate captive into the mountains, and keep him there till a heavy ransom was paid for his release. When the British forces crossed the Indus and occupied Peshawar, a price was set on the head of this daring and dreaded robber; but it occurred to Major Lumsden, when raising the famous Guide Corps from among the border tribes, to send and offer a post in it to Dilawar Khan, hoping thus to turn his far-famed energy into a better channel. He rejected the offer with scorn; but afterwards he reflected that he might as well secure for himself the price of his capture, so, carrying his head (as he expressed it) on his own shoulders, he walked into the British lines and claimed the reward! Enlisted in the Guides, he soon became a jemadar (lieutenant). One day in 1853, he heard that devoted Christian soldier, Colonel Wheeler, preaching in the streets of Peshawar, before the Mission was established. Dilawar, who was an ardent and well-instructed Mohammedan—having been the pupil of a moulvie in early life,—at once began to argue with the Colonel, who replied by giving him a copy of Pfander's *Mizan-al-Haqq*. It deeply impressed him, and when Pfander himself came to Peshawar, Dilawar sought him out and learned more of the fallacies of Islam and the truths of Christianity. He then challenged the moulvies to refute the book, and on their refusing or failing to do so, his convictions deepened. He did not manifest anything like heart-religion; but just as he had joined the English army to be on the stronger side, he allied himself now to the religion which seemed the stronger, and he began to go out with Robert Clark on his preaching tours. One day, when riding with Herbert Edwardes, who had been instructing him in the Gospel, he asked for fresh arguments wherewith to “confound the mullahs.” Edwardes told him of the love of Christ, which he had not realized before; and now his heart began to follow on the same path that his mind had already trod.

Dilawar
Khan,

As a border
brigand,

As a
British
soldier,

As a stu-
dent of
Christi-
anity,

When John Lawrence sent all the troops he could spare to the siege of Delhi, the Guides were among them; and in the desperate fighting that ensued, Dilawar displayed such conspicuous valour that he was promoted to the rank of subadar (captain), the highest that a Native could attain to. His regiment returned to Peshawar, laden with their share of the spoils of Delhi; but Dilawar came empty-handed, “doubting,” he said, “whether looting was not

As a
valiant
officer.

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His bap-
tism.

contrary to the law of Christ." He now avowed himself a candidate for baptism, and he was admitted to the Church on Whit Sunday, 1858, by T. H. Fitzpatrick, who was at Peshawar on a visit. He retained his old name, Dilawar, "bold," but added to it "Masih," to signify that he would be "bold for Christ." We shall meet him again presently.

Fazl-i-
Haqq.

Next we will make the acquaintance of two men from the Eusufzai District. One of these was Nurallah (Light of God), who had been a Moslem mullah, and also a Hafiz, knowing the whole Koran by heart. The other was Fazl-i-Haqq (Grace of Truth), a constable in the police force, converted through reading the *Mizan-al-Haqq*, which was given him by Dilawar Khan. Neither of them needed to have new baptismal names: their old names were confirmed to them, but with a Christian meaning. There were difficulties in the way of Fazl-i-Haqq remaining in the police as a Christian; and as he would not come into mission employ, lest his Moslem friends should say he had changed his religion for gain, he enlisted in the Guide Corps, in which his friend Dilawar Khan was an officer. Under the protection of that redoubtable member of (in more senses than one) the Church Militant, he was fairly safe, and was able to remain in the corps five years; but when the excellent colonel, Lumsden, was removed, the enmity of his fellow-troopers broke out, and he was obliged to take his discharge.

The Si'ah-
posh Kafirs

These two men, Fazl-i-Haqq and Nurallah, were now to brave imminent perils for Christ's sake. It was on this wise. In the midst of the mighty mountain masses of the Hindu Kush, north-east from Peshawar, between Afghanistan and Chitral, lies Kafiristan, a country inhabited by a strange Heathen people called by the Moslem Afghans *Kafirs*, i.e. Infidels—which name they have themselves accepted. To distinguish them from other "infidels," such as the Hindus or the English, they are known as the *Si'ah-posh* or "black-clad" Kafirs, from the black goat-skins which they wear. For centuries they have successfully resisted all Mussulman invaders, and have remained independent both in nationality and in religion.* At the time that Edwardes and Nevile Chamberlain and Lumsden were raising irregular troops from among the Frontier tribes, a few Kafirs enlisted in the Guide Corps, and thus came under the notice of Fazl-i-Haqq. The Christians and the Kafirs, being alike "infidels," naturally drew together; and Fazl-i-Haqq taught them to read the Pushtu Gospels. Two of them in due course went on leave to visit their own country; and the result was the appearance in Peshawar, in 1864, of a deputation of four Kafirs, asking for teachers to be sent to their people. It was quite impossible for an English missionary to go. The British authorities allowed no one to cross the frontier.

* But within the last few years, with the consent, alas! of the British Government, the country has been annexed by the Ameer of Afghanistan.

Thereupon Fazl-i-Haqq, who was just then quitting the Guide Corps, and Nurallah, offered to go themselves. Let us not forget that for them, as Afghans, the peril was extreme. Their race was the irreconcilable foe of the Si'ah-posh Kafirs. It was the Afghans who had again and again tried to subdue Kafiristan. No Afghan was safe there for a moment. Yet these two men, who, had they been still Mussulmans, might have led a raid into the Si'ah-posh villages, now, as Christians, were ready to go and set up there a peaceful "flag for Christ."

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Afghan
evangelists
for Kafir-
istan.

The account of their journey, as compiled by Mr. R. Clark from their own Pushtu diaries, is one of the most extraordinary narratives that ever appeared in an English periodical.* In order to reach Kafiristan, they had to cross a considerable belt of Mohammedan territory, some two hundred miles, and here they were in equal danger, only not as Afghans, but as Christians. The Afridis and other mountaineers frequently visited Peshawar for trading purposes, and many of them knew both Fazl-i-Haqq and Nurallah well. Recognition would assuredly mean opposition to their proceeding, and might mean violence and murder. Recognized, indeed, they were, over and over again; but sometimes by a little bribery and persuasion, and sometimes by stratagem, they got through safely. For instance:—

Their
perilous
journey.

"Where do you come from?" "From Eusufzai" (their native place). "Do you know Mullah Pasanai?" (This was Fazl-i-Haqq's own father!) "Yes." "Did you ever see his son, Fazl-i-Haqq, whom I knew as a child, when I was the Mullah's disciple?" "Yes, we know him." "How are they all? are they well?" "Yes, they are all quite well." "Come in, then, and have something to eat, for you have brought me good news!"

Daily and hourly they committed themselves in prayer to their God and Saviour, and some of their escapes show unmistakably His special providence over them. The chief human means of their preservation and the success of their attempt was *medicine*. It was little enough that they knew of it; but Mrs. Robert Clark had provided them with some simple drugs, and given them simple instructions how to use them; and repeatedly this saved them from violence, and obtained for them food and lodging, and leave to pass through a village or a defile. In some places the providential relief by quinine of a fever-stricken patient brought the whole village with their sick around them. On reaching the borders of Kafiristan, they found an Afghan chief who managed such peaceful traffic as was possible between the two races; and under his guidance, disguised as women, they entered the country, and were joyfully received by Ghara, one of the Kafirs who had been in the Guide Corps, and who, having picked up some Pushtu, could interpret between them and the Kafirs.

Healing
and teach-
ing.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1865. In the March number of that year there was a geographical and ethnological article on Kafiristan and its people, based on a paper by Capt. Raverty in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1859.

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For three weeks they remained, talking and teaching from morning to night, and during the night writing their Pushtu diaries in lime-juice, which kept the characters invisible until heated over a fire. They had a startling and painful illustration of the perils of their position when, while they were in the district, twenty-eight armed Afghans were decoyed over the border and cruelly murdered in cold blood. They returned in safety to Peshawar, after an absence of nearly three months.

Death of
Fazl-i-
Haqq.

On Fazl's return, it was proposed to train him to be a catechist; but he found a studious life impossible for him, and eventually he again joined the Guide Corps, assuring the missionaries that he could do more good as a witness for Christ among his fellow-troopers. The regiment was stationed thirty miles from Peshawar, but he had leave to ride in every Saturday and attend the Christian services on Sunday, which was his special enjoyment. Within a few months, however, he showed signs of consumption; and in May, 1868, he died in a regimental hospital at Abbottabad, to the last "a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Subsequent attempts to raise "a flag for Christ" in Kafiristan will come before us hereafter.

Dilawar
Khan and the
mulla-
hahs.

Dilawar Khan did not long survive his comrade. For ten years he had continued his fearless testimony to the truth. The missionaries were sometimes distressed at his too bitter sarcasms and polemical style. He "confounded the mullahs," but he did not win them. He justified himself, however, thus: "Every man to his work; it is mine to cast down and yours to build up." Robert Clark thus described him:—

Dilawar
and the
mission-
aries.

"If we wish to picture to ourselves Dilawar Khan, we must fancy that we see before us a shrewd, elderly Afghan, with broad, muscular shoulders and a very rugged and deeply-lined face, clad in a postin, or sheepskin coat, with the long warm wool inside, and the yellow-tanned embroidered leather outside, seated on the ground, or in an armchair, in the barrack-yard of the Guide Corps in Murdan. His sword is on his knees, or else in a broad leathern belt which is strapped round his waist, and which also contains a pistol firmly attached to it by a strong loose cord, to prevent its being snatched away. He is arguing eagerly with both hand and tongue with a Mohammedan priest, who is seated before him, while numbers of excited Mohammedan soldiers are listening all round. You can see by the twinkle in his eye and by the puzzled, angry look of his opponent, that he has the best of the argument. He has got the priest fast as in a vice, and he will not let him go."

He liked to test the knowledge and skill of the missionaries also. One day he came to Hughes, then a new-comer, with the insoluble problem of the origin of evil. "I took," writes Hughes, "considerable trouble to explain matters. At last I appealed to him for a reply, for he had been listening attentively, and his bright, intelligent eyes had been fixed on me all the time. 'Yes,' he said, 'that is exactly *my* view.' 'Then why did you trouble me on the subject?' 'Ah,' he replied, 'it is important that *you* should have an answer ready on any subject, and I

thought I would try you'; and then, with a thoughtful nod of the head, he added, '*I think you'll do.*'"

Dilawar Khan was a man of means, and was extremely charitable to the poor. He would offer money to missionaries' widows, and bring presents to missionaries' wives,—gifts which it was hard to refuse and unwise to accept. By his will he left all his property to the Government, committing his wife and family to its care. He had immense reverence for the British nation, and high ideas of discipline and obedience. Emphatically he was "a man under authority," accustomed, like the Roman centurion, to obey and be obeyed. Regarding baptism he said, "Did Christ command it? If so, that is enough for me." The same sense of loyalty brought him at last to the Holy Communion, after years of abstention because the words in the service, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," seemed to him inconsistent with the fact that the bread was unmistakably bread still.

Dilawar Khan met his death in the service of the British Government. Lord Mayo sent him on a secret mission into Central Asia. Not only was he the bravest of the brave, the strongest of the strong, for a service of such danger; he was also a Christian, and his superior officers had learned to trust the once untamable brigand to the utmost. For a year or two he was lost sight of, and rumours reached Peshawar that he had been put to death by one of the chiefs he had gone to. At length it transpired that he had perished in the snows of the Hindu Kush, through the treachery of the King of Chitral. He died acknowledging who and what he was, and expressing thankfulness at having been able to lay down his life for the British Government. He was never of the highest type of Christian. He lacked much of the spirit of Christ. But he "did his duty," as R. Clark says, "to the best of his power, and acted up to the light he possessed. He died as he had lived, zealous, consistent, faithful, straightforward, and brave."*

That was not the only occasion on which the British authorities gave special commissions to Peshawar Christians because their loyalty and truthfulness could be relied on. In the Umbeyla War of 1863, two of the converts were selected to go on a dangerous errand and collect information regarding the hostile tribes; and in 1875 another Afghan Christian was sent to report upon a band of Wahhabi fanatics whose movements were causing alarm. An Afghan who is a true Christian is one of the noblest of God's creation.

Let the pastor of the Peshawar congregation, a convert from Islam, though not an Afghan, be now introduced. Imam Shah was the son of a Moslem farmer in the Amritsar District, and received a fair Mohammedan education at a mosque. Having left home to

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Features of
Dilawar's
character.

His death.

Native
Christians
trusted by
Govern-
ment.

Imam
Shah.

* See detailed accounts of him, by R. Clark, in *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1870, and by T. P. Hughes, in *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1877.

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His bap-
tism.

His ordi-
nation.

seek his fortune in the city, he engaged himself as servant to the Rev. Daud Singh, on the understanding that he was to be allowed time for the fuller study of the Koran. He was a bigoted Mussulman, and would not even drink water out of the vessels of his Christian master; but what at length arrested him was the expression "Our Father" applied to God—so strange a phrase in Mohammedan ears. At length he spoke to Daud Singh, who at once gave him a St. Matthew's Gospel and the *Mizan-al-Haqq*; and after much struggle and some months of definite instruction, he was baptized in 1861 by R. Clark, at Khairabad on the Indus, where Daud Singh was at that time ministering to the Christians in the Mazhabi Sikh regiment. His apostasy from Islam dissolved, by Mohammedan law, his marriage years before with a child of eight years old who had never lived with him, and her father now gave her to another man; whereupon Imam Shah married Daud Singh's eldest daughter. For ten years he laboured faithfully as a catechist at Peshawar, receiving at the same time theological instruction from Mr. Hughes. In 1872 he went for some months to the Lahore Divinity College under French; and in December of that year he was ordained by Bishop Milman. He has ever since served as pastor of the Peshawar congregation.

Kashmir.

Appeal
from high
British
officials to
C.M.S.

Although Kafiristan had not presented an open door, another country on the Frontier proved to be at least partially accessible to missionary pioneers of courage and discretion. This was the Kingdom of Kashmir, a protected Native State with a British Resident, but with a Hindu Maharajah reigning over a Mohammedan people. The country was notorious, even among Asiatic countries, for its terrible vice and wickedness;* besides which it was guarded by Moslem bigotry as bitter as that of Peshawar, and without the strong arm of British authority to keep it in check. Englishmen were only allowed in the country at all during the summer months; and it was evident that a Christian Mission would meet with unusual difficulties. Nevertheless, after a holiday visit by Mr. R. Clark and Mr. Phelps (a military chaplain) in 1862, and a sermon by the latter at the hill-station of Murree, several high British officials put down their money to start a Mission, and wrote an appeal to the C.M.S. Committee. Here is part of it:—

"We, the undersigned residents in the Punjab, feeling deeply our responsibility, as Christians living in a Heathen land, to use every means that lies in our power to spread abroad the knowledge of the Word of God, desire to express to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society our confidence in its principles, and our earnest hope that its

* What added to the bad reputation of Kashmir was that young Englishmen, when on leave from official or other duties, went there with the undisguised purpose of indulging in sinful excesses away from the restraints—not so very strict, after all—of ordinary English life in India. A Kashmiri official inquired if certain sins were *commanded* by the Christian religion, as the English did openly what the Hindus and Mussulmans only did secretly.—*C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1864, p. 143.

work in this and in other countries may be abundantly blessed. We have observed with much thankfulness the extension of the Society's labours in the Punjab to Umritsur, Kangra, Peshawur, Multan, and the Derajat; but we continually witness many other important districts which still remain unevangelized; and we trust that their efforts in this province may be yet very largely increased. A great desire has been lately felt by many persons in the Punjab for the introduction of the Word of God into the neighbouring country of Cashmere, where no systematic effort has as yet been made to preach the Gospel. We wish now to draw the attention of your Society to that country, for we hope that the door to Cashmere is now open, inviting you to enter in; and we feel that the time has come for the propagation of Christianity in that land. Cashmere is very populous, and its inhabitants are intelligent. The country is healthy, and presents great advantages. We appeal therefore to you for missionaries, whom we will endeavour to aid. About 9600 rupees have been already subscribed towards a Mission at Cashmere (afterwards raised to £1500), and we confidently express our belief that a considerable sum will be yearly raised in the Punjab to meet its expense when once established.

"We therefore ask urgently for labourers: we feel how greatly they are required. We ask for them as soon as they can be sent; we feel the importance that no time be lost in such a cause."

This was signed by many of the leading Government officials in the Punjab, including the Lieutenant-Governor himself, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald McLeod, Sir Herbert Edwardes, General Lake, Mr. R. N. Cust, Mr. E. A. Prinsep, Sir Douglas Forsyth, Generals Maclagan and Crofton, &c. Can we wonder that God blessed the Punjab, when such men governed it?

In the following year, 1863, R. Clark again went over the great mountain-passes into the "Happy Valley," accompanied by Mrs. Clark; and again in 1864, in which year medical missionary operations were openly commenced, in Srinagar, the capital, Mrs. Clark starting a dispensary, and receiving a hundred patients a day, and Native catechists brought over by Clark going in and out among the people. One convert from Islam was given them almost immediately, and he was baptized on July 30th; and thereupon "the bright prospects were soon overclouded. The Governor of the city himself organized a disturbance, and the hired house was attacked 'by order.' The Christians closed the doors and engaged in prayer. The missionary sped hastily to the palace for assistance, but the Governor was 'asleep and could not be awaked.' A French gentleman (a Roman Catholic), the agent of a large Paris house for Kashmir shawls, was the one to come to the rescue. The people slunk away, saying, 'What could we do? We were *told* to do it.' " All sorts of opposition and outrage now ensued. Fathers who sent their children to the mission school were thrown into prison. Inquirers who visited Clark were publicly whipped, threatened with death, and expelled the country. The British Resident, Mr. F. Cooper, was friendly, but he could do nothing, as the Maharajah claimed that the British Government had promised that there should be no proselytizing.

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Mr. and
Mrs. R.
Clark in
Kashmir.

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Clark now appealed for liberty to stay in Kashmir through the winter, but this was peremptorily refused, and every English visitor, and every Christian of any nationality, continued to be turned out every October.

Meanwhile the energetic Christian officers in the Punjab, though they had appealed to the C.M.S., did not wait for the Committee, but corresponded themselves direct with that remarkable organization, which was already proving a rare instrument of good in God's hands, the Edinburgh Medical Mission, with a view to obtaining a medical missionary for Kashmir. A young doctor of distinction, W. J. Elmslie, M.D., offered for the work; but he, like most Scotchmen, was a Presbyterian,—how then could he join the C.M.S., or the C.M.S. employ him? The Punjab officers were not to be baffled by this difficulty. They wrote another appeal to the Society, asking that in consideration of the zeal and liberality of the Christian Englishmen in the Province in supporting its Missions, and of their promise to pay all expenses of the proposed Medical Mission beyond the personal allowances of the missionary, the Committee would "make an exception to their general practice," and engage Dr. Elmslie, "provided that he was prepared cordially to act upon the principles of the Society." It need scarcely be said that the C.M.S. always regards Presbyterians and other non-Anglicans as Christian brethren, and wishes God-speed to their efforts to spread the Kingdom of Christ; but obviously a Church of England Society must accept the restrictions of its Church connexion as well as enjoy its advantages, and ought to employ those only who are members of the Church. In this case, however, the circumstances did seem exceptional; the Committee gave a cordial welcome to Dr. Elmslie, he undertaking to observe all the Society's ordinary rules and practice, and he sailed for India as a C.M.S. missionary in September, 1864, and opened his dispensary at Srinagar on May 9th, 1865—a date worth remembering.

What did the Bishop of Calcutta think of this? The Bishop was the sensible and large-hearted Cotton; and being himself on a visit to Kashmir during Elmslie's first summer there, he wrote as follows:—

"During my present stay in Cashmere I have been twice present at Dr. Elmslie's reception of patients, and bear willing testimony to the great interest and practical usefulness, as well as to the wise and Christian character of his proceedings. He presents Christianity to the people in its most obviously beneficent aspect; and for this union of care for men's souls with the healing of their bodies the Gospel narrative furnishes us with the very highest justification and precedent. It is but little that we can at present do to make known to the people of this country the blessings of Christ's salvation; but I quite believe that Dr. Elmslie is knocking at the one door which may, through God's help, be opened for the truth to enter in. I heard two Hindustani sermons from his catechist, addressed to the sufferers from various maladies, who

Dr. W. J.
Elmslie.

Bishop
Cotton on
Elmslie's
work.

were gathered in the verandah, one on the Lord's Prayer, and the other on the parable of the sower. Both were excellent, simple, unpretending, suited to the hearers; placing before them plain Christian truth, and without any offensive remarks on their own religion, or the very slightest political allusion."

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It was indeed true that the "door" Elmslie was "knocking at" was the only one that seemed practicable. His clerical missionary companion, W. Handcock of Peshawar, found himself beset with spies, denied leave to buy food in the city, rudely stopped when attempting to preach, and driven away into the further parts of the Valley. Even Elmslie's dispensary was surrounded by a cordon of soldiers, who were ordered to prevent people attending, and to take the names of those who insisted. The Maharajah opened an opposition hospital—a result to be rejoiced at, for nothing of the kind had been known in Kashmir before; and offered Elmslie a large salary (about £1000 a year) to quit the Mission and take charge of it—an offer, needless to say, respectfully declined. The people thronged the mission hospital; nothing could stop them; they quickly saw the difference in skill and kindness between Elmslie and the Hindu doctor over the way; and they listened quietly to the Christian teaching and gratefully carried away Christian tracts. Thus the work went on for five summers, Elmslie leaving each October and returning in April. A fine old catechist, a Kashmiri himself, named Qadir Bahksh, who had been connected with the American Mission at Lahore, proved a most valuable helper; the Rev. W. G. Cowie, the summer chaplain,* gave cordial assistance; and important aid was also rendered by the Rev. A. Brinckman, who had been an officer in the army, had temporarily joined the S.P.G. as an honorary missionary, and had the evangelization of Kashmir much upon his heart. In the summer of 1867, when there was a serious outbreak of cholera in the Valley, all the English left hurriedly except Elmslie and Mr. Brinckman, who devoted themselves unreservedly to the relief of the victims. The Spirit of God was at work, and two Kashmiri converts were baptized that year by Mr. Brinckman. But all the men converts were expelled from Kashmir, while, as no women were allowed to quit the country, they had to leave their wives behind. Up to this time the Society had refrained from publishing much that had been received from its missionaries, for fear of adding to the difficulties; but Brinckman on his return to England in 1868 issued a pamphlet entitled *The Wrongs of Cashmere*; and Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer* now spoke out, and asked why the British Government tolerated such proceedings in a protected State as had taken place in the "Un-happy Valley."

Difficulties
of the
Mission.

Cowie and
Brinckman

In 1870, Elmslie came home for his health's sake, and W. T. Storrs of the Santal Mission, himself a qualified medical man, took his place for that summer; and in 1871, R. Clark and

* Now Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand.

PART VII. T. V. French went over, taking with them John Williams, the Native doctor of Tank; so the work was not interrupted, so far as the summers were concerned. While in England, Elmslie

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Elmslie's
last year.

produced a valuable vocabulary in the little-known Kashmiri language; and in 1872 he returned to India with a young and devoted wife. That summer was a very trying one, and cholera again broke out. Crowds attended the hospital; the evangelistic preaching went on vigorously; opposition was less troublesome; and Elmslie tried hard to get leave to stay through the winter—but in vain. On October 21st he and his wife started to cross the high mountain-passes. Exhausted with his labours, and suffering sadly from the difficult journey—though Mrs. Elmslie put him in her litter, and walked the whole way herself,—he arrived at Gujerat in the Punjab on November 16th, with inflammation of the lungs; and though received with all loving kindness by Mr. H. E. Perkins, the Commissioner there, and Mrs. Perkins, he, on the 18th, aged forty, passed away into the presence of the Lord. "I gazed on his features," wrote R. Clark, who was telegraphed for from Amritsar, "as he lay in his coffin. On his face there was a smile, the smile of rest and victory. We laid him to rest on the battle-field of Gujerat. Surely his death was more glorious than that of those who died on the field of victory in 1849!"

His death.

Lahore
Divinity
College.

One more scheme for raising "a flag for Christ" in the Punjab must be referred to—the Lahore Divinity College; a scheme all the more important because it was designed to prepare Christian standard-bearers who were sons of the soil, and who should wave the flag before their own countrymen,—and not in Lahore only, but in many parts of Northern India.

We have seen Thomas Valpy French buckling on his armour for the third time to go forth into the front of the battle. The first time he went was as an educationalist, to found a college for the higher education of Heathen and Mohammedans and thus bring them under the sound of the Gospel. The second time was as an itinerant preacher among the Moslem tribes of the Frontier. This third time he goes as the founder and head of a school of the prophets. We have seen him joined by J. W. Knott; and we have seen him losing his much-loved colleague before the work they were to do together could be begun. Let us now see its actual beginning.

C.M.S. at
Lahore.

Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, was not a mission station of the Church Missionary Society. The excellent Mission of the American Presbyterians had occupied it before English missionaries crossed the Sutlej. But at the generous suggestion of the American leaders, Newton and Forman, a C.M.S. Native pastor, the Rev. James Kadshu, was sent there in 1867 to minister to the Native Christians connected with the Church of England who, in pursuance of their various callings, found themselves in the capital. And

now, with the same generosity, they welcomed French's plan of establishing his new Divinity College at Lahore, as being the most easily accessible centre for students from a distance. In due course French purchased a garden belonging to an old chief, which covered three or four acres of ground, and had some native buildings on it. It was not his wish to begin on a grand scale. It was quite in accordance with his ideas that on the night he arrived at Lahore, there was no one to receive him, and he took his baggage in a hand-barrow to the *dāk* bungalow, and found a sofa to pass the night upon—"beginning," as he said, his new life "in an inn, according to the best precedent that could be followed." But he did intend the College to grow into an important institution; and gradually building after building in the garden was adapted or added, until "the place assumed quite a collegiate aspect. In the first quadrangle were all the greater buildings, the lodge, the library, and chapel; in the second, the bath, and the rooms for unmarried students; in the third—a novel feature as compared with English universities—the quarters of the married students." *

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French's
plans.

But this is anticipating. Before thus adapting and enlarging the premises, French had to announce his plans and invite students. He did not meet with a ready response from all missionaries. Some preferred to keep their promising young men under their own eye; and some doubted the wisdom of his scheme. Certainly it was a remarkable one. It was to give a really high-class theological training. The Hebrew Old Testament, the Greek Septuagint, the Greek New Testament, the Latin and Greek Fathers, were to be studied; and although English, with its wealth of Christian literature, was not to be excluded, the instrument of instruction was to be the vernacular Urdu. That is to say, the students were to read (say) Ezekiel in Hebrew and Ephesians in Greek, and French and his helpers were to lecture on them in Urdu, with occasional use of Persian, Pushtu, Punjabi, Sanscrit, and Arabic; while Chrysostom and Augustine, Dörner and Tholuck, Hooker and Owen, were to be laid under contribution:—

Proposed
studies and
methods.

"A Mohammedan convert, brought up all his life in distaste of and prejudice against English, should find that his want of English does not disqualify him for perfecting his curriculum of theology. Christianity should be domesticated on the Indian soil. Here (in the College) should be found men who, by severe and close attention bestowed on Mohammedan and Hindu literature, can express the delicate shades, the nice distinctions of thought which some at least of our standard works of theology involve,—by continued intercourse and sympathy with native minds, quick to discover what each word and phrase and idiom suggests when uttered in native hearing."

The task of thus finding in Urdu the nearest equivalents of technical theological terms, and of gradually using them with

* H. A. Birks, *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. p. 223.

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His purpose, to polish a few first-rate instruments.

ease, was an appalling one, and there were not a few who could put no faith in its successful execution. But French thoroughly believed in the plan of highly training a few men, rather than superficially training many.

"To lead forward in the way of God,"—so he expressed his design,— "and to ground and establish in the doctrines of Christ, *some few* whose tried convictions, sufficient mental qualifications, spiritual views of truth, and sense of being entrusted with a commission and embassy from God, would lead us to regard them as the brightest hope and promise of our Native Church; and to feel that no amount of effort expended for their sakes would, in the long run, fail of being amply remunerated. It is for the *gift* of the risen and ascended Saviour that we wait. '*He gave evangelists, pastors, and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints.*' . . . We desire that to each workman the great Workmaster should say, '*I have made thy mouth like a sharp sword: in the shadow of My hand have I hid thee, and made thee a polished shaft.*'"

The College opened.

After many delays, which French took quietly and patiently, never doubting that every obstacle or disappointment was specially ordained of God to throw His servants more wholly on Him, the College was opened, with four students only, on November 21st, 1870. Seven others joined soon afterwards, and with these eleven French considered that he was starting well. We shall meet some of them by-and-by, and it will be best to defer notice of them to our next Part. For four years French went on, though with intervals of serious illness, assisted by R. Clark, Bateman, Wade, and G. M. Gordon. His annual reports—all of which appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* and were also published separately—were read with deep interest by thoughtful men in England. "Those noble letters," Lightfoot (afterwards Bishop of Durham) called them at an S.P.G. meeting, "which Mr. French has sent to the Church Missionary Society." Men like Westcott and J. Wordsworth (now Bishops of Durham and Salisbury) sent him pecuniary help; and the former wrote:—

"The West has much to learn from the East, and the lesson will not be taught till we hear the truth as it is apprehended by Eastern minds. May it be that in the good time of God the Catechetical School of Lahore may be reckoned among the fruitful centres of Christian teaching."

How the Lahore College, thus nobly started, set up "a flag for Christ" in the Punjab, we will see more fully in a future chapter.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CHINA: NEW MISSIONS AND OLD.

“Onward and Inward”—China Inland Mission—C.M.S. Missions: Hong Kong, &c.—Ningpo and Hang-chow—Progress in Fuh-kien—Bishop Alford—Wong Kiu-taik—Christian Death-beds in Chekiang—Alford’s Great Scheme of Extension—Missionary Bishopric Controversy—Yang-chow Riots—Duke of Somerset and Bishop Magee—Tien-tsin Massacre—Russell Bishop of North China.

“The Lord, He it is that doth go before thee; He will be with thee, He will not fail thee, neither forsake thee: fear not, neither be dismayed.”—Deut. xxxi. 8.

“Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.”—Acts xv. 26.



WE left China “bleeding at every pore”—as one writer expressed it—after the suppression, at last, of the T’aip’ing Rebellion. The whole country was now open to missionary enterprise as never before. Temples were in ruins; idols were destroyed. Great was the opportunity; but the opportunity was not availed of. Certainly not by the Church Missionary Society, or the Church of England. “Onward and inward” was the motto suggested by Mr. Russell; and some little advance was made, as we shall see. But the Church at this time, torn by intestine divisions, totally neglected its duty to China—more so even than its duty to Africa and India. The S.P.G. had as yet no work there. It had sent two men to Peking in 1863, but they only stayed a few months. There was no Universities’ Mission as in Africa. The C.M.S. stood alone as representing the most important Church in Protestant Christendom; and what did the C.M.S. do? In 1862 it had ten men in China; during the eleven years it sent out eleven men and one lady missionary; * at the end of 1872 it had fifteen men and the lady missionary. Moreover, whereas the Mission was originally in effect an Universities’ Mission, eight out of the first nine men sent being graduates—indeed thirteen out of the whole twenty sent prior to our present period,—in this period not one graduate was added to the staff. The “failing supply” of men and means, of

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A chance
to go “on-
ward and
inward.”

The chance
not availed
of by
C.M.S.

* One other man, a schoolmaster, and one other lady, joined the Mission in the country, being already there in other capacities; but each only stayed in it two or three years.

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1862-72. results, affected in an especial degree the China Mission.
Chap. 64.

Nor by
others.

Hudson
Taylor.

The crisis
of his life.

Happily the evangelization of China has not depended upon the Church Missionary Society, or upon the Church of England. But the period was not one of marked advance in the Missions of the other leading societies. The American Missions were crippled by the terrible civil war in the United States in the earlier 'sixties; and the English Nonconformist Societies were feeling the general decadence of missionary zeal at home which, as we have seen, Dr. Dale of Birmingham perceived and lamented. The L.M.S., however, and the American Presbyterians and Methodists, did advance up the Yangtse to Hankow, Wuchang, and Chin-kiang, and also northward to Chefoo, Tien-tsin, and Peking. Yet, in 1865, when China had been more or less open for twenty-three years, there were under one hundred Protestant missionaries, or one to every three or four millions of souls; and of the eighteen great provinces of the empire, there were mission stations in only seven. Meanwhile the overwhelming "need and claims of China"—as he expressed it—lay heavy upon the heart of Hudson Taylor, who had been invalided home, and was in England for some years. He was chiefly occupied in assisting F. F. Gough, the C.M.S. missionary, in revising for the Bible Society the Ningpo Colloquial Version of the New Testament; and the two men, who were close friends, were in daily conference and prayer upon the whole subject. The subsequent influence of Mr. Taylor upon the cause of China's evangelization—indeed upon the world's evangelization, and, not least, upon the C.M.S. share in it—has been so remarkable that his own account of the crisis in his life which led to the establishment of the China Inland Mission must be quoted here:—

"On Sunday, June 25th, 1865 [at Brighton], unable to bear the sight of a congregation of a thousand or more Christian people rejoicing in their own security while millions were perishing for lack of knowledge, I wandered out on the sands alone, in great spiritual agony; and there the Lord conquered my unbelief, and I surrendered myself to God for this service. I told Him that all the responsibility as to issues and consequences must rest with Him; that as His servant, it was mine to obey and to follow Him—His, to direct, to care for, and to guide me and those who might labour with me. Need I say that peace at once flowed into my burdened heart? There and then I asked Him for twenty-four fellow-workers, two for each of eleven inland provinces which were without a missionary, and two for Mongolia; and writing the petition on the margin of the Bible I had with me, I returned home with a heart enjoying rest such as it had been a stranger to for months, and with an assurance that the Lord would bless His own work and that I should share in the blessing. I had previously prayed, and asked prayer, that workers might be raised up for the eleven then unoccupied provinces, and thrust forth and provided for, but had not surrendered myself to be their leader." *

* *A Retrospect*, by J. Hudson Taylor, p. 119.

The China Inland Mission was accordingly established, with very little organization in the first instance, but with three definite principles: (1) "no restriction as to denomination, provided there was soundness in the faith in all fundamental truths," (2) "no guarantee of income," the missionaries to depend entirely on the Lord, (3) "no collections or personal solicitation of money." On May 26th, 1866, Mr. Taylor sailed for China with fifteen missionary companions, six men and nine women, in the *Lammermuir*. Seven labourers had gone out previously at his instance; but the *Lammermuir* party have always been regarded as the C.I.M. pioneers. The occupation of the eleven then unoccupied provinces proved, of course, a task demanding much faith and patience; and within our period only one of them, Ngan-hwei, was reached, the work being principally in Che-kiang, alongside other Missions. But gradually, as more labourers appeared, nine of the provinces, including the remote western and north-western ones, were successfully entered; and many of the societies have since followed the example of this "onward and inward" Mission. We shall see more of God's gracious dealings with it in future chapters.

Let us now review more particularly the work of the C.M.S. We shall find that, totally inadequate as the small staff was for working a substantial Mission, it pleased God to give strength, and blessing, to the few scattered labourers. An average of four men in Che-kiang, and of two in Fuh-kien, were permitted both to consolidate and to extend the operations in those provinces, especially through the agency of Native evangelists. But let three other centres be briefly noticed first. In the opening year of our period, 1862, two important advances were made. Hong Kong and Peking became C.M.S. stations. Hitherto the Society had at Hong Kong only rendered a little assistance to Bishop Smith in St. Paul's College; but in 1862 a regular Mission was begun by T. Stringer. Good work was being done under the Bishop's auspices, and his influence with the European community secured both personal and pecuniary help. A Diocesan Native Female School was established, chiefly at their expense, which was worked by Miss Baxter of the Female Education Society, assisted by several English ladies in the Colony. They also supported lay evangelists both for English sailors and for the Chinese; and a monthly missionary meeting held in the College was attended by fifty Europeans.* From time to time the Bishop baptized Chinese converts; in 1863 he ordained an excellent catechist, Lo Sam Yuen, who had been working among the Chinese gold-diggers in Australia; and everything pointed to a successful Mission. After three years, Stringer was appointed Colonial Chaplain, and was succeeded in the Mission by C. F. Warren; and in 1866, St.

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China In-
land Mis-
sion.

C. M. S. at
Hong
Kong.

* Bishop Smith's Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1863, quoted in the C.M.S. Report of that year.

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And at
Peking.

Stephen's Church was erected for Chinese services, at the expense again of the English residents. Meanwhile, J. S. Burdon was at the great northern capital, Peking. Bishop Smith took him there in 1862, and although the only regular missionary allowed in the city was Dr. Lockhart of the L.M.S., on account of his medical skill, Burdon was able to remain as *quasi*-chaplain to the British Embassy while studying the Mandarin dialect; and in the following year, the restrictions being removed, he was joined by W. H. Collins from Shanghai, and the two set to work cautiously and yet earnestly to find openings for the Gospel. Sir Harry Parkes, then British Consul at Shanghai, being in England at the time, discussed the situation with the C.M.S. Secretaries, and strongly recommended the Society to enlarge its work in the north rather than in the centre. Shanghai, therefore, was left for some years without a C.M.S. missionary. The small Chinese congregation was ministered to by the Rev. Dzaw Tsang-lae, who was kindly advised by the missionaries of the American Episcopal Church; but he died in 1867.

Che-kiang
Mission:
G. E. and
A. E.
Moule.

The Che-kiang Mission was carried on during the earlier years of our period by the two brothers George and Arthur Moule, who were quite alone for more than a year after Russell and Fleming left for England in 1862-3. They were joined in 1864 by J. D. Valentine, and in 1867 by J. Bates and H. Gretton; but in China a young missionary is of little service for two or three years. Both Russell and Gough were several years in England, partly engaged in important translational work, and the former detained also by certain difficulties to be noticed presently. George Moule likewise left in 1867 after nearly ten years of unusually trying experiences, and Arthur Moule was then for nearly two years the senior missionary in the province, although of only six years' standing himself, and was also the only clergyman in full orders, and therefore had to travel frequently to the various out-stations. Can we wonder if a Mission is not marked by great progress in such circumstances? Nevertheless it was not stationary. Boarding-schools for boys and girls were carried on at Ningpo; Mrs. A. E. Moule had Bible-classes for Chinese women; literary work was being done by both her and her husband; daily preaching in the mission chapel was not suspended; special addresses were given to the foreign-drilled Chinese troops in the city; and the promising out-stations, Kwun-hæ-we and other villages on the San-poh plain, Z-ky'i, Tsong-ts'eng, Tsong-gyiao, and in the Eastern Lake district, were regularly visited. And extension had not been neglected. In 1864, when the Ta'ip'ings had been finally suppressed, two of the Chinese evangelists came to George Moule and begged him to go forward to Hang-chow, the capital of Che-kiang, which Burdon had been the first to visit in 1859. "After all its sufferings, surely there must be repentance. Strike the iron, sir, while it is hot." How could he be spared, he asked, just then from Ningpo? "Sir," they replied, "this may

Forward to
Hang-
chow.

be God's opportunity; let it not slip." George Moule looked at the elder of the two men, who was in feeble health and had an aged mother to care for: "Mr. Dzang, it is impossible for me to go just now: will you go?" "I will go," was the reply, "God helping me." * Moule first inquired whether any other of the Missions at Ningpo were going to occupy the great city; and finding they were not, he started himself with Dzang on a reconnoitring visit. Thirty years before, while China's gates were yet closed, Gutzlaff † had recommended Hang-chow to the C.M.S. for occupation; and now at last it was to be invaded in the name of the Lord. In the autumn of 1865 George Moule moved thither with his family—which was the first definite case of inland residence of a settled Mission away from a treaty port. When Moule left for England, the younger men took his place. At the same time, the American Presbyterians, encouraged by the report of the C.M.S. evangelists, opened a station also in the city; the American Baptists followed; and when, in 1867, Hudson Taylor arrived with his *Lammermuir* party, he too went forward, and made Hang-chow his headquarters. These advances, and visits to other cities, were not made without some opposition. In 1867, J. D. Valentine, Hudson Taylor, and Mr. Green (American Presbyterian), united in a petition for protection to the Chinese authorities; and Mr. Taylor, later in the same year, had to appeal to the British Consul at Ningpo. But upon the whole, the higher Mandarins behaved well.

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G. Moule
the first to
reside in
an interior
city.

Turning to the Fuh-kien Province, we left the infant Mission at Fuh-chow under the charge of a new-comer, J. R. Wolfe, after the death of the young pioneer, George Smith. Only two months after burying his companion, Wolfe, at the close of 1863, was struck down by dangerous illness and obliged to retire for a time to Hong Kong. But the little flock of thirteen baptized converts and five catechumens, thus bereaved, was not forsaken by the Great Shepherd. Ministered to by a Christian Chinaman, named Wong, an artist, who had been baptized by the American Methodists and named Kiu-taik (seeker of virtue), they held together, and held firm to their new faith; and when Wolfe returned in renewed health, the number of inquirers quickly increased, despite bitter persecution from relatives. In 1864, another young missionary arrived, Arthur W. Cribb; and in that year the first forward step beyond Fuh-chow city was taken, by Wolfe stationing a catechist at Lieng-kong, a large city thirty miles to the north-east. In the following year a similar step was taken to Lo-nguong, another city thirty miles further; and another to Ku-cheng, some eighty miles inland from Fuh-chow, to the north-west. Ning-taik, beyond Lo-nguong, followed; and besides these four cities, many villages were gradually visited, and some of them occupied as out-stations. Deeply-interesting

Fuh-kien
Mission.

Wong Kiu-
taik.

Wolfe
moves for-
ward.

* A. E. Moule, *Story of the Che-kiang Mission*, p. 80.

† See Vol. I., p. 466.

PART VII. evidences of the work of the Holy Ghost upon Chinese hearts were soon presented; the converts and inquirers multiplied year by year; the Fuh-chow merchants, struck with the work, built a church for the Mission at a cost of \$5000; and Wolfe's letters, which were among the most graphic the Society had yet received from any part of the world, were read in England with eager and thankful interest. John Mee, in one of the picturesque Annual C.M.S. Reports which he wrote (1867), thus summarized the leading features of Wolfe's journeys over the Province:—

Wolfe's
journeys.

"The grandeur of the scenery contrasted strangely with the mud walls and wretched hovels of the Chinese towns. Art seemed afraid to attempt anything in the presence of the grandeur of creation. Often the messengers of Christ, like the Apostle of the Gentiles, continued to preach and speak of Christ through the greater part of the night. The people in many of the places visited had never heard of a Saviour, and had never even seen the foreign teacher. Under such circumstances, the missionary felt a deep, unspeakable joy in preaching Christ. On one occasion the crowd throngs a shop, or public room, which has been offered to the missionary; on another, in an idol temple, the Gospel is preached beneath the shadow of the idol itself; on another, the people rush into the great theatre of the place, in order to hear the new doctrines of the strangers; and on another, the Word is preached, late in the evening, in a large empty space, when the people furnish lights, and the missionary, already exhausted by two addresses, is succeeded by the colporteur, who long continues the preaching of Christ, with such clearness and impressiveness as the missionary had never before heard from the lips of a Chinaman."

"Why doesn't he ride in a chair?" asked a man of his fellow on seeing another itinerant missionary, Arthur Moule, walking over a pass in the hills on a wet day. "Oh," said the other, "he wants to save money." "No," said a third, "he is a preacher, and if he were shut up in a chair, how could he talk to the people by the way?"

After all, however, it was not the itinerating missionary that really did the work, either in Fuh-kien or in Che-kiang. In the former province especially, the Gospel spread by the agency of the converts themselves; not merely of the regular evangelists, but by individual men and women telling their neighbours and relations of the new faith they had embraced, and of the Saviour Whose name they had learned to love. From the first, this has been a marked characteristic of the work in Fuh-kien.

The Church of England in China had now a new bishop. Bishop Smith resigned in 1864, after an eventful episcopate of fifteen years. Some delay ensued in the appointment of his successor; and the C.M.S. Committee tried to obtain the sanction of the Government to the formation of a missionary bishopric pure and simple at Ningpo, under the Jerusalem Act, independent of the colonial See of Victoria, Hong Kong, with a view to Mr. Russell being consecrated to it, and to authority being given him over all the C.M.S. Missions on the mainland of China. To this

But the
best work
done by
Native
Christians.

Bishop
Smith re-
tires.

Archbishop Longley agreed, and the scheme seemed to be coming to a successful issue; but suddenly the appointment to Hong Kong was made, and the new bishop had to be consulted. The clergyman designated, the Rev. C. R. Alford, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Islington, and formerly Principal of Highbury Training College, was selected in a very curious way; but it must suffice here to say that he was a cousin of Mr. Robert Baxter, the well-known senior partner in the great firm of solicitors, Baxter, Rose, and Norton, who were the chief electioneering agents for the Conservative party, which was then in power. Mr. Alford was a strong Evangelical, and an active member of the C.M.S. Committee; and his appointment, though quite unexpected, was heartily welcomed by the Society. But he at once expressed strong objections to the missionary responsibilities that had hitherto attached to the See of Victoria being detached from it. He very naturally preferred being bishop over all English Church clergy and work in China, as his predecessor had been, to being limited to the small island of Hong Kong, with its British merchants, seamen, &c.; and so Henry Venn's plan for putting a missionary bishop at Ningpo fell to the ground. Russell was therefore sent back to the field after his long absence—caused latterly by these negotiations—with the newly-devised office of Secretary for China conferred upon him, which made him almost a *quasi*-bishop, with powers of superintendence, though without the power of exercising properly episcopal functions.

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1862-72.
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Bishop
Alford.

Bishop Alford went out to China in 1867, reaching Hong Kong in October. He at once threw himself energetically into the whole work. Within about twelve months he visited every place on the Chinese coast and up the Yang-tse, at which there was an Anglican chaplain or missionary, and also some of the treaty ports in Japan. He held twenty-one confirmations, mostly of little bands of Chinese converts, 212 in all, with sixty-four Europeans. He gave priests' orders to six C.M.S. missionaries, and deacon's orders to one Chinaman. He worked hard amid peculiar difficulties among the English community at Hong Kong; and his visits to the mission stations much encouraged the brethren. His accounts of these visits were very graphic. In Fuh-kien he travelled, on foot or in a sedan-chair, between two and three hundred miles among the out-stations, for there were already converts at the recently-occupied cities of Lieng-kong, Tang-iong, Lo-nguon, and Ku-cheng, as well as at Fuh-chow itself; and it was at Fuh-chow that the ordination of a Chinese clergyman took place. This was Wong Kiu-taik, the artist and catechist before mentioned. Bishop Alford thus wrote of him:—

His energetic work.

Ordination
of Wong
Kiu-taik.

“He is a well-informed and educated man. His reading is clear and impressive; his preaching, both in matter and manner, is excellent; and the diocesan register contains his ‘Declaration of Assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion,’ written beautifully in Chinese character by himself. In appearance he is somewhat slight, self-possessed and polished

PART VII. in address, with a calm eye and pleasing countenance—a Chinese gentle-
 1862-72. man whom no European clergyman need be ashamed to acknowledge as
 Chap. 64. a brother.

— “The ordination charge was given by myself. It was given by me in English, and rendered into Chinese by Mr. Wolfe, and listened to by Kiu-taik, and both English and Chinese, with great attention. The service was, of course, conducted in Chinese; the ordination questions by myself in English, being put to the candidate by Mr. Wolfe in Chinese, and his replies in Chinese were rendered to me in English by Mr. Cribb. Thus all parties present, English and Chinese, thoroughly understood and joined in the whole service. After ordination, Wong Kiu-taik read the Gospel and administered the cup to his country people in the Lord's Supper.”

One extract may be given from Bishop Alford's account of his country tour, as the first episcopal visit to Ku-cheng has an interest of its own in view of the subsequent history of that station:—

Bishop
Alford at
Ku-cheng.

“I never spent so interesting a Sunday as the 24th of May at Ku-cheng. Both toilet and breakfast were soon made, and the services of the day arranged. Three catechists were present; one had brought two men candidates for baptism, and another a third; these were to be examined and exhorted privately. At noon I proposed morning prayer and the baptismal service; at 3 p.m. the litany and confirmation service; and at 7 p.m. the Communion service and sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Baptisms.

“We took up our quarters for the day in the schoolroom. Here Mr. Cribb examined the candidates for baptism. One was a tailor, from a village fifteen miles distant, and another a carpenter, from a village three miles further off in the same direction; and these two Chinamen had travelled since Christmas last these thirty miles and more, arriving on the Saturday and returning on the Monday, and sojourning during the Sunday with a friend and relative in Ku-cheng, to meet the catechist and receive instruction. The third candidate lived in the town of Sek-paik-tu, where the Society has a station and a catechist, a considerable distance from Ku-cheng. Mr. Cribb had examined this man for baptism on his last visit, but delayed his baptism till he had been further taught. He was a sweetmeat vendor; very poor, but he never sold on Sunday; very regular at the catechist's week-day as well as Sunday services, though often wearied by his walks to sell his sweetmeats. . . . At our noonday service I preached on baptism, and baptized these three men, and rejoiced to do so.

Confirma-
tion.

“No bishop (perhaps no European besides the missionaries) had been to Ku-cheng before; catechists, therefore, as well as more recent converts, awaited confirmation. The three catechists present I requested to take a part with Mr. Cribb and myself in the services of the day, reading the lessons and giving out the hymns. One is a literary man, a B.A., residing at Ku-cheng, evidently a clever, and I hope also a good man. . . . Eight men and three women from Ku-cheng, three men from Sek-paik-tu, and one man from Sang-iong, were confirmed. The three men baptized at noon I did not confirm, preferring in the case of heathen converts that an interval of probation should pass between baptism and confirmation.

The Lord's
Supper.

“At the evening sacramental service twenty Christian converts communicated. The collection made at the offertory was encouraging—upwards of two dollars; all present contributed, and with apparent

readiness. So far from being paid to come, as some disingenuously have said, the Christian profession of these converts costs them something, for they are expected to give in support of the means of grace. . . . The communicants themselves, the place, the occasion, were all worthy of notice; and I could not but remind them that at the institution of the Lord's Supper only twelve were present, but those twelve Christians were those to whom Christ gave the injunction 'to go into all the world, and preach the Gospel'; and they obeyed. So now what might not these twenty Christians do for China? for Christ is the same, and His Gospel the same, and His Spirit is not straitened. I never spent a more profitable Sabbath."

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In 1871, Bishop Alford, after a time of absence in England, paid a second visit to Fuh-kien, travelling again for nine days from station to station; and although in the interval there had been severe persecution, not a few open outrages, and much consequent drawing-back of inquirers and catechumens, he was able to report that there were over three hundred steadfast members of the Church; and from that time the work went forward rapidly.

Meanwhile, Burdon and Collins were at Peking, and John Piper at Hong Kong, with much less outward success, though at both places there were conversions, baptisms, confirmations; and McClatchie, after an interval of service as a chaplain, had rejoined the Society, and was once more at Shanghai. The two veterans, Russell and Gough, and the brothers Moule, were again together in Che-kiang, and were joined by R. Palmer, A. Elwin, and Miss Laurence; also by Dr. Galt, who went out to take charge of the new Opium Refuge at Hang-chow, which soon proved an agency for much blessing; while a new city, Shaou-hing, "the City of Perpetual Prosperity," was occupied by Valentine in 1870. Russell actively supervised the whole Che-kiang Mission, starting several fresh agencies, and, in particular, initiating a tentative Church Council for the infant Native Church. Meanwhile the spiritual work of saving individual souls was being crowned by the Christian deaths of converts. It is a grievous mistake to gauge the results of Missions by the number of living members of the Church at a particular date; and Arthur Moule's words in 1869 are very significant, and worth remembering:—

C. M. S.
mission-
aries in the
North.

Deaths of
Chinese
Christians.

"The many deaths which have saddened our little Church are, I trust, with but one exception, gatherings into the heavenly garner; and as such, they are *more to be rejoiced over than many baptisms*. It is delightful to welcome one and another into the visible Church; but to feel that one and another is safe for evermore, where the wicked cease from troubling, where it is no longer a hard struggle to keep the Sabbath, where the voice of mockery and the whisper of enticing temptation are never heard, -this is a deep and wonderful joy, which in great measure hushes the mourning over the departed. Such joys God has given us during this sorrowful year."

It was not, however, easy for the missionary to behold the

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Why
death-bed
visits
avoided.

Christian death-beds themselves. There was a current belief that when a convert was dying, the missionary was hastily sent for by the Native catechist, and, as soon as the breath left the body, proceeded to remove the eyes and liver of the deceased, using these parts and organs for some mysterious and magical purpose. For this reason, and because it was found that inquirers were repelled by hearing the rumour, it was thought best to avoid death-beds, and to forego the privilege of ministering to the dying Christian and hearing his last words. But the influence of a convert's death was not thereby lost. In 1866, an elderly farmer was baptized, and soon afterwards he fell sick and died, speaking words of peace and hope to the last, and exhorting his family to seek the Saviour he had found. His widow and other relatives then came under instruction and attended the mission church; but one day a Chinese witch offered to bring from the unseen world the dead man's spirit, and the widow begged her to do so, and to ask him if he were in peace. Presently the witch reported the reply as, "I am an outcast spirit, and miserable: the foreign religion has brought me to this." The family, terribly frightened, gave up attending the services—except one son, who said, "I heard father's last words; I saw him die in peace; and that weighs with me more than that witch's lies." A woman, soon afterwards, was dying of the same disease; remembering the farmer's words, she sent for the catechist: he prayed for her and she recovered; and proving a sincere convert, she was baptized by A. E. Moule.

Bishop
Alford's
Charge.

We must now revert to the controversy between Bishop Alford and the Society. It was not confined to the question of the new bishopric which the Society desired. In February, 1869, the Bishop delivered his Primary Charge in the cathedral at Hong Kong. He spoke warmly of the Missions he had visited, but dwelt on the claims of China for far more adequate efforts for her evangelization. He complained of the neglect by the C.M.S. of China, as compared with India and Africa, and also criticized freely some of the Society's arrangements. It is needless to go into details; but the matter cannot rightly be omitted. One cannot read the Charge without feeling that Alford had grounds for his discontent. Here was an active and earnest bishop, yearning over the great empire on which he looked from his little British domain at Hong Kong, and yet dependent wholly upon one society for the missionary work to be done there; and that society overweighted with other responsibilities, and moreover not at one with himself upon some important questions of Church organization. It is scarcely to be wondered at that he boldly faced the question of founding a new society. If there was a Church Missionary Society "for Africa and the East," let there, he said, be another "for the Far East," "for China and Siam, for Japan and Corea, for Mongolia and Manchuria, for Formosa and the Loochoos," and he would appeal to British merchants at the

Proposes
a new
society.

various ports to contribute on a scale worthy of such an object, PART VII. 1862-72. Chap. 64.
as the civil and military officers were doing in India.

Naturally, on the other hand, the Society received the printed Charge when it arrived with surprise and concern; and a notable article appeared in the *Intelligencer* (May, 1869). There had been a debate in the House of Lords on China Missions—of which more presently—and missionaries had been blamed for too great forwardness and lack of caution. “Now, however,” wrote Ridgeway, “we find ourselves exposed to another accusation, and that from an unexpected quarter. Some consider we have gone too far; another declares that we have not gone far enough!” The “unexpected quarter” is not named, and though quotations are made from the Bishop’s Charge, their source is not indicated. But Ridgeway goes on to condemn Alford’s proposed new Mission on the ground that it would be an imitation of the China Inland Mission! Hudson Taylor’s scheme of reaching the unreached Provinces is referred to: “the conception is grand; the execution impracticable, and, if attempted, disastrous.” Like the Balaklava charge, it might be “magnificent,” but it was “not war.” It was better to work quietly at or near the treaty ports, and advance step by step very gradually, establishing each station thoroughly before going further. Parenthetically it may be observed that this is exactly what was urged against the Uganda Mission a few years later. Moreover, the article goes on to condemn the idea of sending “numerous missionaries” to China, declaring that this only meant a lowering of the standard, and a mistrust of Native evangelists who would do the work better. And as so old and good a friend as Alford could not pass without mention, “the Bishop of Victoria’s Charge” is adduced in reply to statements and suggestions that were really its own! Its favourable accounts of the existing Missions are cited, to show that the “cruder schemes” from the “unexpected [and unnamed] quarter” were not needed. And in conclusion Hong Kong itself is submitted as “a fair field for such an experiment.” Perhaps such an article, clever as it was, might have been spared. The Society naturally did not like the idea of being superseded in China; but the danger was remote enough. Alford’s scheme in itself was, as we can now see, worthy of a Christian bishop; but it was an exceedingly difficult one to carry out, and in fact it never was carried out. The pioneer work in the interior of China was to be done by the humble and despised agency which Alford was supposed to be imitating.

Meanwhile the differences about the additional bishopric were still acute. It would be tedious and unprofitable to describe the various phases of the controversy. Bishop Alford contended that no new bishop was needed at all, considering how small the work as yet was; but he conceded this point under pressure. Granted, however, that there should be a bishop, the further problem was really not an easy one. Should he have jurisdiction over all

Surprise of
C. M. S.

Ridgeway
opposes
Alford’s
scheme.

North
China
bishopric
contro-
versy.

PART VII. Church of England Missions in China, or only over those in North China (as it was then called)? In other words, should the 1862-72. Fuh-kien Mission be under the new bishop, or remain under Chap. 64. Hong Kong? Again, should he be a bishop for the Mission only, or also for chaplains and others in the northern ports? or for the Native Church only, the English missionaries still being licensed by the Bishop of Victoria? Between Bishop Alford, the C.M.S., Archbishop Tait, and the Foreign Office, these questions were under discussion at intervals for no less than five years. At one time there was a sharp duel between the *Colonial Church Chronicle*—ever on the watch to catch the C.M.S. tripping—and the *Intelligencer*.* Ridgeway, for the C.M.S., objected to a State bishop like the Bishop of Victoria ordaining Chinese clergymen, and putting to them the question, "Will you reverently obey your Ordinary and other chief ministers, to whom is committed the charge and government over you?" on the ground that this connected them with the Established Church of a country not their own, thus bringing the subjects of the Emperor of China under the Royal Supremacy of England. China, of course, was unlike India or Ceylon or Sierra Leone or New Zealand, all of which were British territory. The *Colonial Church Chronicle*, in reply, regarded the difficulty as indicating "the hopeless confusion of an Erastianism which cannot distinguish canonical obedience to a bishop from political allegiance to the Crown of which he happens to be a subject"; and urged that "outside British territory, in dealing with Natives, the bishop acts in all the primal freedom of the apostolic office, not needlessly departing from the canons and ritual of the mother Church, yet able to modify and supplement them according to the change of circumstances." Certainly, however, the Society was not chargeable with Erastianism in this case; for it was asking for a bishop who would exercise, not an authority committed to him "by the ordinance of the realm," but an authority "given him," said the *Intelligencer*, "by the Word of God." The difference, therefore, between the two organs was not so great as it seemed to be. Both parties laid stress on the inherent powers of a bishop in an Episcopal Church; but the *Intelligencer* thought that a man could not be a crown bishop and a missionary bishop at the same time. The dispute shows us how perplexing were these questions when they first arose. They have in some measure settled themselves since, on the principle of "*solvitur ambulando*"—not very logically, but sufficiently for practical purposes.

These prolonged controversies were more than once interrupted by grave events in China. In 1868, serious riots occurred at Yang-chow on the Yang-tse. Although Hudson Taylor could not at that early period reach the still untouched Provinces, he did visit and occupy cities previously unvisited, within the two

Could an English colonial bishop rightly ordain a Chinaman?

Riots at Yang-chow.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, April and October, 1869; *Col. Ch. Chron.*, June, 1869.

provinces of Che-kiang and Kiang-su in which there were already various stations. One of these fresh attempts was made, with a large party, at Yang-chow. The result was a dangerous riot, great loss of property (i.e. personal effects of the missionaries), and painful injuries to some of the brethren and sisters. The accounts written at the time were most pathetic ; * and the deliverance of the missionaries from a cruel death was assuredly of the Lord's doing in answer to prayer.

It is evident that the Mission which had suffered was somewhat blamed by the older societies for so acting as to bring upon itself an outrage which affected China Missions generally. The *Intelligencer*, referring to a despatch of Lord Stanley's to Sir R. Alcock, which expressed a hope that missionaries would "conduct themselves with circumspection," observed :—

China
Inland
Mission
blamed.

"By all the great Societies with whose principles and modes of action we are acquainted this has been done. There has been no startling invasion of the interior; no sudden irruption of a strong body of Europeans into the midst of a heathen city, with which they have had no previous acquaintance, and in the direction of which they have not first felt their way. Usually a new place has been visited, in the first instance, by an itinerating missionary, accompanied by one or two Native Christians. After a short stay, the missionary leaves, repeating his visit after a time, and prolonging it as the disposition of the people seems favourable to his doing so. After a tentative process of this kind a room is hired, a Native catechist is placed there, and the work of instruction commences."

This was the method followed in Fuh-kien, undoubtedly with success; and yet the Fuh-kien Mission has never been long without riots and outrages of some sort. But Hudson Taylor, ever ready to learn the lessons of God's providence, himself draws much the same moral from the Yang-chow affair. "One lesson," he writes, "was to be longer known in a city, through itinerant visits, before seeking to rent houses and attempting to settle down. Another was not to take much luggage to a newly-opened station. A third lesson was not to commence work with too large a staff." He justly adds, "The lessons thus learned have stood us in good stead, and have since enabled us peacefully to open many cities in remote parts of the Empire."

Hudson
Taylor
draws the
moral.

But whatever variety of opinion there might be at the time touching procedure, there was no lack of sympathy for the missionaries who suffered, or of approval of the action of the British Consul at Shanghai in going up the river at once in a gunboat, examining into the affair, and demanding reparation from the authorities at Nanking. The attack on the Mission, however, was rather the occasion than the cause of his action. There had been many violations of the treaties and much interference with British trade; and the English Government had been on the look-out for a convenient opportunity of making a demonstration. It was in

The real
purpose of
the gun-
boat.

* See *Story of the China Inland Mission*, vol. i. pp. 362—387.

PART VII. the interest, therefore, more of the merchants than of the missionaries that a fleet of seven ships-of-war presently appeared. But of course it suited the anti-missionary public at home to indulge in the usual tirade about "the Gospel and the Gunboat"; and this was done with the omission of no element of offensiveness by the Duke of Somerset in the House of Lords. It was in the debate that ensued that Bishop Magee delivered, on the spur of the moment, his maiden speech in that assembly, which at one bound established his fame as one of the most brilliant debaters of the day. It was a crushing rejoinder to the Duke, and a masterly vindication of the right of an Englishman to take Bibles to China as much as cotton or opium, and of his right under the treaties to the same protection as the merchant, neither more nor less. This right exists whether he claims it or not. He is not obliged to claim it; in some cases it is better for his mission that he should not claim it; and the members of the China Inland Mission have been among the least forward to claim it. But as against the Duke of Somerset's cavils, Bishop Magee's argument was conclusive. He protested that—

Bishop
Magee de-
fends Mis-
sions in
the House
of Lords.

"British subjects should be secured in their treaty rights by the Government whether they were traders or missionaries, whether they sold cotton or Bibles. It was one thing to say what rights a missionary might forego for the sake of the cause of Missions, and quite another thing to say what treatment he should receive from his own Government, which is surely bound to maintain the rights of its citizens, whether missionaries or traders. If the stringent measures against missionaries which the Duke had advocated had always been successfully pursued, neither the Duke nor himself would have been Christians at the present day. As to following in the wake of trade—what kind of trade was intended? There were trades carried on by British subjects and protected by the Government which would make a most unhappy preliminary to the preaching of the missionary. Should he wait till the beneficent influence of fire-water or opium had made the people more amenable to the preaching of the Gospel?"

Tien-tsin
massacre.

But then came another outbreak, more terrible in its results. On June 21st, 1870, occurred the Tien-tsin massacre, when the French consul at that city, and several Roman Catholic missionaries, including nine Sisters of Mercy, besides some fifty Roman Catholic Chinese, were killed; while the French Consulate, the Romish cathedral, the Sisters' house, and several Protestant preaching chapels, were destroyed. The mob further dragged to the Yamen several Protestant converts; but when it was found that they belonged, not to the *Tien-chu kiow* (religion of the Lord of Heaven, i.e. Romanism), but to the *Je-su kiow* (religion of Jesus, i.e. Protestantism), the magistrates released them. There can be no doubt that the indiscretion of the poor Sisters brought upon them and their Mission this terrible blow. They were accustomed to purchase children, with a view to baptizing them and thus saving their souls. Many that were sold to them were sickly; and also an epidemic broke out; and the result was that small coffins

Its causes.

were continually coming out of the establishment for burial. This seemed to the ignorant populace to confirm the belief that the eyes and hearts of children were used in the manufacture of drugs; and one woman who had been employed as cook declared that she had herself witnessed the whole operation and had fled in horror. No wonder the people were enraged. The result was the massacre; and the result of the massacre was unrest and disturbance in all the Chinese cities where Europeans were settled. In Che-kiang, missionaries and converts alike were openly threatened with extermination; but they quietly clung to their posts, and looked to the Lord's Almighty Arm for protection.

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The French Government demanded instant reparation, and failing that, threatened war; and the question arose, Should England join in a hostile expedition? The *C.M. Intelligencer* protested against our punishing the Chinese nation for an outrage committed by a few—an outrage provoked by the policy and proceedings of the Romanists. However, at that very time the Franco-German War broke out, and then France had no thought for anything else. A few months later, a Chinese envoy arrived at Paris, charged with apologies, and assurances that twenty-four Chinamen had been executed. He found France prostrate at the feet of Germany; the Emperor Napoleon gone into captivity; and M. Thiers at Versailles. Thiers humanely replied that France wanted no blood-shedding, but due protection for Frenchmen.* The Chinese Government then issued a Circular to the Powers, complaining of the missionaries;† in which no distinction was drawn between the *Tien-chu kiow* and the *Je-su kiow*, although all the complaints were in fact of Romanist practices and from places occupied only by Romanists. The *Times* (October 31st, 1871), espousing the cause of trade, expressed a strong desire to suppress British missionaries, but was forced to acknowledge that even if this were done, the British Government could not interfere with French Romanists, who were not British subjects. "Those who have never sold a Bible in their lives, and whose only stock-in-trade is opium," said Mr. Knox in the *Intelligencer* (January, 1872)—he had just become editor,—“might be involved in one common ruin with French Jesuits, and their warehouses sacked and gutted as readily as if they were nunneries.” “It might be essential to throw Jonah overboard, but there was not the smallest prospect that the storm would cease, that the sea would cease from her raging, and that the ship would reach Tarshish without serious loss or damage, if at all. It might, then, be a fair question whether Jonah might not be let alone.” The British Government, however, was not disposed to “throw Jonah overboard.” In a long and admirable Reply to the Chinese Circular, Sir Thomas Wade had already torn to ribands its excuses and pleas, and

French demand for reparation.

The trader and the missionary

Sir T. Wade exposes Chinese fallacies.

* See the original documents, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, Jan., 1872.

† Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1871.

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in an important despatch (August 21st, 1871),* Earl Granville endorsed Wade's Reply, distinguished between British and French missionaries, and, while acknowledging fully that Chinese Christians are, of course, subject to the laws of their country, affirmed that "Her Majesty's Government could not be indifferent to the persecution of Christians for professing the Christian faith."

Death of
Bishop G.
Smith.

In the midst of these prolonged controversies, on December 14th, 1871, died Bishop George Smith, whom we have seen as one of the first two missionaries of the Church of England in China twenty-seven years before, and who had lived to see—notwithstanding Confucianism, and the T'ai-p'ing confusion, and opium, and war, and persecution, and the inadequate supply of missionaries—seven thousand Chinese Christians connected with Protestant Missions. It was but the beginning of the harvest, but it was a good and promising sample of what would be reaped in the next quarter of a century.

The
bishopric
question
settled.

Just a year after Bishop Smith's death, the long-delayed project of a Missionary Bishopric was brought at last to a successful issue. The Archbishop of Canterbury, indeed, had decided it some time before that. It was to be for all China north of the twenty-eighth parallel of latitude, thus leaving a large slice of the Empire, including Fuh-kien, open for the Bishop of Victoria's jurisdiction over missionaries. On the other hand, it was not to be for Missions only, but to include the supervision of chaplains at Shanghai, Peking, &c. The scheme, therefore, gave neither Bishop Alford nor the C.M.S. all that they had asked; and it was delayed owing to Lord Granville's reluctance to move until the Tien-tsin question had been disposed of. But at length the Archbishop summoned home Russell for consecration, and thereupon Alford, still dissatisfied with the arrangement, resigned the bishopric of Victoria. His place was not filled for some time, and the appointment does not come into our period; but Russell was consecrated for North China on December 15th, 1872, on the memorable occasion before referred to, when Royston became Bishop of Mauritius and Horden Bishop of Moosonee, and when Mr. Rowley of the S.P.G. was to have been consecrated for Madagascar, but was not. The service, therefore, was suggestive of the two great Church controversies that troubled the last years of Henry Venn. But it settled the long-standing question of the China bishopric, while it left still unsettled the still more thorny question of the Madagascar bishopric. On one point at that service all men were agreed: the text of Dr. Miller's sermon was in a peculiar degree applicable to Mr. Russell. His long residence and labours in China had given him an indisputable claim to be counted among the "men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Conse-
cra-
tion of
Bishop
Russell.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1872.


CHAPTER LXV.

THE LAND OF THE RISING SUN.

Closed Japan—The Jesuit Missions—The Locked Door—The Unlocking—Treaty of Yedo—American Missions—First Converts—The Revolution of 1868—C.M.S. Mission: G. Ensor at Nagasaki—New Japan.

"The mighty God, even the Lord, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof."—Ps. l. 1.

"Arise, shine; for thy light is come."—Isa. lx. 1.

 O long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head." Such was the impious proclamation, posted up in all public places, that greeted the eye of the first English missionary who landed in Japan. For over two hundred years this proclamation had expressed the law of Japan and the purpose of its people. How came it there?

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Impious
Japanese
proclama-
tion.

How came
it there?

If China's gates were virtually closed during the earlier years of this century, Japan's gates were absolutely sealed until more than half the century had run its course, and had been sealed for two centuries. How was this?

The existence of Japan was revealed to Europe by Marco Polo. "Jipangu," said the enterprising Venetian, "is an island towards the East, in the high seas, 1500 miles distant from the Continent, and a very great island it is. The people are white, civilized, and well-favoured. They are idolaters, and they are dependent on nobody, and I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless." Marco Polo, however, never visited Japan, or his geography might have been more accurate. Two hundred years later, when Columbus, who had deeply studied Marco Polo, sailed out into the West, it is probable that the "very great island" of "Jipangu" was the land he expected to find first.* But not until 1542 did any European reach Japan, and then not across the Atlantic, but round the Cape; and not a Spaniard, but a Portuguese, whose vessel was driven thither by stress of weather.

Marco
Polo on
Japan.

Japan first
visited.

* See the sketch of Behaim's Globe, 1492, in Vol. I., p. 28.

PART VII. Japanese historians note that year as the date of the first appearance of foreigners, Christianity, and fire-arms.
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Francis
Xavier.

Success of
the Jesuit
Mission.

Its causes.

Jesuits ex-
pelled ;
converts
martyred.

In 1549, on August 15th, arrived Francis Xavier, landing at Cangoxima (Kagoshima), the southernmost port of the southern island of Kiu-shiu. He was induced to go by a young Japanese brought to Goa by Portuguese merchants, who was baptized there, evidencing what appears to have been true faith in Christ. "His story," says Henry Venn,* "presents one of the most remarkable illustrations which the history of Missions affords of a *living* 'man of Macedonia,' and his invitation, 'Come over and help us.'" Xavier's letters are the earliest extant account of Japan in those days. He was there two years, and then returned to India. But his successors reaped a great harvest. In a few years, at least half a million people had embraced Christianity, as the Japanese historians testify as well as the Jesuits. Of the two religions of Japan, Shintoism had then not even the political power it has exhibited in the present century; and Buddhism had lost the life it once had. The Jesuit priests gave the Japanese all that the Buddhist priests had given them—gorgeous altars, imposing processions, dazzling vestments, and all the scenic display of a sensuous worship—but added to these a freshness and fervour that quickly captivated the imaginative and impressionable people. And there was little in the Buddhist paraphernalia that needed to be altered, much less abandoned. The images of Buddha, with a slight application of the chisel, served for images of Christ; and the roadside shrines of Kuwanon, the goddess of mercy, became centres of Mariolatry. Temples, altars, bells, holy-water vessels, censers, rosaries, all were ready, and were merely transferred from one religion to the other. But there were other causes of the external success. Some of the Daimios (nobles) who embraced the new religion compelled the people under them to do the same. The spirit of the Inquisition was introduced; Buddhist priests were put to death; and their monasteries were destroyed.

Then came the reaction. A different political party was in power; the Dutch traders discovered plots of the Jesuits against the Mikado; in 1587 their expulsion was decreed; fifty years of civil war and horrible persecution followed; and every effort was made to exterminate the Christians. The unhappy victims met torture and death with a fortitude that compels our admiration; and it is impossible to doubt that, little as they knew of the pure Gospel of Christ, there were true martyrs for His name among the thousands that perished. They were crucified, burnt alive, torn limb from limb, put to unspeakable torments; and historians on both sides agree that but few apostatized. At length, in 1637, thirty-seven thousand were massacred, and the open profession of Christianity was finally suppressed. Even after that, the police

* *Life of Xavier*, p. 167.

were always on the look-out for Christians, and suspected persons were compelled to trample upon crosses or crucifixes. And yet, as we shall see, a remnant did remain.

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In 1624, all foreigners except Dutch and Chinese were banished from Japan; all vessels above a small size were ordered to be destroyed; and from that time no Japanese was allowed to leave the country. For just two hundred and thirty years the Land of the Rising Sun was closed to the outer world. "The curious cabinet which had so suddenly opened, and into the secret drawers of which the eyes of Portuguese, Spaniards, English, and Dutch had so eagerly pryed, was as suddenly locked, and the key hid carefully away."* The Chinese were allowed to live at Nagasaki, but at no other port. The Dutch—who owed their exemption to their discovery of the Jesuit plots, and to their careful disclaimer of being Christians themselves—were confined to the little artificial islet of Deshima in Nagasaki harbour. Efforts were made from time to time by England, Russia, and other nations to open communications with the Japanese Government or people; but all in vain. And throughout the two hundred and thirty years the impious proclamation with which this chapter opened flung defiance at all Christians from every notice-board in the country.

Closing of
Japan.

Dutch ex-
emption.

It was in 1853 that the United States first essayed to unlock the "curious cabinet"; but ten years before that, some English naval officers who had been engaged in the war which opened China to the Gospel extended their Christian sympathies to the mysterious empire still further east. Japan itself being inaccessible, they bethought themselves of the Loochoo Islands: if some of the islanders could be converted and instructed, might not they be able to pass on the glad tidings to the Japanese? Accordingly in 1843 they applied to the Church Missionary Society for a man to send to Loochoo. At that time, as will be remembered, the Committee were retrenching rather than extending; and if they sent a man to Eastern Asia at all, China had the prior claim—whither the first two Church missionaries, Smith and McClatchie, went in the next year; they therefore declined the proposal. But British sailors are not easily beaten, and they at once raised a fund themselves, and sent out a converted Jew named Bettelheim. He stayed in the Islands a few years, amid distressing difficulties, and in 1850 was visited by Bishop George Smith. Soon after that, he was compelled to retire, and was succeeded by G. H. Moreton, whose ordination by Bishop Smith was mentioned in our Forty-ninth Chapter. When Moreton's health broke down, this interesting and courageous venture of faith came to an end; and the promoters of the Mission, in 1861, handed the balance in hand of their funds, £654, to the C.M.S., in hope that the Society would one day use it in aid of a Japan Mission—to which object the money was eventually put.

Naval
officers'
Mission to
Loochoo
Islands.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, December, 1861.

PART VII. The unlocking of the "curious cabinet" was on this wise. 1862-72. The American Government wanted additional open ports for the coaling and provisioning of steamers to run between San Francisco and Hong Kong; and moreover, they were determined to forestall possible aggression on the part of Russia, which Power had lately seized the Kurile Isles, to the north of Japan. They therefore in 1853 sent Commodore Perry, with a squadron, to demand a treaty. In the following year, after prolonged disputation, Japan yielded to the inevitable, and agreed to open two ports to foreign vessels. Other nations immediately claimed equal privileges, and lengthened negotiations ensued. At length, the "curious cabinet" having been thus unlocked by others, England lifted the lid. On August 12th, 1858, Lord Elgin, fresh from his successes in China, where the Treaty of Tien-tsin had been signed six weeks before, steamed up the Gulf of Yedo, and to the horror of the two-sworded officials who tried to wave back the ships with their fans, cast anchor opposite the great city of Yedo itself. The Japanese were shrewd enough now to perceive that their old policy of isolation could no longer be maintained; and within a fortnight, on August 26th (Prince Albert's birthday), the Treaty of Yedo was signed. It arranged for the opening of six ports; for the stationing of a consul at each; for the residence of an envoy at Yedo; and other important concessions. From time to time this treaty was supplemented by various conventions, but for thirty-six years, until 1894, it remained the basis of our relations with Japan.

The
Americans
unlock the
closed door

Lord
Elgin's
treaty.

First Pro-
testant
Missions,
from
America.

Could anything now be done to carry in a purer Gospel than the Jesuits had preached? Between 1854 and 1858, American missionaries paid brief visits to Japan, but could do no more; but when Lord Elgin's treaty came into force in July, 1859, two clergymen of the Episcopal Church of the United States, the Rev. J. Liggins and the Rev. C. M. (afterwards Bishop) Williams, were already at Nagasaki. In the following October, Dr. Hepburn, of the American Presbyterian Board, went to Yokohama; and he was followed by other Presbyterians and a Baptist. Within a year, America was represented in Japan by seven missionaries. Meanwhile the Church Missionary Society had been approached by some of its friends on the subject; and in July, 1859, the Committee passed a resolution expressing their readiness to undertake a Mission whenever men and means were specially provided. In the following year Bishop Smith went across from Hong Kong and visited Nagasaki, Yedo, and other places; and his very graphic and entertaining book, *Ten Weeks in Japan*, was the result. In 1861-64, the Americans were crippled by the civil war in the States; and some of the Episcopal missionaries who were compelled to retire for lack of support from home appealed to the C.M.S. to take up their work. But God's time for an English Mission was not yet.

The ten years that followed the conclusion of Lord Elgin's

treaty were a period of great confusion and disturbance in Japan; and various outrages upon foreigners took place from time to time. The American missionaries could do no open evangelistic work. They were suspected, and watched, and hampered at every turn. Nevertheless, by quiet influence, and the cautious distribution of Scriptures and other books in Chinese—which the educated classes could read—they contrived to bear their testimony; and while some taught English to young men desiring to learn it, others (a little later) engaged themselves to the Government to teach it in schools opened for the purpose. “From 1859 to 1872,” says Dr. Ferris, “there was no preaching worthy of mention. God led our missionaries into the schools, and the Kingdom of Christ entered Japan through the schools.”

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The mis-
sionaries
in the
schools.

The very first Japanese convert was a teacher of the language named Yano Riu, who was baptized at Yokohama in October, 1864, and died shortly afterwards, fully trusting in the Lord. The next were two brothers, officials under the Prince of Hizen, in the island of Kiu-shiu. As far back as 1854, when H.M.S. *Baracoota* was in the harbour of Nagasaki, a midshipman dropped his English Prayer-book into the water. Some time after, it was accidentally fished up by a fisherman, who sold his strange “catch” to one of those two officials, Wakasa by name. Wakasa inquired of Dr. Verbeck, an American Presbyterian missionary, what it was; and Verbeck sent him some Chinese Scriptures and other books, which were blessed to the conversion of both the brothers. On Whit Sunday, 1866, Verbeck having gone back to America, they were baptized by Bishop Williams. In after years several persons were converted through their influence. One other Japanese must be mentioned, the famous Joseph Niisima, who, having in 1864 been struck by the first verse of Genesis, which began a book of geography in Chinese compiled by an American missionary, went to China, and thence to America, “to find the God who made heaven and earth”; and at Boston he did find Him in very truth. After several years in the States, he went back to Japan in 1875 as a missionary to his countrymen. God’s word to Israel, “Ye shall be gathered one by one,” is equally true of His elect among the Gentiles.

First con-
verts.

Joseph
Niisima.

But in 1868 came the great Revolution—one of the most wonderful for its completeness, and for the rapidity of its results, in the history of nations. For seven hundred years the feudal system, and many features of what we know in Europe by the name of the Age of Chivalry, prevailed in Japan. The great nobles, or Daimios, in their fortified castles, were as independent as the old earls and counts and barons of Germany or Scotland. The military caste of Samurai, or “two-sworded men,” corresponded with the knights of our Middle Ages. Even in externals the resemblance was striking. Every trooper, and his horse, wore a complete suit of armour; every clan had its banner emblazoned with its lord’s arms; every Daimio had his well-

The Revo-
lution of
1868.

PART VII. known crest, the Mikado's own being the national flower, the chrysanthemum. The virtual ruler of the country was a great Daimio called the Shogun,* who resided at Yedo; but he only ruled in the name of the real emperor, the Mikado, whose court was at the sacred capital, Kioto, and whose almost divine supremacy none dreamed of challenging. The Mikado was, indeed, kept in sacred seclusion, and had little real power; yet he was worshipped as the descendant of the gods, and all down the centuries the loyalty of the Japanese people never swerved. As Mr. Griffis, the eloquent American author of the best book on Japan, *The Mikado's Empire*, says, "No Japanese Cæsar ever had his Brutus, nor Charles his Cromwell, nor George his Washington." And the great Revolution of 1868 was ostensibly a revolution in behalf of the Mikado, overturning the Shogunate, and putting the sacred emperor at the head of his people. A young Mikado had lately ascended the ancient sacred throne at Kioto; and him the Daimios who led the Revolution brought forth from behind the screen of ages. He moved his court from Kioto to Yedo, re-named the latter city Tokio (Eastern capital), entered it in state on November 26th, 1868, and received the foreign Ministers in public audience on January 5th, 1869. The date is worth noting; for only a few days after, on January 23rd, the first English missionary landed in Japan.

The
Mikado
takes the
reins of
power.

C. M. S.
Mission to
Japan.

But this is anticipating. A year before the Revolution, an anonymous gift of £4000 was made to the Church Missionary Society to start a Japan Mission. It was in that year, 1867, that, for the first time since the Jubilee, men ready to sail for the Mission-field were kept back for lack of funds. One of the men so kept back, the Rev. George Ensor, Scholar of Queens' College, Cambridge, had been assigned to China, and was taken leave of, for China, in July of that year; but two months later, when four others were detained on financial grounds, it was resolved to send him, not to China, which would be a charge on the General Fund, but to Japan, upon the special donation. He did not sail, however, till the following year; and being detained for a time at Ningpo, he did not reach Japan until the Revolution was completed.

Bishop
Alford in
Japan.

Meanwhile, in November, 1868, Bishop Alford of Victoria paid a brief visit to Japan, and ministered to the few English, official and mercantile, at the treaty ports. He found a few American missionaries there: Bishop Williams of the Episcopal Church at Nagasaki, and Dr. Hepburn and others at Yokohama; and so far seven Japanese had been baptized. Dr. Hepburn had produced a valuable Japanese Dictionary, and he and others were at work on the translation of the Scriptures, though no part had yet been

* In the early days of the treaties, the Shogun was called by Europeans the Tycoon, as in Sir R. Alcock's book, *The Capital of the Tycoon*; but this name is not known to the Japanese.

published. Chinese Bibles and portions were available for those who could read them.

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On January 23rd, 1869, as before mentioned, Mr. Ensor landed at Nagasaki. One of the first things that met his eye was that impious proclamation quoted at the opening of this chapter; and soon afterwards a new one was added: "The laws hitherto in force forbidding Christianity are to be strictly observed." Mr. Ensor wrote:—

Ensor
lands at
Nagasaki.

"I read those words in Japanese, and I realized at once that the missionary work in Japan was thenceforward to be one of excessive difficulty. What were we to do? I couldn't gather the little ones into the Sunday-school, or stand and preach in the streets. The only opportunity I had was simply to receive the visits of any inquirers who chose to come to me to my own house: and would a Japanese venture thus? . . ."

They did venture:—

"Ere a month had passed, day by day, hour after hour, my house would be thronged with Japanese visitors, all curious to know something about England and her science and art progress, but, most of all, about her religion; they knew that she was a power among the nations, and believed that religion and power in a State are inseparable. More serious inquirers would wait till the darkness of night, and then steal into my house; and we used to have the doors closed and the windows barred, and as I bade them farewell when they left, I scarce ever expected to see them again—for I was informed that an officer had been specially appointed to keep watch at my gate."

Before Mr. Ensor had been there a year, an event occurred which showed that the old laws against Christianity were indeed not to be trifled with. Roman Catholic missionaries were already in Japan as well as Protestant; and they had discovered a village in Kiu-shiu called Urakami, inhabited entirely by a people whom they identified as descendants of the old Jesuit converts, and containing an image of the Virgin and Child, which the country folk supposed to be a Buddhist idol, and believed that it cured diseases. Notice being drawn to these poor people, they were torn from their homes and banished, mostly to the Goto Islands, and, it was said, most cruelly treated. They were driven past Mr. Ensor's house in Nagasaki. "My heart bled for them," he wrote: "I had no sympathy with their doctrines, but I had sympathy with them in their sufferings; and I felt that the arm which had been lifted to suppress one section of Christendom in Japan, if the motive were political, could not afford to spare another." Still, intelligent Japanese were beginning to see the difference between them. About this time Mr. Russell went over from Ningpo to see Mr. Ensor, and found several people visiting him and other missionaries, speaking with reserve about religion till they saw that they were Protestants, and then talking freely. But serious inquirers were rare indeed. Here is Ensor's account of one:—

Persecu-
tion of
Romanist
Christians.

Ensor's
converts.

"I was sitting by myself in my study, and heard, in the darkness, a

PART VII. knock at the door. I went myself to answer it, and, standing between the palm-trees of my gate, I saw the dark figure of an armed Japanese. 1862-72. He paused a moment, and I beckoned to him to enter; and he came in and sat down, and I asked him what his business was. He replied, 'A few days ago I had a copy of the Bible in my hands, and I wish to be a Christian.' I said, 'Are you a stranger in these parts? Don't you know that thousands of your people are being detained as prisoners for this?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I know. Last night I came to your gate, and as I stood there, thinking of the terrible step I was about to take, fear overpowered me, and I returned. But there stood by me in the night one who came to me in my dreams, and said I was to go to the house of the missionary and nothing would happen to me, and I have come.' And, drawing his long sword, he held it up to me in a form signifying the Japanese oath, and promised that he would ever keep true to me, and I received him."

This man was afterwards baptized by the name of Titus: "for God," says Mr. Ensor, "who comforteth those who are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus." It is mysterious and humiliating to find so often in the history of Missions that first converts disappoint the missionary. This man afterwards became a Government teacher at Osaka. He does not seem to have given up his new faith altogether; but he grew cold.

Meanwhile, Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister in Japan, and other Foreign Ministers, had been remonstrating with the Mikado's Government upon the treatment of the Urakami villagers, and pointing out the impolicy of thus commencing the new course of civilization on which the country was entering. The reply of the Japanese Government is very significant:—

MEMORANDUM.

"The Japanese Government have learnt with much concern that their action in regard to certain of their subjects at Urakami, who call themselves Christians, has caused displeasure to their foreign representatives.

"Nothing is further from the intention of the Japanese Government than to punish their people on account of a difference of religion, unless this is followed and accompanied by a mutinous and rebellious disposition shown by such actions as have lately taken place at Urakami.

"The Government has never thought of taking notice of the private religious opinions of any of their subjects. The fact that many persons who come as missionaries to this country are at present in the service of the Government, and employed in teaching foreign languages and sciences at public schools and colleges, and the perfect freedom with which foreign books, even such as contain religious matter, are translated, and have been sold by all booksellers, may afford sufficient proof of the liberal views which the Government takes with regard to religion.

"But when our people take the religion of foreigners, Christianity, and make it a cloak for dangerous conspiracy; when an ostentatious disregard of the fundamental laws of this country is openly indulged in; when the Native Christian communities disown, to a great extent, the authority of the Japanese Government, and are led by their teachers to rely on foreign protection, and consequent immunity from punishment because they are Christians, then the Government can remain no longer inactive, and is obliged, in self-defence, and in support of the authority of His Majesty the Emperor, to adopt such measures as will bring his misguided subjects back to the established laws and institutions of this

Japanese Government on religious liberty and sedition.

country. The Japanese Government has been obliged to take this course from a conviction of its necessity, and particularly in consequence of a growing pressure of public opinion, which arose from the memory of the deplorable events connected with the introduction of Christianity by Roman Catholic missionaries some centuries ago. Public opinion even now demands that the same seeds of discord should be removed which at that period so nearly succeeded in overthrowing the Government, and endangering the independence of this country."

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There was another influence now at work to incline the Japanese leaders to toleration. Able and excellent Christian laymen, chiefly Americans, had engaged themselves to the Government as teachers of science, manufactures, and agriculture, in the new colleges by which young Japan was being trained for official service. The cream of the younger portion of the upper class thus came under their influence, and gained from them correct views—at least—of the high character of the Christian religion in its purer forms. Let one illustration be given, from the experience of one of these American benefactors of the country, Mr. E. W. Clark.* He was engaged as a teacher of science in the city of Shidzuoka. When he arrived from America, he found in the agreement to be signed by him a clause undertaking that he would not teach Christianity, and would be silent regarding it for three years. He at once refused to sign this. "It is impossible," he said, "for a Christian to dwell three years in the midst of a Pagan people, and yet keep entire silence on the subject nearest his heart." After a long struggle the Japanese gave way, and struck the clause out. From the very first Sunday, he held a Bible-class for as many as would come; and when he was transferred to the Imperial College at Tokio, he held three every Sunday, for the convenience of different classes of students. "I confess," he wrote, "that when the feeling floods upon me that these are the souls for whom Christ died, and mine is the privilege to make the fact known to them, it breaks through all the bounds of mere expediency, and forces me to speak the truth at all risks." It was from men like this that educated Japan derived its notion of Christianity; it is to men like this that the Christian Church in Japan owes many of its most influential members.

Good influence of American science teachers.

Very much less favourable were the views of Christianity which the many young Japanese who visited Europe and America derived from Christendom. But they did take back with them that ardent desire for Western civilization, and that ready assimilation of it, which resulted in the most extraordinary and rapid changes, during the four years following the Revolution, that ever occurred in the history of a nation. Especially was the year 1872 one of astonishing progress. The Army, Navy, and Civil Service were entirely reconstructed; the Imperial Mint at Osaka was opened, and a new coinage introduced; the Educational Department opened hundreds of schools, and established the

Japan adopts Western civilization

* *Life and Adventures in Japan*. Published in England by Nisbet & Co.

PART VII. 1862-72. Chap. 65. Tokio University; the Post Office was organized; an Industrial Exhibition was held in the sacred city of Kioto; on June 12th the first railway in Japan was opened; telegraphs were rapidly girdling the country; lighthouses appeared on the headlands and at the ports; many newspapers were started; and on New Year's Day, 1873, the Calendar of the civilized world was adopted. Moreover, an embassy of nobles of high rank, headed by Iwakura, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, went round the world, visiting the great nations and courts of the West; and on December 4th, 1872, they were received by Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.

Feudal
system
abolished.

The old feudal system was now at an end. Under an enthusiastic impulse of patriotism, and with a self-abnegation scarcely to be paralleled in history, the great Daimios had voluntarily surrendered the whole of their feudal rights, lands, and revenues into the hands of the Imperial Government, and had taken the position of private citizens. Their retainers were exhorted to give their entire allegiance directly to the Mikado; and the clans became absorbed in the nation. The "two-sworded" Samurai lost their exclusive privileges, and the two swords were laid aside; while the *eta*, or pariahs of Japan, were admitted to the rights of citizenship.

Religious
liberty.

And now, at last, came a decided step in the direction of religious liberty. At the end of 1872 all the proclamations prohibiting Christianity were withdrawn from the notice-boards; and although this did not alter the law itself, it was most significant of an intention not to put the law in force. Then the poor Romanists of Urakami were restored to their village; and a convert of Ensor's who had been imprisoned for two years, nominally on a political charge, but really for his Christianity, was at last released. He had undergone cruel treatment in prison, and yet had contrived to tell his fellow-prisoners of Christ. Mr. Ensor had now gone. His health failed, and he returned to England in 1872, after a short but most important career, in the midst of difficulties that were now gradually disappearing, as the first missionary of the Church of England in Japan. He had been joined in 1870 by the Rev. H. Burnside, who, after Ensor's departure, found himself able to hold public Christian services; not, indeed, in the city of Nagasaki itself, but in his house in the foreign settlement.

Burnside.

Mission
to be
enlarged.

In the memorable year 1872 another anonymous donation of £2000 was given to the Church Missionary Society to enlarge its Japan Mission. How that enlargement was effected, how other Missions also pressed into the now opening Empire, how little bands of Japanese Christians began to be gathered,—all this belongs to our next period, and will appear in future chapters. Then we shall see a "land of the East" awake, and that

On her far hills, long cold and gray,
Had dawned the everlasting day.

CHAPTER LXVI.

LANDS OF THE UTMOST WEST: MANITOBA; METLAKAHTLA.

Bishop Machray—Progress at Red River—The Dominion of Canada—Summary of the Missions—The New Dioceses of Moosonee, Saskatchewan, Athabasca—Captain Prevost's Appeal for the North Pacific Indians—William Duncan—Duncan at Fort Simpson—First Baptisms—Metlakahltla—Its Influence, Social and Spiritual—Baptisms of Chiefs—New Missionaries.

"The west border was to the great sea, and the coast thereof."—Josh. xv. 12.

"Living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But . . . the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared."—Titus iii. 3, 4.



OUR last chapter took us to the utmost East, and we beheld the Sun of Righteousness arising upon the Land of the Rising Sun. If from Japan we sailed on eastward, we should at length find ourselves upon the shores of the utmost West; and having left one new Mission behind us, we should see another new Mission before us. The Japan Mission and the North Pacific Mission face each other across the great Pacific Ocean.

But before tracing out the story of the deeply-interesting Mission among the Indian tribes of the western shores of British America, there is a little more to be seen of the work in the Lands of the West which are not the utmost West. Travelling to the North Pacific Mission, we should not naturally go *via* Japan. We should rather cross the Atlantic, and traverse the vast fields of the old North-West America Mission before crossing the Rocky Mountains and descending upon the Pacific coast. And the Mission-field we thus pass through claims some further attention first.

In our Fiftieth Chapter we brought Bishop David Anderson home to England after his fifteen years' episcopate. In the following year, 1865, he preached the C.M.S. Annual Sermon at St. Bride's, when his appeal for the work in the Far North resulted in the offer of W. C. Bompas for service there, as mentioned in our Fifty-fourth Chapter. He was succeeded in the See of Rupert's Land by the Rev. Robert Machray, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Madingley. Was there ever a happier appointment to a colonial bishopric? Has there ever been a bishop who in nearly equal degree, for over thirty

PART VII.
1862-72.
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East and
West.

N.-W.
America
Mission.

New
Bishop of
Rupert's
Land.

PART VII. years, has unreservedly devoted himself and all he had to the
1862-72. work of the Church in one of the most arduous spheres in the
Chap. 66. world ?

Bishop
Machray's
energetic
work.

Bishop Machray proceeded to his distant diocese in the autumn of 1865, full of plans for the development of Church life in Rupert's Land; and most vigorously, and most patiently, were those plans carried out. Vigorously, for it needed all the strength of a resolute man to grapple with the overwhelming difficulties of the Church in the Great Lone Land. Patiently, because the enormous distances and the scanty and scattered population made it not only wise, but unavoidable, to "make haste slowly." Although, as we saw in our Fiftieth Chapter, there were already signs and tokens of the future greatness of the country, it was only a future prospect. There was nothing that could be called colonial life except in the Red River Settlements, where a few thousand people were scattered along the banks of that river and the Assiniboine. Beyond, there was nothing but the immense and almost uninhabited tracts, first prairie and then forest, stretching from the United States boundary to the Polar Sea, peopled by wandering bands of Indians, and dotted with "posts" or "forts" of the Hudson's Bay Company. Even when Bishop Machray had been six years in the country, the largest "town" was a village of three hundred people at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, which had already been named the city of Winnipeg. In 1865 there was "no one in the whole country following the business of a tailor, a shoemaker, or a watchmaker." * All manufactured goods were more cheaply procured from England, notwithstanding that the only direct communication was by the annual ship to York Factory.

"City" of
Winnipeg.

Possibili-
ties of self-
support.

In our previous chapter on the Great Lone Land we saw that the C.M.S. was anxious to see a beginning made of local self-support, i.e. of support of church ordinances. At the remoter stations, where the work was entirely among Indians, there was of course little or no prospect of this. The Indians in those wilds "possessed absolutely nothing in the world but their tent, blanket, gun, and kettle, and these they almost always had in advance from the Hudson's Bay Company." But in the Settlements the population consisted mainly of half-breeds, with a few half-civilized Indians, living on the land; and these, it was thought, should support their churches and clergy themselves. Help was rightly given them by the S.P.G. and the Colonial and Continental Church Society; but the C.M.S., being instituted specifically for work among the Heathen or converts from Heathenism, could only properly assist the Indian congregations.† Bishop Machray accordingly began by forming a Diocesan Fund, and enjoining the

* From a Statement issued by the Bishop on his arrival, and signed by himself, three clergymen of C.M.S., one of S.P.G., and two of C. & C.C.S.

† But at some of the C.M.S. stations, as York, many of the people classed as Indians are not of pure blood, the intermixture of race being considerable.

weekly offertory for its support; and then he summoned a Conference of clergy and lay delegates, which afterwards developed into a regular Diocesan Synod. The weekly offertory was at that date still regarded in Evangelical circles at home, and in the older-fashioned High Church circles, as a doubtful innovation; and diocesan synods were strongly objected to—only one as yet having been formed in England. The C.M.S. Committee, however, had long encouraged the collection of offerings every Sunday in the mission stations in Africa and India, and both they and the S.P.G. had asked the Bishop to institute it in Rupert's Land. It was in fact indispensable in a country without church endowments; besides which, Bishop Machray urged—rightly, as we all now see—that such offerings are a natural part of Christian worship. But he found it “impossible to call forth efficiently self-support without also calling out self-government”; hence the necessity for a synod in which the laity would take their due place. All this seems very elementary now; but it was a matter of grave discussion thirty years ago. The arrangements issued in the transfer of no less than ten churches in the Settlements, “originally formed and fostered by the labours of the C.M.S.,” being “transferred to a settled ecclesiastical system of self-support,” assisted, as already mentioned, by the S.P.G. and C. & C.C.S., and also in collateral ways by the S.P.C.K. The C.M.S. Committee “regarded this arrangement, like the Sierra Leone Native Church, a signal success of Missions, for which they thanked God and took courage.”* It did not indeed at once relieve the Society financially: that would come gradually; and the first reduction was made in the grant of £600 a year for schools. On the other hand, the Society voted an annual grant for tuition and exhibitions to St. John's College, which the Bishop was reviving and developing, in consideration of the theological training to be given in it to men designated for work among Indians.

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Weekly
offertory
and Dio-
cesan
Synod
started.

Transfer of
C.M.S.
churches
to Colonial
Church.

St. John's
College.

Into the work of this College, the Bishop threw his most ardent energies; and in raising the funds for it, and for many other Church objects, he contributed largely from his own private means. He obtained a Warden for it in the person of a fellow-Aberdonian educated in Canada, the Rev. John McLean; taking himself the title of Chancellor, and allotting to himself an important part of the actual teaching. Mr. McLean was also appointed Archdeacon of Assiniboia in succession to Cockran, who had lately died; and Cowley was appointed Archdeacon of Cumberland in succession to Hunter, who had remained in England.

A great epoch in the history of British North America was now approaching. In 1867, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, were united under the name of the Dominion of Canada. In 1868, arrangements were made for the

Dominion
of Canada.

* From the Minutes, February 6th, 1866.

PART VII. acquisition by the Dominion of all territorial rights in the North-
1862-72. West territories from the Hudson's Bay Company, that Company
Chap. 66. remaining a trading association only. In 1869 a rebellion broke
 out in the Red River district, a considerable number of Roman
Red River Catholic French half-breeds objecting to the new rule. To quell
revolt. the revolt, Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley made the memorable
 expedition from Eastern Canada which first established his
 military fame. The five hundred miles between Lake Superior
 and Red River were traversed successfully by Garnet Wolseley's
 force, in large boats on the rivers and lakes, involving the crossing
 of troublesome portages *en route*. But meanwhile, the insurgents
 had been satisfied by the arrangements made by the Dominion
 authorities under the advice of the Imperial Government; and
 the Indians remained loyal. The Red River district was
 then (1870) formed into the Province of Manitoba, with the
 "city" of Winnipeg (population only 300) as the capital. In
 1871 the Colony of British Columbia also joined the Confederation,
 and became a Province of the Dominion of Canada; and the
 great Canadian Pacific Railway was projected, which it took
 fourteen years to complete.* These remarkable developments
 were accompanied by excellent measures for the benefit of the
 Indians. Lands were specially reserved for them; † liquor was not
 allowed to enter these reserves; and presently the conveyance of
 liquor at all into the remoter unsettled districts was prohibited.
 Two extracts may here be given, describing the effect of all these
 changes upon the Christian Indians. The first is from a letter
 from Archdeacon Cowley in 1871, referring particularly to the
 Indian Settlement at Red River:—

Colonial
progress.

Indian re-
serves.

Effect on
Indians of
changed
surround-
ings.

"The changes resulting in the confederation of this country with Canada have benefited the settled Christian Indians in many ways. 1. Pecuniarily. There is a ready market for their labour—for the productions of the chase, the fisheries, the farm, &c. 2. Mentally. Contact with men of larger experience in their everyday life, in buying and selling, in labour, in household economy, in providing for the future, in their mode of cultivating the soil, in horticulture, in the introduction, management, and application of machinery to various uses, in combining to effect objects otherwise unattainable, &c.,—tends to quicken their perception and enlarge their understanding. 3. Physically. A prominent evil, resulting in general debility, has been the want of a regular supply of suitable food. Every able-bodied man is now capable of fully providing for the wants of himself and family. 4. In promoting the education of the rising generation.—But, alas! morally and spiritually, the stranger might learn lessons of wisdom from many a poor Christian Indian. In these respects we fear our people are likely to suffer, unless the isolation of the families should, under God, be a means of preservation."

The other is from a letter from the Rev. James Settee, the

* Eight years in preliminary negotiations, and six years in construction.

† Not in all cases the most suitable lands; but that was not the fault of the authorities. The Indians in several cases chose their own, and chose badly.

second Indian clergyman in the country, ordained by Bishop Anderson in 1853. It also is dated 1871 :—

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“The Indian tribes in general were always under the impression that the foreigners were usurpers and destroyers of their race and country; that this land belonged to them exclusively; that they had sole claim to the rock, the ground, grass, timber, the fish, and its waters; that all these things were created for them only: with these feelings they opposed every stranger and everybody that did not belong to their tribe; and very often they murdered and killed each other from jealousy.”

James
Settee's
letter.

“Now that impression is dying away from the mind of the Indian. The political change which has been carried out among the Natives within the province of Manitoba, and the policy to be adopted throughout the whole territory, may, we trust, exercise a favourable influence upon Mission work among the different tribes. Her Majesty's Commissioner secured for Her Majesty's red subjects the means of education and other facilities for their mental and moral improvement.

“The Indians now understand that Her Majesty has at heart their welfare. Nothing ever so forcibly convinced them as when they held the silver in their hands, and were told by Her Majesty's Commissioner that the silver was from their great mother, the Queen of Great Britain.

“With these impressions and convictions in the bosom of the Heathen that Mission work is the work of God, it becomes natural for them to cry out and ask your Committee for more teachers. Their call is, ‘Give us the Protestant praying fathers, the Protestant teachers.’ They do not want teachers that teach to murder and to shed blood, in allusion to the murders that were committed in Red River in the late rebellion.

“Many of the Indians find it easier to raise food out of the ground than to obtain it by chase, and in that way many of them will be brought to settle and form themselves into villages, as many of their relations have done.”

All this while the C.M.S. Missions were steadily progressing. At the older stations in what was now the Province of Manitoba, there were labouring Archdeacon Abraham Cowley, J. P. Gardiner, H. George, and R. Phair; with three Indian clergymen, J. Settee, H. Cochrane, and Baptiste Spence, and one, G. Bruce, of mixed race. Cochrane was pastor of the Indian Settlement on Red River, in which he had been educated as a boy. Beyond the new Province, on the Saskatchewan and English Rivers, the work was entirely in Native hands, viz., of Henry Budd and Luke Caldwell, and of J. A. Mackay, of mixed race. In the Far North, on the Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers, were W. C. Bompas, W. D. Reeve, and (of mixed race) R. McDonald; and of their work and travels, especially of Bompas and McDonald among the Tukudh Indians and even the Eskimo of the Arctic coast, long and most deeply-interesting journals came home and were printed in the Society's periodicals. Then on Hudson's Bay there were J. Horden at Moose, T. Vincent (of mixed race) at Albany, and W. W. Kirkby at York; and in these districts also the work was very encouraging. For about four years at this time, 1868-72, a new Mission among the Chippeway Indians of Ontario (Upper Canada) was started and carried on by the

C.M.S.
Missions.

PART VII. Rev. E. F. Wilson, a son of the Vicar of Islington; first at Sarnia, at the south end of Lake Huron, and then at Garden River, near Sault St. Marie, at the east end of Lake Superior. A good beginning was made; but the Society felt that the field was one rather for the Canadian Church, and its connexion was dissolved in 1873.

Bishop
Machray's
journeys.

Meanwhile Bishop Machray was hard at work. His growing responsibilities at Red River did not prevent his undertaking many long journeys; and one may be mentioned, as showing the strange *détour* by which a remote station had sometimes to be reached. Bishop Anderson, it will be remembered, travelled from Red River to Moose, at the south end of Hudson's Bay, by the innumerable small rivers and lakes lying directly between the two points. In 1868, this route was not available; and Bishop Machray went southward to the United States boundary, and, crossing that, came, three or four hundred miles from Winnipeg, upon the rapidly-extending American railway system. Trains took him to St. Paul, and to Milwaukee on Lake Michigan; thence trains and steamers northwards to Marquette, on Lake Superior; across that Lake to Michipicoton; and then by canoe on the rivers northward to Moose. In this way he had touched *en route* what were then the American dioceses of Dacotah, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and the Canadian diocese of Toronto. Of course sub-division has since made the dioceses on this route different. The journey occupied from May 16th to June 26th. Then the Bishop was taken by Mr. Horden across Hudson's Bay, in one direction to Rupert's House and in another direction to Albany, over 600 miles by canoe on the open sea. He was greatly pleased with the hundreds of Christian Indians he met; and for the benefit of the outlying posts he licensed four Indian lay readers to perform the church services. Apparently this was the first case of licensing laymen in any C.M.S. Missions, unless New Zealand was a little earlier.

Licensing
lay readers.

Bishop
Machray
proposes
division of
diocese.

But now, in 1872, the Bishop was forming plans for giving more effective episcopal supervision to his vast diocese. In fact, if any episcopal work at all was to be done in the Far North, where Bompas and McDonald were labouring on the Arctic Circle, new measures had to be taken. As Captain Butler observed in his picturesque book, *The Great Lone Land*, which was published about this time, the distance from Red River to the further posts on the Mackenzie River was as great as "from London to Mecca"; and having regard to the mode of travel, it would have taken Bishop Machray from the headquarters of his work for two years to visit those Arctic Missions with profit. The scheme he now propounded was this: to divide his diocese into four. The reduced Diocese of Rupert's Land would comprise the new Province of Manitoba and some adjacent districts; the coasts and environs of Hudson's Bay would form a second diocese; the vast plains of the Saskatchewan, stretching westward to the Rocky Moun-

tains, a third; and the whole of the enormous territories watered by the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers, and such part of the Yukon basin as was within British territory, a fourth.

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The Bishop came to England to set forth his proposals, and they were at once accepted as statesmanlike by all concerned, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Church Missionary Society. The three new dioceses were named Moosonee, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca. For Moosonee, Bishop Machray suggested the veteran missionary Horden, and for Athabasca the younger but not less energetic missionary Bompas; and these two being C.M.S. men, and their future work wholly among Indians, the Society undertook to guarantee them suitable allowances as bishops. For Saskatchewan he nominated the able Warden of St. John's College, Archdeacon McLean; and for that see it was determined to raise an endowment, towards which the S.P.G. gave £2000 and the S.P.C.K. £1750. This Diocese of Saskatchewan was expected to be one of growing importance, as the great railway was to traverse it, and the country and climate were sure to attract emigrants. Practical steps were at once taken to give effect to these proposals. The C.M.S. wrote to Horden and Bompas to come to England for consecration. Horden was able to come by the return ship in the autumn of that same year, 1872; and on December 15th he was consecrated Bishop of Moosonee at Westminster Abbey, on that memorable occasion already referred to three times in this History, when Royston was consecrated to Mauritius and Russell to North China. It took more than twelve months to get a letter to Bompas and to bring him to England; and McLean had to wait a little, while practical arrangements were made for the endowment of his see; so their consecration did not take place till 1874, as we shall see hereafter.

Bishops
for the new
dioceses.

Horden
and
Bompas.

Let us now go on to the Utmost West.

The field of the North Pacific Mission was first suggested to the Society so far back as 1819, as we saw in our Eighteenth Chapter. Enterprising pioneers of the old North-West Fur Company had crossed the Rocky Mountains and made their way to the western coast of the great Continent, Mackenzie in 1793 and Fraser in 1806—the two men after whom have been named the great river of the Far North and the great river of the Far West; and the agents of that Company had established a few trading posts in the still almost unexplored country. A member of the Company, a highly-respectable Canadian merchant, informed the Society in 1819 that the Indians beyond the Rockies were a superior people likely to respond to Christian instruction. Nothing, however, was done; and when, a few months later, the Society did begin to go elsewhere than to "Africa and the East," it was to the Red River Settlement. The remoter territories, however, did not entirely fade away from the Society's memory. In 1830, seven Indian boys belonging to the tribes beyond the

Field of the
North
Pacific
Mission.

PART VII. Rockies were being taught by Cockran at Red River; which circumstance was reported by the Committee with evident pleasure. But it was not till 1856 that a clear opportunity arose for sending a missionary to the other side of British America.

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Captain
Prevost's
appeal.

In the spring of that year, 1856, the editor of the *C.M. Intelligencer* met, at a C.M.S. meeting at Tunbridge Wells, a godly naval officer, Captain James C. Prevost, R.N., who had just returned from the Pacific Ocean, and who was deeply impressed by the heathen degradation of the Indians of the British possessions there. Their natural condition was bad enough; and they were now exposed to a new danger, for white traders and miners were beginning to find their way to those coasts, bringing their "fire-water," their reckless immoralities, and their contempt for "savages." Captain Prevost earnestly appealed to Mr. Ridgeway to induce the Church Missionary Society to attempt a Mission there. The reply was not encouraging. The Committee were just then proposing to signalize the conclusion of the Crimean War by planting a Mission at Constantinople, to extend the Punjab Mission by occupying Multan, and to advance into the newly-annexed Kingdom of Oudh: what chance was there for the "few sheep in the wilderness" beyond the Rocky Mountains? Ridgeway's sympathies, however, were always world-wide, and he, at least, did what he could: he invited Captain Prevost to write a memorandum for the *Intelligencer*. In July of that year, 1856, appeared an article entitled "Vancouver's Island," in which the editor briefly stated the case, and introduced Captain Prevost's contribution. Let us read a few sentences from the latter:—

His article
in the
"Intelli-
gencer."

"It is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, the total amount of the Native population: a mean, however, between the highest and lowest estimates gives 60,000, a result probably not far from the truth. It is a fact well calculated to arrest the attention, and to enlist in behalf of the proposed Mission the active sympathies of every sincere Christian, that this vast number of our fellow-subjects have remained in a state of heathen darkness and complete barbarism ever since the discovery and partial surveys of their coasts by Vancouver in 1792-1794; and that no effort has yet been made for their moral or spiritual improvement, although during the last forty years a most lucrative trade has been carried on with them by our fellow-countrymen. We would most earnestly call upon all who have themselves learned to value the blessings of the Gospel, to assist 'in rolling away' this reproach. The field is a most promising one. Some naval officers, who, in the discharge of their professional duties, have lately visited these regions, have been most favourably impressed with the highly intelligent character of the Natives; and, struck by their manly bearing, and a physical appearance fully equal to that of the English, whom they also resemble in the fairness of their complexion, and having their compassion excited by their total destitution of Christian and moral instruction, they feel it to be their duty to endeavour to introduce among them the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ, under the conviction that it would prove the surest and most fruitful source of social improvement and civilization, as well as of spiritual blessings infinitely more valuable, and would be found the

only effectual antidote to the contaminating vices which a rapidly-increasing trade, especially with California and Oregon, is bringing in its train. PART VII
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"There is much in the character of the Natives to encourage missionary effort. They are not idolaters: they believe in the existence of two great Spirits—the one benevolent, and the other malignant; and in two separate places of reward and punishment in another world. They are by no means bigoted. They manifest a great desire and aptitude to acquire the knowledge and arts of civilized life; and, although they are addicted to some of the vices generally prevalent amongst savages, they yet possess some virtues rarely displayed by them. Some of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have married Native women, bear the highest testimony to their characters as wives and mothers, and to the manner in which they fulfil all their domestic relationships. Drunkenness was almost wholly unknown, until lately introduced by increasing intercourse with Europeans; but it is now spreading with rapid and destructive effect among the tribes."

There, perhaps, the matter might have rested, had not the good Captain, four or five months later, been suddenly ordered back to the North Pacific coast in command of H.M.S. *Satellite*; upon which he instantly came to Salisbury Square, and offered a free passage for a missionary. Here is the entry in H. Venn's journal:—

"*Tuesday, December 2nd.*—Captain Prevost, who is going to the Pacific, in one of the finest steam-frigates in the navy, to settle a boundary question in the mainland opposite Vancouver's Island, called on me. He had been on the station two years ago, and had taken great interest in the Indians on the west of the Rocky Mountains, and now being suddenly called to the same station and intending to take his wife with him, he was anxious to offer a free passage to a missionary and his wife. He would himself introduce them to their new station, and do everything in his power to support them as long as he should be in that neighbourhood."

Captain
Prevost
offers free
passage to
a mission-
ary.

But where was the missionary who should go? There was a young man training under C. R. Alford at Highbury Training College for Schoolmasters, who had been one of the half-dozen people attending a village missionary meeting in Yorkshire on a drenching wet night, when Charles Hodgson, who was the deputation, had insisted on going on with the meeting despite the Vicar's proposal to abandon it; and the speech that night to those half-dozen listeners had resulted in the offer to the Society of William Duncan. And now Duncan was to sail at a few days' notice as the only English missionary to a hitherto unreached race in one of the remotest corners of the British Empire. On December 19th he was taken leave of by the Committee, along with two other men also going out suddenly. Again let us read Venn's journal:—

William
Duncan.

"*Friday, December 19th.*—A dismissal at the C.M. House at twelve. It was an occasion of special interest, because each of the three missionaries had gone out on short notice. Mr. Greaves, late of Manchester, only offered himself to the Society and was accepted in November and

Interesting
Valedic-
tory Dis-
missal.

PART VII. to-day he goes to join a steamer for Calcutta. His mother was with
 1862-72. him. Mr. Macarthy, going to Peshawar, was appointed a month ago ;
 Chap. 66. he will be ordained next Sunday, and start on Monday. Mr. Duncan, a
 schoolmaster, was appointed only ten days ago, upon the noble offer
 of Captain Prevost, H.M.S. *Satellite*, to give a free passage to any
 missionary agent whom the Society would send to labour among the Red
 Indians on the western coast of North America. Captain Prevost was
 present on this occasion. Mr. Knight gave a noble address, in which he
 spoke of the new station we are about to occupy in North-West America,
 as immediately opposite to Shanghai, so that we now complete the girdle
 of missionary stations round the globe. Captain Prevost was then
 obliged to leave the room, and he said, in a few words, that he regretted
 his public duties obliged him to leave before the conclusion of this most
 interesting occasion. That he could not do so without entreating the
 friends around him when they remembered before the throne of grace
 the missionaries whom they sent out to distant parts of the world, to
 pray also for the captain and the crew of the *Satellite*, that wherever
 they might go, however they might be employed, they might bear
 witness for Christ. . . . Mr. Ridgeway concluded with a most fervent
 prayer for the outpouring of the Spirit."

Observe that Knight regarded the new Mission as completing the girdling of the world because on the opposite side of the Pacific there was a Mission at Shanghai. No thought then of Japan !

On December 23rd the *Satellite* sailed from Plymouth ; and having doubled Cape Horn and traversed almost the whole length of the North and South Atlantic and the South and North Pacific Oceans, she cast anchor in Esquimault Harbour, Victoria, Vancouver's Island, on June 13th, 1857. But Duncan had still five hundred miles to go further northward. His mission was to the Tsimshian Indians on the mainland, and to reach them he must get to a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the coast, Fort Simpson.* He had, however, to wait three months for a passage thither, and meanwhile the Company's officers at Victoria raised strong objections to his going. He might get to Fort Simpson ; but then he could only go outside it at the risk of his life, and the Indians would not be permitted to come inside : what work, then, could he do ? Duncan could only reply that he was ordered to Fort Simpson, and to Fort Simpson he must go ; and he found a friend in the Governor of Vancouver's Island, who gave him letters to the officer at the Fort, directing that accommodation be afforded him and facilities given him for getting into touch with the Indians. At length a vessel was going up ; and on the night of October 1st he landed at the spot where the new Mission was to begin.

Like other Hudson's Bay Company trading posts, Fort Simpson consisted of a few houses, stores, and workshops, surrounded by a palisade twenty feet high, formed of trunks of trees. The inmates consisted of about twenty white men or half-breeds, with the wives and children of some of them ; and Duncan at once began

* To be carefully distinguished from the Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, which Hunter reached a year later (p. 324).

Sunday services for this little community, a day-school for the children, and a night-school for some of the adults. Outside the Fort was a large village of Tsimshean Indians, comprising some two hundred and fifty wooden houses. In the next few months Duncan visited every house and counted the inmates, finding 637 men, 756 women, and 763 children, 2156 in all; and about 400 more were stated to be absent at the time. Their degrading and barbarous customs were very painful, but this, of course, only emphasized their need of the Gospel. Duncan did his best to indicate to them his friendliness, and by means of one Indian who had acquired some little English, he began gradually to pick up the language. At length, after eight months of patient labour, he found himself able to make his first attempt to convey to them definitely the Gospel message, by a written address, which he had composed with infinite pains:—

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Tsimshean
village.

Duncan's
first
sermon.

"Last week I finished translating my first address for the Indians. Although it was not entirely to my satisfaction, I felt it would be wrong to withhold the message any longer. Accordingly I sent word last night (not being ready before) to the chiefs, desiring to use their houses to-day to address their people in. This morning I set off, accompanied by the young Indian (Clah), whom I have had occasionally to assist me in the language. In a few minutes we arrived at the first chief's house, which I found all prepared, and we mustered about one hundred souls. This was the first assembly of Indians I had met. My heart quailed greatly before the work—a people for the first time come to hear the Gospel tidings, and I the poor instrument to address them in a tongue so new and difficult to me. Oh, those moments! I began to think that, after all, I should be obliged to get Clah to speak to them, while I read to them from a paper in my hand. Blessed be God, this lame resolution was not carried. My Indian was so unnerved at my proposal, that I quickly saw I must do the best I could by myself, or worse would come of it. I then told them to shut the door. The Lord strengthened me. I knelt down to crave God's blessing, and afterwards I gave them the address. They were all remarkably attentive. At the conclusion I desired them to kneel down. They immediately complied, and I offered up prayer for them in English. They preserved great silence. All being done, I bade them good-bye. They all responded with seeming thankfulness. On leaving, I asked my Indian if they understood me, and one of the chief women very seriously replied, 'Nee, nee' ('yes'); and he assured me that from their looks he knew that they understood and felt it to be good.

"We then went to the next chief's house, where we found all ready, a canoe-sail spread for me to stand on, and a mat placed on a box for me to sit upon. About 150 souls assembled, and as there were a few of the Fort people present, I first gave them a short address in English, and then the one in Tsimshean. All knelt at prayer, and were very attentive, as at the other place. This is the head chief's house. He is a very wicked man, but he was present, and admonished the people to behave themselves during my stay.

"After this I went in succession to the other seven tribes, and addressed them in the chiefs' houses. In each case I found the chief very kind and attentive in preparing his house and assembling his people. The smallest company I addressed was about fifty souls, and

PART VII. the largest about 200. Their obedience to my request about kneeling
1862-72. was universal, but in the house where there were over 200 some confusion took place, as they were sitting so close. However, when they
Chap. 66. heard me begin to pray, they were instantly silent. Thus the Lord helped me through. About 800 or 900 souls in all have heard me speak; and a great number of them, I feel certain, have understood the message. May the Lord make it the beginning of great good for this pitiable and long-lost people."

Progress of the work.

From this time the work went quietly on, some two hundred adults and children attending daily school and listening to Christian instruction; and on Christmas Day, 1858, Duncan made his first attempt to address the people extempore. But no sooner did the medicine-men of the tribe realize the growing influence of the missionary than they raised an outcry against it; and Duncan's life was more than once in imminent danger. Nevertheless he simply went on, with unruffled patience and courage; and within about a year and a half the outward change in the people had become very manifest. Drunkenness and profligacy were diminishing, and the consequent quiet and decorum impressed the Indians themselves. On April 6th, 1859, the head chief Legaie, who had distinguished himself by his violence and murderous threats, appeared at school, and sat down to learn with the rest. Here and there were plain tokens that the Holy Spirit was at work upon the heart; and in October, just two years after Duncan's arrival, a young man on his death-bed gave striking evidence of his faith in Christ. The C.M.S. Committee received these tidings with thankfulness and hope, and in the following year, 1860, they sent out an ordained missionary, the Rev. L. S. Tugwell. By him, on July 26th, 1861, the first converts were baptized, fourteen men, five women, and four children.

First baptisms.

Bishopric of British Columbia.

The increase in the number of white men on the coast—chiefly near Vancouver's Island and on the Fraser River, far south of Fort Simpson—led in 1858 to the establishment of the Colony of British Columbia, to comprise the whole of the British territories in America west of the Rocky Mountains; and Miss (now Baroness) Burdett-Coutts came forward with a handsome contribution to the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for the endowment of a bishopric. Dr. Hills accordingly went out in 1859 as first Bishop of Columbia. The S.P.G. already had clergy in Vancouver's Island, working among both the whites and the Indians there, and in after years others followed on the opposite mainland. But as Tsimshians from time to time went south to Victoria for trade or otherwise, the Bishop more than once invited Duncan, as knowing their language, to go down and seek these wandering sheep.

So far, we have been looking back into the years before the period under review in the present section of our History. We now come to the opening year of the period, 1862, and we find that at the very time when the Society was moving into its new House, the now fast-increasing community of Tsimshian Indians

was arranging to move to a new settlement. No. 16, Salisbury Square, and Metlakahtla, come into view in the same spring of the same year. Duncan had for some time perceived that if the Mission was not only to save individual souls, but to become a centre of good and wholesome influence upon the coast, it must fix its headquarters at some place removed from the contamination of ungodly white men. He therefore planned a Christian colony, the objects of which he subsequently thus summarized in a report to the Government:—

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The move
to a new
settlement.

“1st. To place all the Indians, when they became wishful to be taught Christianity, out of the miasma of heathen life, and away from the deadening and enthralling influence of heathen customs. Objects of the new settlement.

“2nd. To establish the Mission where we could effectively shut out intoxicating liquors, and keep liquor vendors at bay.

“3rd. To enable us to raise a barrier against the Indians visiting Victoria, excepting on lawful business.

“4th. That we might be able to assist the people thus gathered out to develop into a model community, and raise a Christian village, from which the Native evangelist might go forth, and Christian truth radiate to every tribe around.

“5th. That we might gather such a community around us, whose moral and religious training and bent of life might render it safe and proper to impart secular instruction.

“6th. That we might be able to break up all tribal distinctions and animosities, and cement all who came to us, from whatever tribe, into one common brotherhood.

“7th. That we might place ourselves in a position to set up and establish the supremacy of the law, teach loyalty to the Queen, conserve the peace of the country around, and ultimately develop our settlement into a municipality with its Native corporation.”

The Indians themselves pointed out the locality for such a settlement, a place called Metlakahtla, occupying a beautiful situation on the coast, seventeen miles south of Fort Simpson. It had formerly, indeed, been their home; they had only removed to Fort Simpson for convenience of trade; but they had now learned that the too close contiguity of the white man and the red man meant the ruin of the latter; and, moreover, at their old *habitat* they would have room to cultivate a little land, and there would be an inlet specially abounding in salmon and shell-fish, the leading staple of the country. On May 27th, 1862, Duncan and fifty Indians left Fort Simpson for Metlakahtla; and although many had shrunk back when the moment of departure came, fearing the strict rules to be enforced at the new settlement, within a few days they thought better of it, and on June 6th a fleet of thirty canoes brought three hundred more people from Fort Simpson. Others quickly followed; and very soon a flourishing village was in full working order. The rules were as follows:—

Metla-
kahtla.

Village
rules.

1. To give up their “Ahljed,” or Indian devilry; .
2. To cease calling in conjurers when sick;
3. To cease gambling;
4. To cease giving away their property for display;

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5. To cease painting their faces ;
6. To cease drinking intoxicating drink ;
7. To rest on the Sabbath ;
8. To attend religious instruction ;
9. To send their children to school ;
10. To be clean ;
11. To be industrious ;
12. To be peaceful ;
13. To be liberal and honest in trade ;
14. To build neat houses ;
15. To pay the village tax.

Wide in-
fluence of
Metla-
kahtla.

Metlakahtla proved to be no hermit's cell in the wilderness, removed far from the haunts of men, and exerting no influence over them. Rather did it become a harbour of refuge, with its lights radiating forth into the darkness, inviting the distressed bark to seek its friendly shelter, and guiding the passing vessel on its course. It rapidly acquired a recognized position of importance and influence as the centre—one might almost say the official centre - of all good work of every kind among the coast Indians. Not only was Duncan the lay pastor and missionary—for Tugwell had been invalided home before the removal to Metlakahtla,—not only was he treasurer of the settlement, clerk of the works, head schoolmaster, and counsellor in general to the people ; the Colonial Government also appointed him a magistrate, in order that he might have legal power to dispense justice, not only within the settlement, but along the whole coast, wherever his influence extended. And vigorously did he exercise this power, impartially upon white man and red man, until his name became famous, and he was regarded as the very incarnation of just and energetic rule. But the Colonial authorities generally were conspicuous for wisdom and fairness in dealing with the Indians ; and perhaps there can be no better way of exhibiting the condition of affairs upon the coast, and the policy of the Government, than by extracting some singularly effective sentences from an address to the Indians by the Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Begbie, at a trial of two men for murder :—

Sir M.
Begbie's
remarkable
judicial
address to
the Indians

“ Many years ago there were some poor white men on the sea. Men on the sea are always in danger from the winds and the waves ; but these men trusted in God, who rules the winds and waves, and they were not afraid. Neither were they afraid of the men whom they might meet, for they did not intend to hurt anybody, and they were ready to do good. And, indeed, if the white men intended to do harm to the Indians, the whites could destroy them off the face of the earth. The whites could send up one man-of-war, which could easily, and without landing a man, destroy all their houses and canoes and property, and drive them naked and helpless into the woods to starve. No canoe could venture to go fishing. In one year the white men could destroy all the Indians on the coast without losing a man. One of our cannon could swallow up all the muskets of your tribe.

“ Now these poor white men on the sea met with some Indians. The Indians said they were hungry, and the white men gave them bread.

Was that the act of a friend or an enemy? Then, when the Indians saw that the white men were good and confiding, and saw a little bread, and a saw and some tools, and a musket and a pistol, the devil came to them and said, 'Kill these white men; do not stop because they gave you bread when you were hungry; kill them, and take the saw and the musket and the bread.' These things the devil put on his hook with which he was fishing for the souls of the Indians, as men put a small fish on a hook to catch salmon and halibut. And the Indians listened to the voice of the devil, and slew these men, who were not fighting, nor had either they or the Indians declared war or anger at all. They slew these men while the bread of charity was still in their mouths. This is treachery and murder. All people hate murder; all people seek to have revenge for murder. This is the law among Indians also. If a white man kill an Indian, the Indians desire that white man to be put to death. Now my people come to me and ask for satisfaction. The law among the whites is that they cannot have revenge unless I permit it. Now my people come and ask me for revenge.

"But many snows have fallen upon this blood, and they hide it from my sight. Many snows have fallen also on my head; my head is very white, and I have seen many things. When the head is white, the heart ought to be prudent and moderate. I will not therefore take the lives of these Indians now before me, though they are all in my hand, and if I close it, it will strangle them all. My head is white, but my hand is strong, and my heart is not weak. If I punish them less than by killing them it is not because I am weak, nor because I am afraid. But I want to do good to these Indians. What good would their lives do me? Their lives are of no use to me to take at present. But I wish to preserve their lives, and to change their lives. I wish to change their hearts, and to let them see that our laws are good and our hearts are good, and that we do not kill, even when we have a right to kill, and when we have the power to kill.

"There is a rock at Metlakahtla, and a rock at Victoria, upon which their old canoe has split. Now I offer them a new canoe. When men are sailing in an old broken canoe, and have with difficulty got to shore, and made a small camp, if anybody offer them a fine new canoe with which to continue the voyage of life, they should accept the offer gladly. Now there is a much better canoe, as they may see at Metlakahtla. I wish them to sail in such a canoe for the future, and to adopt a better rule of life, and a better law of religion. They must at present go back to prison, until I speak with the other great chiefs of my people, and see what is best for them to be done. I shall try and persuade the other chiefs to send them away to Metlakahtla, to do what Mr. Duncan shall tell them, and to live as they shall direct. And so long as they live well and quietly, and learn and labour truly to get their own living, I shall not remember the blood which they have spilt."

The social and moral influence of Metlakahtla was accompanied by unmistakable spiritual results. The Bishop of Columbia himself twice took the five hundred miles voyage to receive the converts "into the congregation of Christ's flock." In 1863 he baptized fifty-nine adults and some children, and in 1866 sixty-five adults; besides whom, during nearly the same period, one hundred and thirty-five adults and thirty-one children were baptized by two other clergymen from Victoria, making a total—with one other—within ten years of Duncan's first arrival on the coast, of

More baptisms.

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Cannibal
chief bap-
tized.

278 baptisms of adult converts and about fifty of the children of Christian parents. What was that "one other" case? It was Quthray, a cannibal chief, who had been a violent opponent of the Gospel, but was softened by the grace of God in the prospect of death. He was baptized by the lay hands of Duncan himself soon after the move to Metlakahtla, when no clergyman was within reach:—

"*Saturday, October 18th, 1862.*—Just as I was rising this morning I received intelligence that poor Quthray, the young cannibal chief, was dying. I have frequently visited him during his illness, and was with him for a long time a few nights ago. As he has long and earnestly desired baptism, and expressed in such clear terms his repentance for his sins, and his faith in the Saviour of sinners, I told him that I would myself baptize him before he died, unless a minister from Victoria arrived in time to do it. He always appeared most thankful for my visits, and, with the greatest force he could command, thanked me for my promise. Accordingly this morning I proceeded to the solemn work of admitting a brand plucked from the burning into the visible Church of Christ by baptism. Though I was not sent here to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, yet I had no fear but that I was doing what was pleasing to God in administering that sacred rite to the poor dying man, as an officially-appointed person was not within several hundred miles of him. I found the sufferer apparently on the very verge of eternity, but quite sensible, supported by his wife on one side, and another woman on the other, in a sitting posture on his lowly couch spread upon the ground. I addressed him at once, reminding him of the promise I had made to him, and why. I also spoke some words of advice to him, to which he paid most earnest attention, though his cough would scarcely permit him to have a moment's rest. A person near expressed a fear that he did not understand what I said, being so weak and near death; but he quickly, and with great emphasis, exclaimed, '*I hear; I understand.*' While I was praying his expression of countenance was most lovely. With his face turned upward, he seemed to be deeply engaged in prayer. I baptized him, and gave him the name of Philip Atkinson. I earnestly besought the Lord to ratify in Heaven what He had permitted me to do in His name, and to receive the soul of the poor dying penitent before Him. He had the same resignation and peace which he had evinced throughout his sickness, weeping for his sins, depending all upon the Saviour, confident of pardon, and rejoicing in hope.

"This is the man of whom I have had to write more than once to the Society. Oh, the dreadful and revolting things I have witnessed him do! He was one of the two principal actors in the first horrid scene I saw at Fort Simpson about four and a half years ago, an account of which I sent home, namely, that of a poor slave woman being murdered in cold blood, thrown on the beach, and then torn to pieces and eaten by two naked savages, who were supported by a crew of singers and the noise of drums. This man was one of those naked cannibals. Glorious change! See him clothed and in his right mind, weeping—weeping sore for his sins—expressing to all around his firm belief in the Saviour, and dying in peace. Bless the Lord for all His goodness."

Among the converts baptized by Bishop Hills on his first visit in 1863 was the head chief Legaic himself,—a still more remarkable triumph of Divine grace than even the case of Quthray, for

Head chief
Legaic
baptized.

Legaic was no dying man, but still a vigorous and powerful leader of his people. He had given Duncan much anxiety. After he appeared tamed, his old ferocity and love of sin had got the mastery again and again. On one occasion he gathered the Indians together and bid them farewell, saying he could bear the restraints of Metlakahtla no longer, and he must go, even if it meant eternal perdition. He got into his canoe, and paddled away alone, to the grief of the Christians he was leaving. Next day he reappeared. "A hundred deaths," he said, "would not equal the sufferings of that night." And now the "blasphemer and persecutor and injurious" was baptized by the name of Paul. In him indeed did "Jesus Christ show forth all longsuffering, for a pattern to them who should hereafter believe on Him to life everlasting." For Legaic's story has been told over and over again all round the world, and who shall say what miracles of grace the Lord has wrought by its means? For six years the once-dreaded savage lived a quiet and consistent life at Metlakahtla as a carpenter, and then died while on a journey, "very happy," he said, "not afraid to meet God," "always remembering the words of the Lord Jesus Christ."

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In 1870 Duncan visited England, and was warmly received by the Committee and many other friends. He chiefly occupied his time in learning various trades, and purchasing machinery, &c., for the settlement. He went to Yarmouth purposely to learn rope-making and twine-spinning; at another place he acquired the art of weaving; at a third, that of brush-making; at a fourth, "the gamut of each instrument in a band of twenty-one instruments." In 1872 the Governor of British Columbia, Mr. Trutch, went up the coast with two ships-of-war, to inquire into an act of savagery committed by drunken white miners; and while on a visit to Metlakahtla he laid the first stone of the celebrated church. Laying the stone, indeed, was one thing; building the church was another. The Governor and the naval officers saw lying on the ground huge timbers to be used in its erection; but how these were to be reared up was not apparent. Very kindly they gave Duncan a quantity of ropes, blocks, pulleys, &c., but even then they sailed away in considerable scepticism as to the possibility of unskilled red men raising a large and lofty church. Nevertheless, after two years' labour, it was completed, through God's goodness, without a single accident, and was opened for Christian services on Christmas Day, 1874, seven hundred Indians being present. "Could it be," wrote Duncan, "that this concourse of well-dressed people in their new and beautiful church, engaged in thrilling songs of praise to God, made up, but a few years ago, the fiendish assemblies at Fort Simpson!"

Duncan in
England.

Metla-
kahtla
church.

All this while, and for years afterwards, Duncan worked practically alone. Five times did the C.M.S. Committee send out an ordained clergyman to take the more regular pastoral care of the Christian Indians, while their trusted lay brother continued his

C.M.S.
sends out
ordained
men;

PART VII. 1862-72. Chap. 66. work both of evangelization and of the moral and material improvement of the people. Tugwell has already been mentioned. R. R. A. Doolan, a Cambridge man, went out in 1864; but he was detached to start a new Mission on the Nass River, north of Fort Simpson; and after three years his health failed, and he returned to England. In 1865, F. B. Gribbell was sent out; but his wife's health failing, he took colonial work at Victoria under the Bishop. In 1867, R. Tomlinson, a Dublin graduate, was appointed to the Mission; and he worked in it for several years, but on the Nass River, carrying on the station founded there by Doolan. In 1877, A. J. Hall was sent, with the express object of his taking the clerical superintendence of the Mission; but he too was soon requested by Duncan to start a new work on Vancouver's Island, as we shall see in a future chapter. The real reason why all these plans failed, and others too,—for example, Bishop Hills at one time offered Duncan ordination,—we shall also see hereafter. Much trial was in store for this Mission. No good work is ever let alone by the great Enemy of mankind; and the more successfully his usurped kingdom is assailed, the fiercer and more bitter will the conflict be. Especially, where grosser temptations are not available, will he sow discord and division among Christian brethren. But although the day came when the Society had to separate from Mr. Duncan, to oppose his proceedings, and to mourn over some at least of the results of his influence, he must always be honoured as the courageous pioneer missionary of the North Pacific coast, and the founder of a Mission which in other hands has since received more abundant blessing from on high even than this chapter has recorded to the praise and glory of God.

but in vain.

CHAPTER LXVII.

NEW ZEALAND: WAR, APOSTASY, FIDELITY.

Veteran Missionaries—Progress and Trials of the Maori Mission—Land Disputes—King Movement—Taranaki War—Sir G. Grey and Mr. Fox—Pai Marire Movement—Hau-hau Outrages: Murder of Völkner—Widespread Apostasy—The Bright Side: Chivalry of Maori Chiefs—Tamihana and Hipango: their Conversion; their Visits to England; Death of Hipango—Other Christian Deaths—Maori Clergy—Death of Archdeacon H. Williams: Peace proclaimed over his Grave—Bishop Selwyn's Farewell—Harvest of Maori Souls gathered in.

"Nay; but we will have a king over us."—1 Sam. viii. 19.

"Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? From whence then hath it tares? . . . An enemy hath done this. . . . But gather the wheat into my barn."—St. Matt. xiii. 27, 28, 30.



IT is long since we reviewed the Maori Mission in New Zealand. In our Sixteenth and Twenty-fourth Chapters we traced its early history, and in our Twenty-eighth Chapter the events in the decade commencing with the establishment of the British Colony in 1840 and the arrival of Bishop Selwyn in 1842. Then our Thirty-eighth Chapter was devoted to the subject of the organization of the Colonial Church, comprising both English and Maori, as illustrating (along with the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-third Chapters) the difficulties which in the middle of the century beset all efforts to promote Church life in Greater Britain. But the actual work among the Maoris since about 1850 has scarcely been noticed in our pages. We have now, therefore, a long period to review.

No Mission in the world has retained its veteran workers to old age like the New Zealand Mission. The men whose names will come before us in this chapter are, for the most part, the men we have met before. Throughout the 'fifties and 'sixties, W. Williams (Archdeacon, then Bishop), W. G. Puckey, C. Baker, A. N. Brown (Archdeacon), T. Chapman, J. Matthews, B. Y. Ashwell, R. Maunsell (Archdeacon), R. Taylor, O. Hadfield (Archdeacon, then Bishop), R. Burrows, all of whom went out before Bishop Selwyn, and eight of whom ultimately exceeded half a century in their service, were actively at work; while R. Davis died in 1863, Hamlin, Morgan, and Archdeacon Kissling in 1865, Archdeacon H. Williams in 1867, after forty, forty, thirty-three, thirty-three, and

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Veteran
mission-
aries in
New Zea-
land.

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New men
of the
period.

forty-five years' service respectively. S. M. Spencer, too, who went out a year after Selwyn, laboured all through the period, and long after; and S. Williams (now Archdeacon), who joined the Mission in the country in 1846, is still at his post to-day. Very few new men were sent out after the Jubilee. The C.M.S. Committee considered that, the whole Maori nation having been brought under Christian instruction, and the permanent Colonial Church organization being in course of establishment, the Society ought to be relieved from responsibility beyond the support, moral and material, of the missionaries already in the field, and that all further work should be done by a Native Pastorate, backed by the rising Colonial Church. During the quarter of a century following the Jubilee, only four new men were sent out—i.e. men not already connected with New Zealand. There were, however, in addition, four sons of missionaries in the field, viz., W. Leonard Williams (now Bishop), from Oxford; B. K. Taylor, from Cambridge; E. B. Clarke (now Archdeacon) and G. Maunsell, who were at Islington; also one Islington man already connected in a remarkable way with New Zealand, W. Ronaldson.* Of these five, Taylor died after sixteen years' service, and Ronaldson took colonial work after fourteen years; the other three are still labouring, after forty-five, forty-two, and thirty-four years respectively (including a few years of lay agency as young men before definite enrolment, in the case of Clarke and Maunsell). The four new men were T. Lanfear, A. Stock, and J. W. Gedge, all from Cambridge, and T. S. Grace, a St. Bees' man. Stock soon took colonial work; Gedge returned home; Lanfear and Grace fulfilled many years' service.

Condition
of Maori
Church un-
satisfac-
tory.

We have before seen how great a change came over the Native Christian community as the British Colony developed. It was, of course, impossible to keep the Maori Christians in the simplicity and fervour of their first acceptance of the Gospel, amid such surroundings. They had to be adapted to their new environment, and the process was one that sorely damaged their religious life. The C.M.S. Committee, by the pen of Henry Venn, again and again, in the Annual Report, pointed out the disappointment already experienced and the danger of further backsliding; and Ridgeway did the same in the *Intelligencer*. Thus, in 1855, the Committee dealt very gravely with the subject. "The god of this world," they said, "has not withdrawn himself from the field where he has been so signally overthrown. He only changes his mode of operation, that those who no longer serve him as Heathen may yet continue to serve him as professing Christians." "Christianity," they continued, "has taught the Natives to lay aside their wars and to cultivate their lands. The discovery of goldfields in Australia, and the increase of settlers there, have immensely increased the

* See p. 76.

value of the agricultural produce of New Zealand, and the Maoris obtain highly-remunerative prices. At this moment the ungodly white man presents himself with his low vices and grog-shops. The reports of the missionaries convey mournful intelligence that drunkenness, with its attendant evils, is on the increase. In some instances disease and death have thinned the population, and a withering blight has come over many a hopeful congregation."

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Yet, all the while, the disappointment felt was only the inevitable reaction from too sanguine expectations in earlier days. All the while, spiritual fruits were being reaped which would have caused transports of joy in less fertile fields, such as North India. All the while, most touching narratives were coming home of the Christian deaths of old converts, once ferocious cannibals, after years of faithfulness and consistency in daily life. On earth there was much to cause pain; yet, all the while, heaven was being peopled. Is not that the true purpose of missionary work? Moreover, new stations were opened, particularly on Lake Taupo in the centre of the Island,* where T. S. Grace settled in 1855 with a warm welcome from a tribe scarcely reached before. Fresh agencies, too, were being started as need arose. Schools of various kinds for young and old were opened; R. Maunsell had an important industrial school on the Waikato River; Leonard Williams, on joining his father in the East District, began a theological institution for training Maori evangelists and pastors; a similar institution for the Northern District was begun at Auckland by Kissling (in which the Chief Justice, Sir W. Martin, took a much-valued part), and a third at Tauranga by Archdeacon Brown; while a fourth was projected at Otaki for the South-West District, to start which J. W. Gedge was sent out. Translational work also was being prosecuted as far as time and strength allowed; and in 1856 R. Maunsell was able to announce the completion of the whole Bible in the Maori language, the New Testament revised from W. Williams's edition, and the Old translated by himself. The Society also hoped much from the establishment of the new dioceses of Waiapu and Wellington in 1859. Bishop Williams of Waiapu was keener on the Native ministry than Selwyn had been; and as we have before seen, the increase of the Maori clergy, which afterwards proved so great a blessing, was mainly due to his initiative. Moreover, he gave priests' orders to two veteran missionaries whom Selwyn had left as deacons for several years, and thus provided for the Holy Communion, of which many Native congregations had long been deprived,—an example which, in one other case, Selwyn then followed.

Yet fruit
had been
reaped.

Important
work of the
period.

But meanwhile, the environment was becoming more and more unfavourable, and the difficulties were increasing in every

* The "Island" in this chapter is always the North Island of New Zealand, in which almost all the Maoris lived, and in which alone the Society worked.

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Land dis-
putes.

Colonial
Legisla-
ture.

Friends of
Maoris un-
popular.

direction. Continual disputes arose about the sale of land by the Maoris to the settlers. The tenure of land had always been tribal. A tract of country occupied by an individual Maori was not his property, but the property of the tribe; and the individual, according to old Maori custom, had no power to alienate it without the consent of the tribe. This the settlers did not understand; and they were not at all disposed to pay attention to the complicated "rights" of "savages." * During Sir George Grey's first Governorship, 1845-54, his sympathy with the Maoris and appreciation of their character enabled him to settle many disputes satisfactorily. But in 1853 the Colony was invested by the British Parliament with powers of self-government, and representative institutions were set on foot. The Governor was no longer a benevolent despot, responsible only to the Colonial Office at home; he had to be guided by a ministry, dependent on the votes of the legislature. This in itself was not only inevitable, but right. But the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840, between the Queen and the Maori chiefs, by which alone England had come into peaceful possession of one of the finest of her colonies, should have been remembered, and provision made for the due observance of the native rights which that treaty had recognized. So far from this being done, the new legislature and ministry were composed of men who for the most part thought that the sooner the Maori disappeared from the earth the better for New Zealand. † Bishop Selwyn, and the Chief Justice, Sir W. Martin, and other men like William Fox (brother of H. W. Fox of the Telugu Mission) and J. E. Gorst (the present Educational Minister in the British Government), constantly pleaded for just dealings with the Maoris, but only brought unpopularity upon themselves—as also did Archdeacons H. Williams and Hadfield, for the same reason, viz., that they had the courage to speak out. As for the Maoris, they said, "The Gospel came to us first, and we embraced it, and found it good, without any mixture of evil, for it was from God. After, came the Law [meaning the Queen's sovereignty]: that also was good, but it brought with it some evil, for it came from man."

* Bishop Selwyn "used to say that he was quite ashamed to travel with his Native deacons, who in Auckland were accustomed to sit at his own table and behave as gentlemen, because he could not take them with him into public rooms where a drunken carter with a white skin would have been considered perfectly good society."—*Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 161.

† One lawyer seriously proposed, in a newspaper, that when "the savages were entirely subjugated," the males should be sent over to Australia "to serve as slaves for seven years," and the females be "carried away and dispersed as wives for the Chinese and for well-conducted white convicts." (Quoted in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1861.) This same lawyer, at a later period, charged one of the best of the Maori clergy, the Rev. Heta Tarawhiti, with disloyal acts, and at the trial the judges severely censured the accuser, and said, "The Rev. Heta Tarawhiti leaves this Court with his name untainted as a loyal subject of Her Majesty, and with his character high in our estimation as a good and courageous clergyman." (See the whole judgment, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1867.)

The Maoris only knew one book—the Bible; and they were wont to apply its words in the most unexpected way to the circumstances of the time. “We have heard,” said one, at a tribal meeting, “of Japhet’s dwelling in the tents of Shem; and we were very willing to receive him—nay, we opened our tent-door and said, ‘Come in, Japhet.’ But what we do not like is this: now that Japhet is inside, he spurns us”—and the speaker struck out with his foot as he spoke—“and says, ‘Get out, Shem.’” * But now the Maori “Shem” proceeded to take Israel in Samuel’s day as their example. “Nay,” they said, “but we will have a king over us.”

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Japhet and Shem.

The “King Movement” was at first by no means intended to express any lack of loyalty to the Queen of England. Its promoters, in suggesting the election of a king for the Maori people, had principally in view the importance of uniting them together. In the olden times, each tribe had been independent of all the rest; and when disputes arose, there was no supreme authority to appeal to. “In those days there was no king in Israel: every man [at least every tribe] did that which was right in his own eyes.” The more enlightened of the chiefs professing Christianity quite realized that British rule of itself made for peace, and they valued it on that account. But in view of the increasing number of “*pakehas*” (white men) in the country, and of the unfriendly attitude of many of them towards the old owners of the land, it was felt that the Maori people should be one, and speak with one voice. Ephraim and Judah, Reuben and Dan, should no longer indulge in tribal disputes: let them stand together. “Japhet” had the Governor and his ministers: let “Shem” have a king; and let both acknowledge the Queen as ultimately supreme. This was the letter sent all round the country in 1853:—

The King Movement.

A good object.

“Listen, all men! The house of New Zealand is one: the rafters on the one side are the Pakehas; those on the other, the Maori. The ridge-pole on which both rest is God. Let therefore the house be one. This is all.”

Four years, however, elapsed before any overt action was taken. The leading chiefs were reluctant to give occasion for complaint or suspicion. But now appeared another influence. The French Roman Catholic priests saw their opportunity. They could truly say, “We are not English; no settlers or soldiers follow us hither”; so they added, “We come in the name of God only: you can safely take our advice.” They quietly went about, encouraging the Maoris in their discontent. One showed an egg, and likened it to New Zealand, saying that the English were only the shell or exterior, because they held the coast; the Maoris were the chicken; why should not the shell be broken, and the chicken come out? † But the Maoris interpreted the illustration differently:

Bad influence of French Romanists

* *Our Maoris*, by Lady Martin, p. 166.

† R. Taylor, *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 122.

PART VII. "Let the Queen and the Pakehas occupy the coast, and be a fence round us"; and when in 1857 they elected Te Wherohero, the great chief of Waikato, as king, with the name of Potatau the First, they hoisted the union jack and the king's flag (a cross and three stars) side by side. The real leader of the movement, Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson) Tarapipipi, called the "king-maker," was a true patriot, without personal ambition, and only seeking the welfare of his race.

Election of a king.

Taranaki War.

The best men opposed to it.

It was not the King Movement that led to the distressing and sanguinary war of 1860-65, though when hostilities had commenced, it undoubtedly tended to give cohesion to the revolt. The origin of the war was a land dispute. A chief sold to the Government some land at the Waitara on the west coast, in the province of Taranaki, which was in the occupation of another section of his tribe. The Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, proceeded to occupy the land, whereupon the occupants resisted, and the women pulled up the pegs used to mark it out. The Governor at once proclaimed martial law in the district, sent for troops from Australia, and on Sunday, March 4th, 1860, began the campaign.* Bishop Selwyn and Chief Justice Martin earnestly vindicated the Maoris, but only increased their unpopularity with the colonists. Sir William Denison, Governor-General of Australia, wrote to Governor Browne as a friend, warning him of the danger of his policy. "It would," he said, "lead to steps which, if backed up by England, would in a short time annihilate the Maori race, and permit the occupation by the white man of the rich land yet in native hands, upon which for years past greedy and longing eyes have been cast."† "It is savage frenzy," wrote Archdeacon Henry Williams, "to the extermination of the Maori race."‡

The "king-maker."

The war went on in a desultory way, and was practically confined to the Taranaki country. The great majority of the Maoris held aloof, though in their hearts sympathizing with their brethren. Tamihana, the king-maker, wrote an admirable letter to the Governor, proposing that the forces on both sides should withdraw from the territory in dispute, and that the whole question should be referred to the Queen's Council in England, all parties undertaking to abide by the decision; but this sensible advice was rejected. A suspension of hostilities occurring in the summer of 1861, the missionaries, headed by Bishop Selwyn, presented a memorandum to the Governor; and the Bishop, in another communication, thus defended their right to be heard:—

"While all other classes of Her Majesty's English subjects are

* This was not the only occasion when the Maoris, who, like children as they were, had been taught to observe the Lord's Day strictly, and did so, were shocked at what seemed to them the disregard of God's law exhibited by the English commanders.

† Quoted in *C.M. Gleaner*, November, 1861.

‡ *Life of Archdeacon H. Williams*, vol. ii. p. 340.

expressing their opinions upon the native question, and supporting a policy which we believe to be unjust, we should be guilty of betraying the native race, who resigned their independence upon our advice, if we did not claim for them all the rights and privileges of British subjects, as guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi. As the earliest settlers in this country—as agents employed by Government in native affairs—as intimately acquainted with the language, customs, and feelings of the native race—and above all as ministers of religion having the highest possible interests at stake, we assert the privilege, which the law allows to every man, of laying our petitions before the Crown and the Legislature.”

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Meanwhile the C.M.S. Committee at home had, in January, 1861, gone on deputation to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and found him, though officially cautious, decidedly sympathetic; and in June they were delighted to find that he had superseded the Governor, and was sending Sir George Grey once more to his old post. This appointment was also received in New Zealand with enthusiasm. There was, in fact, some reaction among the colonists, and the ministry which had encouraged Governor Browne in his combative policy was defeated, and a new one was formed with Mr. Fox, the advocate of conciliation, as Premier.* Sir G. Grey issued reassuring proclamations; Fox, after making an admirable speech in the Legislature,† went and met the Maoris, and proposed reasonable terms; the Bishop and the missionaries used all their influence to soothe their offended feelings; and all looked hopeful again. But the English troops, of whom there were now 10,000 in the country, although in no one fight had there ever been more than a few hundred Maoris—still remained ready for action; and this kept suspicion and disaffection alive. Then, in 1863, an unfortunate thing occurred. The lawyers at length decided that the Maori claim to the land at Waitara, which was the cause of the original dispute, was a just one, and Sir G. Grey resolved to give up the land honourably; but before announcing this, he proceeded to eject them from some Crown lands which they had seized as security for it. “It would have been better,” said the Duke of Newcastle afterwards, “if the two things had been done simultaneously.” This mistake caused the renewal of the war. The Maoris, unconscious that the Waitara land was to be restored, resisted the ejection from the other land; and Grey, perhaps badly advised (Fox was not now Minister), made up his mind that a real struggle was unavoidable. On July 13th—a Sunday again!—General Cameron and a large British force crossed a certain river, to put down the King movement. “The Rubicon is passed,” wrote Selwyn, “and war is declared against New Zealand.” Desperate fighting ensued, with heavy loss on both sides. The British were always the

C.M.S.
action at
home.

Sir G.
Grey
Governor.

Mr. Fox
Premier.

Unhappy
mistake.

General
war begins.

* Mr. Fox's chief allies were Dr. Featherston and Mr. Fitzherbert. They were called “the three F's.”—R. Taylor, *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 130.

† Printed in the *C.M. Record*, March, 1862.

PART VII. stronger, but they were not used to bush fighting, and they sometimes failed in their assaults on the Maori *pahs* or stockades. The mission stations in the Waikato districts were destroyed, and the missionaries were sometimes in great peril. Archdeacon Maunsell and his family had to flee from his ruined house and take refuge in the forests, where they lived for several days until they could escape.

Yet many
Maoris
not con-
cerned
with it.

Even now, a large part of the Maori people held aloof from the conflict, notwithstanding that many tribes, previously quiescent, caught the war spirit, and, impelled by the race feeling which is always such a motive power, joined the insurgents. The settled congregations in the far north, under Archdeacon H. Williams and other veterans, and those in the Waiapu district in the east, under Bishop W. Williams, remained quiet; while in the south-west, the tribes under the influence of Hadfield and R. Taylor were openly loyal to the Government. It was at this very time that the first two Native Synods in the new Diocese of Waiapu were held, as described in our Thirty-eighth Chapter. Moreover, the fighting Maoris continued to show noble chivalry in their warfare. Many touching incidents are recorded of their saving wounded English soldiers at the risk of their own lives; and all the time, fully believing in the righteousness of their cause, they prayed and read the Scriptures before fighting, and regularly kept their Sunday services. On the other hand, Bishop Selwyn and some of the missionaries, while unpopular with the colonists on account of their sympathy with the Maoris, to some extent lost the confidence of the Maoris because they ministered as chaplains to the British troops. The Bishop held that this was his plain duty. The soldiers were part of his flock, and must not be neglected. "It was my rule," he wrote afterwards, "to minister to the wounded Natives as well as to the British. They were both part of my Christian charge. Indeed I ministered to the fallen Maori *first*, to give a practical answer to their charge against me of forsaking and betraying them."*

Grey and
his colonial
ministers.

At two points in the long struggle, after British victories, Sir G. Grey wished to hold out the olive-branch to the unhappy people whom he loved and desired to save; but his ministers would not consent, and, on the contrary, and against the earnest protest of Sir William Martin, decreed the confiscation of large territories, partly owned by Maoris who had taken no part in the conflict. Grey complained bitterly to the Home Government, and Mr. Cardwell (who had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial Office) wrote admirable despatches, exhibiting minute knowledge of New Zealand affairs, and supporting Grey's conciliatory policy. Here is one sentence:—

Cardwell's
despatches

"The Imperial and Colonial Governments are bound so to adjust their proceedings to the laws of natural equity, and to the expectations which the Natives have been encouraged or allowed to form, as to impress the

* Curteis's *Life of Selwyn*, p. 174.

whole Maori race at this critical moment with the conviction that their European rulers are just as well as severe, and are desirous of using the present opportunity, not for their oppression, but for the permanent well-being of all the inhabitants of New Zealand." PART VII.
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Mr. Cardwell's despatches produced immediate effect. On the one hand, the ministry of the day resigned; on the other, a large section of the Maori insurgents heard of them, and at once laid down their arms, in the assurance that they would be fairly treated. Practically the war came to an end; the British troops were withdrawn; and the colonists were left free to manage their own affairs. Under the guidance of some of the kindly men who now came into office, "peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety," might again have been established. But, alas! it was not to be. End of the war.

For the great Enemy and Adversary of God and man had already produced a new weapon. It was in the summer of 1864 that the submission of some of the tribes took place, and the new policy of conciliation was announced. But before that, in April of that year, arose the strange Pai Marire or Hau-hau movement, a Satanic device indeed to destroy the last hope of revival and restoration for the Maori people. In one of the latest skirmishes, Captain Lloyd of the 57th Regiment was killed, and—according to an old Maori custom, which had been abandoned along with cannibalism—his head was cut off.* This head was embalmed, and carried about as an oracle, that the captain's spirit, speaking through it, might become the medium of communication from the Unseen. At the same time a half-insane chief named Te Ua, who was a ventriloquist, and had some notions of mesmerism, was suddenly put forward as a prophet, commissioned by the Angel Gabriel. The real leader of the movement, however, was a man of bad character named Patara, with a lieutenant named Kereopa. With extraordinary rapidity a new superstition was developed. "Pai Marire" † was a strange mixture of the old Heathenism and new Romanism. Gabriel, it was said, had told them to cast off the English teachers, to burn their Bibles, to abolish Sabbath observance, and to adopt "the religion of Mary"; while with these ideas, derived from the French priests, came a revival of many of the old barbarous Heathen customs, and a justification of them based upon misinterpretations of passages in the Old Testament. A kind of worship of God was instituted, in which remnants of the Christian services they had been used to were mingled with much that was blasphemous. Pai Marire or Hau-hau Movement.

Its Romish origin.

* The Maoris said this was in retaliation for a similar act by the English. It seems that a doctor had taken the head of a dead Maori for medical purposes.—R. Taylor, *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 146.

† The name "*Pai marire*" was said to have been derived from a sentence in the strange jargon of a kind of prayer-book prepared by the sect. But the present Bishop of Waiapu states that the words mean "all right" or "quite well," and were uttered by Te Ua when he professed to restore a child's hand that had been cut off.

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Further
war.

This sad apostasy was accompanied by further desultory warfare and fresh outrages, although "the war," properly so called, was at an end. While the old "king" party remained sullenly in the fastnesses to which they had retired in the centre of the island, the new Hau-haus—so named from their barking like dogs—set about inciting the still loyal Christian tribes to join them. At first they met with rebuffs and resistance. In the south-west especially, they were defeated and driven back more than once by the loyal Maoris under the command of a famous chief, Hoani Wiremu (John Williams) Hipango, who fell in the moment of victory, and of whom more presently. But in the east they were unhappily more successful; and the revived savagery culminated there, on March 2nd, 1865, in the murder of a missionary.

Murder of
Völkner.

The Maoris at Opotiki were already excited by letters received from the Hau-hau leaders, brought to them by a French Roman Catholic priest named Garavel. The Rev. Carl Sylvius Völkner, a German missionary who had been taken up by the C.M.S. in the country and ordained by Bishop Williams, reported this to the Government; and the Roman bishop shipped his too-zealous follower off to Australia.* Then appeared the Hau-hau fanatics at Opotiki under their leader Kereopa, and quickly won over the Natives of the place, who had been left a long time without a resident missionary, and were among the least well-instructed of the Maoris. Völkner was away, but on his return, with Mr. Grace, the two missionaries were seized, and Völkner was put to death by the Hau-haus in the presence of his own people. They allowed him to kneel down and pray; then he shook hands with his murderers and forgave them; then he said, "I am ready"; and they hanged him from a willow-tree under which he was standing. Unspeakable barbarities were perpetrated on his remains; and his head was stuck on the pulpit in the church, in revenge, it was said, for the removal of Père Garavel. Why they spared Mr. Grace is not apparent. He was kept a prisoner; but Bishop Selwyn, ever brave and self-denying, sailed off at once to Opotiki in H.M.S. *Eclipse* (commanded by the present Admiral Sir E. Fremantle), and Grace contrived to escape.†

Wrong
inferences
drawn from
the murder.

This horrible crime naturally caused a great sensation in England, and was held to justify all the hard things that had been said of the Maori race; while of course it was the text for many homilies on the "failure of Missions." "Behold," exclaimed the *Times*, "the measure of the depth to which this much-talked-of Christianity has penetrated!" In vain did the *C.M. Intelligencer* point to the many warnings that had appeared in its pages for several years past against a too-sanguine estimate of the Maori Christians. In vain did it point out that the Opotiki people in particular, who had let their own missionary be cruelly killed

* R. Taylor, *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 158.

† A brief statement of a complicated affair. There was also a trading schooner called the *Eclipse*, the captain of which had a share in the rescue.

before their face, had always been spoken of as "an ill-instructed, unsettled people, now carried away by the love of gain, now yielding themselves to the influence of old superstitions." It is ever so. Nobody notices at the time the carefully-guarded language in which the C.M.S. is wont to speak of even the most flourishing and hopeful Missions; and when some grievous exhibition of poor unrenewed human nature occurs, the Society is taunted with it, and accused of publishing *coulour de rose* Reports. But even touching the Opotiki murder, the last word had not yet been spoken. Seven years passed away: then Kereopa was captured, tried, and sentenced to death. Mr. Grace earnestly interceded for him, but the Government did not think it right to spare him, and he was executed. In his last days he was visited by Bishop Williams, and by the Rev. Samuel Williams (now Archdeacon). He thoroughly understood the Gospel, God's way of forgiveness and salvation for the vilest of sinners; he confessed his crime, and appeared truly penitent. "If," wrote Bishop Williams, "we are right in hoping that Kereopa died in the faith which was possessed by the thief on the cross, shall it be said that the attempt to Christianize the Maori is a failure?"

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Repent-
ance and
execution
of the
murderer.

But to return to 1865. From Opotiki the Hau-haus went on to Turanga* on the East Coast, where Bishop Williams lived, and where his son, Archdeacon Leonard Williams, had his Theological Institution. The station was broken up, and the Bishop and his family had to retire, though the Archdeacon remained in the neighbourhood. In 1868 a party of Maoris under Te Kooti who had escaped from prison in the Chatham Islands committed further outrages in this district, massacring several settlers. Turanga in after years became the pleasant little town of Gisborne. Meanwhile Bishop Williams had changed his headquarters to the town of Napier, the capital of the eastern province of Hawke's Bay.

Turanga
station
destroyed.

For several years—certainly from 1864, when Hau-hauism arose, to the end of our present period, 1872—New Zealand was for the most part a grief and a distress to both the missionaries in the field and the C.M.S. circle at home. It was true that in the country north of Auckland the numerous Maori Christians were never affected either by the war or by the apostasy; yet they were affected by evils accompanying increasing trade and consequent pecuniary gain, and the white man's drink-shops were the ruin of many a professing Christian Maori. It was true that in the south-west, under Hadfield and Taylor, the Natives remained loyal; yet they too were subject to the same unhappy influences. It was true that in the north-east, the congregations under the Native clergy ordained by Bishop Williams remained

Sad results
of the war
and the
schism,
and of
drink.

* Not to be confounded with Tauranga, on the Bay of Plenty. Turanga is on Poverty Bay. In the *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, the two Bays are not distinguished.

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for the most part outwardly faithful, and gave large sums to maintain their own churches and pastors; yet there was little of the old fervour. But in all the central districts missionary work was practically suspended; and the missionaries, most of them now old men, were at Auckland or Tauranga, waiting and praying for opportunities to resume it, and meanwhile doing useful work in other ways, helping in the settlers' churches, revising Maori translations, &c. The old "King Movement" and Hau-hauism were now closely allied, and together kept the disaffected Natives in the forests and mountains, something like the Highlanders of Scotland in old times, not interfered with by the Government, but holding aloof from the life of the Colony and allowing no white men to pass through their country; though Mr. Grace did get to them occasionally, and so did Heta Tarawhiti. "The Hau-hau superstition," wrote Bishop Selwyn,* "is simply an expression of an utter loss of faith in everything that is English, clergy and all alike. The only wonder is that the whole people did not become Romanists, as the missionaries of that persuasion are chiefly from France." And again he wrote: †—

Selwyn's
opinion.

"I have now one simple missionary idea before me, of watching over the remnant that is left. Our native work is a remnant in two senses: the remnant of a decaying people, and the remnant of a decaying faith. The works of which you hear are not the works of Heathens: they are the works of baptized men whose love has grown cold from causes common to all Churches of neophytes from Laodicea downwards."

But he knew that besides the tendency of "neophyte Christianity" to backsliding, there was another important cause of the apostasy. What was that? Let the words of his most trusted lieutenant, Hadfield, answer:—"When a race of noble, honest men, recently converted and brought from darkness to light, are treated with injustice and cruelty *by men of the same race as that of those preachers of the Gospel under whose teaching they accepted it*, how could it be expected that their confidence would continue unimpaired?" Yet, after all, it was but a minority of the Maori race that openly apostatized. In 1870, Bishop Williams estimated the whole "remnant" of the Maori nation at 35,000, of whom about 9000 were either Hau-haus or of the disaffected "king" party. Even the Hau-haus as a whole ought not to be judged by the shocking outrages of some of them. They were a fanatical sect, but they were not a band of murderers. The account of them by Lady Martin, the accomplished wife of the Chief Justice, is worthy of being carefully noted: ‡—

Hadfield's
opinion.

"Some people in England suppose that our Natives gave up Christianity when they formed themselves into the sect called Hau-haus. It was only embraced by a certain number in the middle and south of the Northern Island, and grew up when the people were maddened by defeat, disease, and confiscation of their lands. . . . But, wonderful to

Lady
Martin's
opinion.

* *Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 208.

† *Ibid.*, p. 193.

‡ *Our Maoris*, p. 212.

say, they never went back, as the Northmen to the worship of Odin, PART VII. or as the British to Druidical rites. There was no calling on Pāpā, the 1862-72. earth-mother, nor on Rangi, the sky-god, nor on Tane, who protects the Chap. 67. forests. From the Bible, which was their only literature, they got their phraseology. The men who excited and guided them were prophets; Jehovah was to fight for them; the arm of the Lord and the sword of the Lord were on their side, to drive the English into the sea. There was wild talk about angels, and much superstition, but no relapse into Heathenism pure and simple."

It was, nevertheless, a rejection of the pure Christianity they had been taught. One chief said to Bishop Williams, "Bishop, many years ago we received this faith from you: now we return it to you; for there has been found a new and precious thing by which we shall keep the land." Yet there were those who from time to time felt like the spouse in Hosea: "I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me than now." Better tokens. Many were like a party visited by Archdeacon Maunsell, who said, "We are glad to see you and to have our old service again. We get no benefit from our Hau-hau *karakia*: it is like a person trying to cross a river in a large square box. There is neither head nor stern, and when we try to steer we cannot get it to move rightly." There were, in fact, two things to be done: to win them back to the Queen and to the Church. The efforts to do either were successful only with individuals, within the period we are now reviewing. The work of after years will come before us in a future chapter. But there was another task, no less important, and no less hard: to save from sin the more numerous loyal and professedly Christian Maoris. Let one illustration be given. Writing of the Maoris who joined the colonial troops in fighting the Hau-haus, R. Taylor says:—

"What has been the effect of this alliance upon the Natives? Has it benefited them? Has it raised them in the moral scale of society? Evil influence of white troops. Alas! it has been quite the reverse. They have had their rations of rum, and have acquired a love of ardent spirits, and now curse and swear, literally, as a trooper. They may now be seen haunting the public-houses, a disgusting and painful proof of their new teaching. Having had no Sabbath observance, they have learned to neglect it, and to believe it is of no consequence. And thus those men who have jeopardized their lives in our defence, and been signally instrumental in preserving our provinces from destruction, have been ruined in return; and from being, many of them, high-principled men, have become besotted, worthless characters. Nay further, the best way we have found out of showing our admiration and good feeling towards them has been by inviting them to resuscitate the past customs of barbarous life, to dance their revolting war-dances, which even our colonial ladies attend with as much apparent gusto as the Spanish dames do their disgraceful bull-fights."*

We have looked at the dark cloud: let us now look at the silver lining. First, take one instance—one of very many—of the chivalry of the Christian Maoris even when fighting on what Chivalry of Maori Christians.

* *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 71.

- PART VII.** was called the rebel side. There was a chief named Henare
1862-72. Taratoa, who had been educated at Bishop Selwyn's College for
Chap. 67. the ministry, but whom the Bishop had hesitated to ordain
 because of his excitability.* He joined his countrymen when the
 war broke out, and was in command of the Maoris at the famous
 Gate Pah, near Tauranga, when the British forces met with their
 most serious repulse, and when twenty officers fell. The officers
 had got inside the pah (the native stockade) but were deserted by
 their men, and remained, dead or wounded, in the midst of the
 Maoris. Henare himself carefully tended the wounded all night,
 at the peril of his life. The English colonel, who was dying,
 begged for water. There was none in the pah, nor within three
 miles on the Maori side of it; but there was water within the
 English lines on their side of the pah. Henare crept out, and
 cautiously felt his way in the darkness to the place, close to
 where English sentries were on duty, filled a calabash with
 water, and crept back again—but hit, and wounded. Next day
 the English attacked again, and drove out the remnant of the
 Maoris, killing most of them as they fought with desperate
 courage to the last. The wounded Henare fell with the rest,
 and on his body were found the "orders of the day" for the fight.
 They began with a form of prayer, and ended with the words, in
 Maori, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him
 drink."† The dead English colonel and his men, and the dead
 Maori chief and his men, were buried in two great graves, Arch-
 deacon A. N. Brown, the veteran missionary, officiating. In
 memory of Henare's chivalry, Bishop Selwyn afterwards put a
 window in the chapel of the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield, repre-
 senting David pouring out the water which his three mighty men
 fetched from the well of Bethlehem.
- His heroism.**
- His death.**
- Memorial window at Lichfield.**
- Reverence for Holy Communion.**
- Next take an incident showing the reverence of the Maori
 Christians for Divine ordinances, and especially for the Holy
 Communion. In 1865, Mr. Taylor went up the Wanganui River
 to conduct services for a large party of loyal Maoris who had just
 fought and defeated a Hau-hau band. He found them anxiously
 doubtful whether they could rightly approach the Lord's Table
 after they had been fighting and shedding human blood:—

"I told them that their cause being a just one, having fought against those who came with the avowed intention of killing and eating them, and of destroying the European settlement, and likewise of putting an

* "Once when the bishop was telling a party of Maoris Æsop's fable of the cat that was changed into a princess, and how the princess leapt out of bed when she saw a mouse, he suddenly turned to Henare, and said, 'What's the mouse?' '*Te ritenga Maori*' (old Maori customs), was the reply. 'What's the princess?' said the bishop. 'The Maori heart,' said the conscience-touched youth."—*Life of Bishop Selwyn*, vol. ii. p. 204.

† On another occasion the Maoris, remembering this same text, took several milch goats and a quantity of potatoes, and under the protection of a white flag, presented them to the opposing English force.

end to the Christian faith, they were perfectly justified in taking up arms in their own defence. Still, they said, their hands were defiled with blood: was it right they should partake of the Lord's Supper? I told them I thought they might, and that the Bishop of Wellington had said the same. PART VII.
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"They said that another thing troubled them, viz., the way their foes were treated when slain, not by themselves, but by their Popish allies, who took their ear-ornaments and other things: therefore they ought to make an atonement-offering to God; for although they knew that the ancient offerings of bulls and goats were only typical of Christ, still they should give some token of their sorrow; and they proposed to rebuild their church, both as a memorial to Hoani, their late teacher and chief, who had first built it, and also as a token to God of their sorrow."

It was at one of the many remarkable Christmas Communion which Taylor used to hold, and which were attended by hundreds of Maori Christians from all parts of his wide district, that a chief, kneeling at the rail, suddenly found that he was kneeling next to another chief who had in the old days killed and eaten his father. He rose up trembling, and went back to his seat, feeling that he could not forgive such an act, and could not partake of the sacred feast without forgiving it. Twice he went up, and twice he returned, overcome by his feelings. At length he reflected how the Lord had forgiven *him*: that melted his heart, and he went up the third time, and partook, with every shade of natural resentment gone from his mind.

A hard test.

On two occasions, leading Christian chiefs visited England. In 1851 William Williams brought over Tamihana (Thompson) Te Rauparaha, and in 1855 R. Taylor brought over Hoani Wiremu (John Williams) Hipango. Both were remarkable men, and in one respect their stories are most singularly alike. Te Rauparaha was the son of a very great and warlike chief of the same name at Otaki in the south of the Island. Before any missionaries had visited that part, a Maori from there came back, who had been a prisoner in the North and had been in a mission school, and could read; and he had with him a torn copy of St. Luke's Gospel in Maori and a Prayer-book, not indeed received at his school, but taken from the body of a little Christian girl who had been killed by his tribe, and her remains horribly ill-treated. He had not himself embraced the Gospel: he only carried the books (then rare) to add to his importance; and when young Rauparaha and another young chief asked him to read to them the white man's book, he only replied that it was a bad book, teaching them not to fight, not to drink rum, not to have two wives. Yielding, however, to their importunity, he did read to them night after night. The result was that the two young men secured, by the payment of some pigs and potatoes, a passage in a small vessel going north to the Bay of Islands, then the headquarters of the Mission, and went straight to Henry Williams and begged for a missionary; in response to which call, Hadfield, who had just arrived from England (it was in 1838),

Two Christian chiefs.

Rauparaha at Otaki.

PART VII. went to the scenes of his life-long labours.* But this is not all.
 1862-72. H. Williams accompanied him to Otaki, and then returned by
 Chap. 67. land; and on his way back, passing Wanganui, he found a young
 chief of another tribe, named Hipango, who had been awakened
 by a single leaf of the Church Catechism, containing the Ten
 Commandments, which (as in the other case) he had got a Maori
 who had been at school to read to him. He and his people had
 already cast away their images, and were worshipping the One
 God, keeping the seventh day, and obeying the other Command-
 ments, without ever having seen a missionary. In these strangely
 similar ways, the Gospel was planted at the two south-western
 stations, Otaki and Wanganui; there, for many years, laboured
 respectively O. Hadfield and R. Taylor; there the Maori Chris-
 tians were loyal throughout the war; and there the young chiefs,
 Rauparaha and Hipango, baptized as Tamihana and Hoani
 Wiremu, faithfully served the Lord.

Similar
chains of
events.

Hipango in
England.

Tamihana and Hoani Wiremu both lived in Islington College
 when in England, as before mentioned.† The latter was com-
 missioned by his tribe to make presents to the Queen, and he
 and Mr. Taylor were received by Her Majesty and Prince Albert
 at Buckingham Palace.‡ He was greatly interested in the Jews,
 and went to the London Jews' Society's Mission at Bethnal
 Green, where he spoke to them himself; and when some were
 baptized, they specially asked that he should be present. He
 was shocked at the Sabbath-breaking in London streets, and in
 one case brought an apple-woman to tears by his exhortation to
 her.§ When taken leave of on his departure for New Zealand,
 he addressed the C.M.S. Committee in Maori. "He stood,"
 wrote Ridgeway, "like a tower in the strength and firmness of
 his frame, and his self-possession and forcible manner of address
 were very striking."

Hipango
fights the
Hau-haus.

On his return to New Zealand, John Williams desired to be
 prepared for holy orders, and went to St. Stephen's College at
 Auckland under Archdeacon Kissling; but his industry in studying
 by dim candle-light affected his eyes, and he had, to his great
 sorrow, to forego his wish. Then the Governor appointed him to
 an office of trust and responsibility at Wanganui, where he won
 general respect. When the Hau-haus came into the district,
 threatening to destroy the town, he took command of the loyal
 Maoris to resist them,—the English force under General Cameron

* Tamihana's own full narrative of the reading of the books and of his
 journey to the Bay of Islands, is printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1852.

† See pp. 74, 319. It was Tamihana that picked up the old lady from Bath
 who fell downstairs, and who afterwards gave £1000 as a thankoffering to
 found the "Islington" station in Rupert's Land. His own account of his
 stay in England, and of his efforts to induce his countrymen to adopt
 English ways—a most amusing narrative,—is printed in the (old) *C.M.
 Gleaner*, September, October, November, December, 1852.

‡ See *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 306.

§ *Past and Present of New Zealand*, p. 254.

being some miles away, waiting for reinforcements. The enemy sent four men to lie in ambush and kill John Williams: he caught them, fed them, and sent them back unhurt. The next night ten men were sent for the same purpose; they too were caught, and they too were released. "I will not," said the brave Christian Maori, "be the first to shed blood." Next day, February 23rd, 1865, the Hau-haus came forward in open attack. They were completely defeated, and their chief captured; but in the moment of victory a ball struck John in the chest. He turned and walked away erect with the ball in him, but presently fell, was carried into Wanganui, and died the following morning. He was buried with military honours, white men insisting on carrying their deliverer's body to the grave, and all the English officials following. Here is John Williams's last letter, written two days before he fell:—

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His death.

"RESPECTED MR. TAYLOR,—Health to you and all your children. Your word is good, very good, to all our hearts. Strive constantly in prayer to God for us, that He may preserve us from the deceitful and hostile men who are striving to destroy and cast down the dwelling-place of the Spirit of God. Do you strive day and night. But we too have urged the teachers of every pah to pray to God that He may go in the midst of us. This is all from your loving son,

"HOANI WIREMU HIPANGO."

There were other deaths, more peaceful, but not less touching. Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson) Tarapipipi,* "the king-maker," has been already mentioned. No more remarkable figure appeared among the Maoris. The son of a cruel cannibal chief, he himself was a gentle Christian, a diligent teacher of his people, a firm lover of peace. Although the real head of the "king party," his purpose, as before explained, was entirely loyal and peaceful; and he resisted every inducement to join in the war, until that fatal day when Sir G. Grey, overborne by his advisers, permitted the British forces to cross the river. "Now," said Tamihana, "I am absolved from my promise: it is a defensive war." Yet again and again he tried to restore peace, advocating submission on the one side and pleading for considerate terms on the other. When the Hau-haus murdered Völkner, he instantly separated himself from their alliance, and gave himself up to the Governor, who received him with great honour. He went back to his people, but took no further part in public affairs, and died in the following year, holding in his hands a Bible, which he read to the last. His final words to his tribe were, "Stand by the Government and the law: if there is evil in the land, the law will make it right." When near death, he was carried some distance to a place where the whole tribe could be assembled to see him; and each time he was lifted this prayer was said:—

Tamihana
the king-
maker.

His last
words, and
death.

"Almighty God, we beseech Thee, give strength to Wiremu Tamihana,

* Not to be confounded with Tamihana Te Rauparaha, also mentioned above.

PART VII. whilst we remove him from this place. If it please Thee, restore him
 1862-72. again to perfect strength; if that is not Thy will, take him, we beseech
 Chap. 67. Thee, to heaven."

Other
 Christian
 deaths.

Here are three other deaths, in the very district afterwards desolated by war, reported in one year by one missionary, Ashwell:— (1) Wesley Te Pake, a once leading medicine-man, for ten years a faithful and influential Christian, a specially gifted speaker; when dying, repeating text after text, and exhorting his people to "hold fast Gospel principles," "be decided for Christ," "pray without ceasing," "hear what St. Paul says, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?'" "O Christ," he exclaimed with his latest breath, "Thou art my Sav—"—the word was not finished, and he entered into rest. (2) Thomas Rangiunoa, a teacher, once a cannibal; "my devoted fellow-helper," wrote Ashwell; "a man whose consistent conduct, cheerful disposition, sterling uprightness, deep humility, and unwearied perseverance in doing good, gained the esteem and love of all who knew him." (3) Levi Mokoro, "formerly a most desperate, bloodthirsty cannibal, and licentious beyond the generality." The first time he was visited he was "feasting on the bodies of his enemies." He received the Gospel message at once, was baptized after due instruction, became one of the most consistent of Christians, was made an assessor by Sir G. Grey, and died after ten years of faithfulness, saying, "Christ only is my support, my hope, and my salvation."

Maori
 clergy.

But the most conspicuous fruits of the work were the Maori clergy. Rota Waitoa was ordained in 1853, and Riwai Te Ahu in 1858; Raniera Kawhia, Hohua Te Moamaroa, Heta Tarawhiti, and Pirimona Te Karari, in 1860; Tamihana Huata, Ihaiia Te Ahu, Matiu Taupaki, and Piripi Patiki, in 1861; Matiaha Pahewa, in 1863; Mohi Turei, Hare Tawhaa, and Watene Moeke, in 1864; Rihara Te Rangamaro, in 1866; Renata Tangata and Raniera Wiki, in 1867; Wiremu Katene Paraire and Hone Pohutu, in 1870; Rawiri Te Wanui, Heneri Te Herekau, Wiremu Turipona, and Wiremu Pomare, in 1872;*—twenty-three up to the end of our present period, of whom three died within that period. Nine of these were ordained by Bishop Selwyn; ten by Bishop Williams; two by Bishop Hadfield; two by Bishop Cowie. *Not one of these failed in the hour of trial.* That is one of the great facts of the history of the New Zealand Mission, to the praise of God's grace.†

* *Rota* is Lot; *Riwai* is Levi; *Raniera* is Daniel; *Hohua* is Joshua; *Heta* is Seth; *Pirimona* is Philemon; *Ihaiia* is Isaiah; *Matiu* is Matthew; *Piripi* is Philip; *Matiaha* is Matthias; *Mohi* is Moses; *Hare* is Charles; *Watene* is Walter; *Rihara* is Richard; *Renata* is Leonard; *Hone* is John; *Heneri* is Henry.

† The senior of these Maori clergymen, Rota Waitoa, was a great favourite of Bishop Selwyn, whom he often accompanied on his journeys. His "parish" was in the eastern district of Waiapu, and he received priest's orders from Bishop Williams. Lady Martin gives a very pleasant account of him (*Our Maoris*, p. 175). An old Scotch-woman who was matron at St. Stephen's

The year 1867 saw the departure from the scene of their labours in New Zealand of two great men, Bishop Selwyn and Archdeacon Henry Williams, the former to an English diocese, the latter to his heavenly rest. Throughout the war period, Henry Williams had lived on quietly at Pakaraka in the far north, where, under his influence, the tribes always remained loyal both to the Queen and to the Church. As age and infirmities increased, he built a small vessel for himself, to save the fatigues of overland travelling; and he happily named it the *Rainbow*, "in memory of God's mercy and promise after the destroying flood." * He and his family built and endowed a church; and he raised funds for other small endowments in aid of the Maori ministry. But the most wonderful triumph of his influence was achieved by his death. In June, 1867, a strange thing happened in that peaceful part of the country. A local dispute between two tribes led to a sudden outburst of excitement, and on July 16th, after a violent meeting, at which Williams's sons strove hard but in vain to reconcile the parties, it was agreed to fight it out next day in open battle. But after darkness fell that evening, the word went round both camps, "*Te Wiremu is dead!*" Although the Archdeacon had been very weak for some days, no immediate danger had been apprehended; but that evening he suddenly fainted, and died in a few minutes. The Maoris were paralyzed; a truce was at once proclaimed; the chiefs on both sides came forward to carry the great benefactor of their race to his grave; and after the funeral, one of them said, "My hand has touched the pall; I can no longer go back to fight." A day or two afterwards the two tribes met on the intended battle-field. One of the chiefs took out his Maori Testament, and read several texts, concluding with, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Then they all knelt down, and he offered up a prayer to the God whom, after all, they did honour. Then both sides went through the old war-dance, with every demonstration of mutual defiance; but as it closed, instead of rushing upon each other in fury, as of old, they again fell to prayer. After this, speeches were made for several hours, and then each side made valuable peace-offerings to the other. The day closed with the whole body wailing and weeping as if their hearts would break for their departed friend.

Thus died the greatest of New Zealand missionaries. We have seen him before as the young naval officer fighting in the battles of his country; we have seen him taking leave of the C.M.S. Committee as he went forth to the Antipodes in the days of darkest Heathenism; we have seen him working for forty-four years without once returning to England; we have seen him misunderstood, disconnected, and restored; we have seen the results

College said of Rota after his death, "He was a gude mon, was Mr. Rota, a gude mon. I never knew a better mon." Then ("as a climax," says Lady Martin) she added, "I never knew a better Scotch-mon!"

* H. Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams*, vol. ii. p. 349.

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Death of
Arch-
deacon
Henry
Williams.

Remark-
able effect
on hostile
tribes.

Peace
restored.

The
greatest of
New Zea-
land mis-
sionaries.

PART VII. of his and his brother William's untiring labours—results marred
 1862-72. indeed by the mistakes of others and the malice of the great
 Chap. 67. Enemy; and now we have seen him die, at the age of seventy-five,
 — triumphing by his very death over the evil passions of the race he
 had so dearly loved, and to whose salvation in body and soul his
 life had been devoted.

Yet even this was not all. One of the chiefs of those contending
 tribes, though long an "adherent" of the Christian community,
 had never been baptized. Now he came forward and announced
 that for the future he would be a soldier of Christ. He put him-
 self under instruction, and was received into the Church. When
 he failed to answer some doctrinal question put to him, he said,
 "You may puzzle me with your questions; but one thing I know:
 Jesus Christ died for my sins upon the cross, and I depend on
 Him."

Maori
 memorial
 to Henry
 Williams.

A few years passed away, and then the Maoris, headed by the
 Rev. Matiu Taupaki, and declining any help from white men,
 raised £200, and put up a great stone cross in the churchyard at
 Paihia, the scene of Henry Williams's longest labours, with an
 inscription in English and Maori, "In loving memory of Henry
 Williams, forty-four years a preacher of the Gospel of Peace, a
 father of the tribes. This monument is raised by the Maori
 Church. He came to us in 1823. He was taken from us in
 1867." The monument was unveiled by Bishop Cowie of Auck-
 land on January 11th, 1876, in the presence of an immense throng
 of Maoris from all parts of the country, several of their leaders
 speaking;* and among the aged men present was the *second*
Maori convert, David Taiwhanga, the once ferocious cannibal
 chief baptized by Henry Williams himself in 1830, forty-six
 years before.† The Bay of Islands choir sang Mendelssohn's
 exquisite chorus, "How lovely are the messengers that preach
 us the Gospel of Peace!" Has it ever been sung on a more
 appropriate occasion?

Bishop
 Selwyn
 goes to
 England.

In the same month that Archdeacon Henry Williams died,
 July, 1867, Bishop Selwyn sailed for England—not to retire, but
 to attend the first Lambeth Conference. Of that Conference, and
 of the Wolverhampton Church Congress, at which Selwyn was
 enthusiastically received, this History has already spoken. Bishop
 Lonsdale of Lichfield, who presided over the Congress, died only
 a few weeks later; and the Premier, Lord Derby, offered the
 vacant see to Selwyn. He said No at once, decisively; but then
 Archbishop Longley intervened and begged him to accept, and
 Selwyn, on the same principle of obedience to Church authority
 that had originally sent him to the Antipodes, bowed his head and
 said Yes. He went out, however, to New Zealand to wind up
 various matters and bid them all farewell. He presided over the

Appointed
 Bishop of
 Lichfield.

* The speeches are given in an appendix to Carleton's *Life of Henry Williams*.

† See Vol. I., p. 357.

fourth meeting of the General Synod of the Church of New Zealand, at which six bishops and a large number of clergy and laity were present; and he left the Colony finally amid every demonstration of affection and gratitude. Among the addresses presented to him was the following from the Maori Christians:—

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“To Bishop Selwyn, greeting! Ours is a word of farewell from us your Maori people who reside in this island. You leave here these two peoples, the Maoris and the Europeans. Though you leave us here, God will protect both peoples; and Queen Victoria and the Governor will also protect them, so that the grace of Providence may rest on them both. O father, greetings! Go to your own country; go, the grace of God accompany you! Go on the face of the deep waters. Father, take hence with you the commandments of God, leaving the peoples here bewildered. Who can tell that after your departure, things will be as well with us as during your stay in this island? Our love for you and our remembrance of you will never cease. For you will be separated from us in your bodily presence, and your countenance will be hidden from our eyes. Enough! This concludes our words of farewell to you.

Maori
farewell
to him.

“From your children.”

It is fitting that there has been only one “Bishop of New Zealand.” The title belongs to Selwyn, and to Selwyn only. His original diocese was already divided into six, and Melanesia made up the perfect number of seven in the New Zealand Ecclesiastical Province. On Selwyn’s departure his own reduced diocese was named Auckland; and the bishop sent out to succeed him was Dr. W. G. Cowie, a former army chaplain in India, who knew the Punjab Missions well, and whom we have already found working with Dr. Elmslie in Kashmir. In 1870, Bishop Abraham resigned the see of Wellington, and was succeeded by the veteran missionary Hadfield. Thus the two C.M.S. men who had been the pioneers of Christianity in the eastern and southern portions of the Island respectively, William Williams and Octavius Hadfield, at last both presided as bishops over their own mission-fields.

Bishop
Cowie.

Bishop
Hadfield.

We now leave New Zealand for the present. When we again visit it we shall find an immense development of the British Colony and a decided revival in the Maori Church. There were signs of better days coming before the close of our present period. The improved relations between the two races were strikingly described by the New Zealand correspondent of the *Times* (February 6th, 1872). “The policy of conciliation,” he wrote, “has triumphed over the jealousy of races. Our fire-eating politicians no longer talk of ‘conquering a permanent peace.’ The spade, the pickaxe, the telegraph-wire, and the stage-coach are doing what legions of men with ‘arms of precision’ failed to do.” Then he referred to the able and intelligent Maoris who had been elected to the Legislature. “They demeaned themselves with so much tact and propriety that they became the favourites of the House, and even the few ‘British lions’ were tamed or

Improved
relations of
the two
races.

PART VII. awed into courtesy. . . . We may reasonably predict that 'peace
 1862-72. conquered' by such means will be 'permanent.'"
 Chap. 67.

Harvest
 marred,

but first
 crop
 gathered.

As for the Maori Church, there was still much depression at the time that our period closes. In 1868, Mr. Ridgeway felicitously described the position, as he often did, by an illustration from natural history. "There was a spring-time in the Mission, when the tree was rich in blossoms. A plentiful harvest of golden fruit was calculated upon, perhaps too confidently. Then came an ungenial season, with cutting winds, and very much of the fruit perished while it was yet crude; so much so, that some now doubt whether there be any fruit at all to be found among the branches." But, justly, he went on to observe that the figure failed, like most figures, to express the whole facts of the case. "There has been a blight upon the crop; *but a first crop was gathered in and housed.*" Yes, let that never be forgotten. No one who has read this chapter will doubt that the Great Husbandman had already gathered from Maori New Zealand much wheat into His garner.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

HENRY VENN'S LATTER DAYS.

Venn as Secretary—Philological Studies—Writing the Annual Report—Venn in Committee—"An Anvil, not a Hammer"—Lord Chichester's Reminiscences—Venn at St. Paul's—The "Life of Xavier"—Venn on the Royal Commissions—As Editor of the "Christian Observer"—His last Instructions to Missionaries—Resignation and Death.

"My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof."—2 Kings ii. 12.

"I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."—1 Cor. xv. 10.



OUR History is now completed up to the epoch of the death of the Society's great Secretary. Before we move forward into the next period, let us look once more at Henry Venn himself. Through thirty years of our History he has been the chief figure, and we have seen him in the most varied circumstances; yet this supplementary chapter is still needed before we bid him farewell. The personal particulars now to be given would have caused unsuitable interruption in preceding chapters; yet they must not be omitted if the man is to be fully understood who, more than any other, has represented to the Church and to the world the spirit and principles of the Church Missionary Society. Let us first have a few glimpses of his busy life as Secretary; then notice three special undertakings outside Salisbury Square, the Memoir of Xavier, the Ritual Commission, and the editorship of the *Christian Observer*; and finally come to the closing scene.

We have already observed that even when he had three and four colleagues in the office, Venn held the labouring oar. This was emphatically the case from the death of Dandeson Coates in 1846 to about 1865, when he began to try and throw more responsibility upon the others. A few brief extracts from his Private Journal will give a vivid idea of his busy life. They belong to the period of the early 'fifties, as his journal was only kept up to 1856; but they are equally typical of the later period: *—

(1849) "Dec. 7th.—At C.M. House before 10. Usual prayer-meeting and Scripture. A flood of callers detained me without intermission till

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Venn the
labouring
Secretary.

A flood of
callers.

* Some of these entries have already been printed in Venn's Memoir; others are new.

PART VII. 3 o'clock: Capt. Layard (Sec. Lond. Jews' Soc.), Rev. A. Tidman 1862-72. (Sec. L.M.S.), Rev. Mr. L. (to inquire about curacy); Mr. J. (ditto); Chap. 68. Townsend and Gollmer. At 3, Gorham cause committee. At 4.30, darted out to catch an omnibus at Westminster Road, which took me to Kennington Gate, where another omnibus was full, but I stood on the step to save time. To J. Thornton's. Stayed dinner. Returned home [to Highbury] at 11.

(1850) "*April 2nd.*—Wrote letters till six. N.-W. American letters arrived: brought them home: engaged reading them till 1 a.m.

"*April 4th.*—Began letter-writing at 7.30 a.m. Half an hour for breakfast, half an hour occupied in going to C.M. House. Left off writing at 5.30. Home to dinner. Sat down to Report at 8.

Letters to
Africa.

(1852) "*Dec. 5th.*—Writing letters for Africa, to prepare the Sierra Leone missionaries for the Bishop's arrival and a new Church constitution, to induce the Chief Justice to act on the Finance Committee, and to stir up Mr. —, the merchant, to promote the growth of cotton. Also to Lagos and Abeokuta to heal a dissension, to establish an institution for native teachers upon a right basis, and to stir up the missionaries to branch out in answer to the earnest invitations from the neighbouring tribes. Met a committee at the new Children's Home. Afterwards to Salisbury Square: finished African letters. Home at 7.

(1853) "*Feb. 12th.*—Wilson, Mesac Thomas, Arthur Stock, Williams to breakfast. Conversation upon the prospects of Colonial Church Legislation. To C.M. House. Home to dinner. Lord Chichester came at 8.30. Long discussion upon Sierra Leone Church Constitution. Sat up till 1, discussing sundry interesting matters.

Late talk.

"*March 23rd.*—Breakfast at 7. Began to write African letters at 7½. Wrote till 1. Dinner. Called on D. Wilson. To C.M.H.; writing African letters from 3½ to 6½. Walked back to Highbury.

A day's en-
gagements.

"*March 27th.*—To C.M. House before 10. Determined to minute my engagements. One hour opening letters: 20 minutes for 2 days' newspapers; 40 minutes writing 8 letters. Mrs. V. called and kept me three-quarters of an hour. Students from the Training School, and Hassan from the College, one quarter of an hour. Mrs. — over the grievances of her widowhood, and memoir of her husband, one hour and a half. Chevalier Bunsen, three-quarters of an hour, who came to inquire about the latest accounts of East Africa and Palestine, for his annual letter on the King's birthday. Drawing up minutes of Tuesday's Committee, 2 hours, ended at 5 minutes past 5. To 'Portugal,' for dinner, and back to the office at 5.30. Tea and coffee with the clerks till 5. Prayer-meeting till 6.30. Home."

It was at the same period that he was deep in linguistic discussions, in view of the reducing of West African and other languages to writing. On this point we had some glimpses of Venn in our Thirty-ninth Chapter. Here are some more, from his Journal:—

Linguistic
discussions

(1850) "*Jan. 28th.*—From 9 till 1 engaged without intermission in the investigation of the Yoruba language and the translation of the Prayer-book.

Venn and
Bunsen.

"*Oct. 11th.*—Breakfast with Chevalier Bunsen. In his study for two hours. Discussed African philology, Eastern and Western. He was much interested by the information I gave him respecting the syllabic systems of orthography among the Cherokee and Cree Indians. He gave me an account of the progress he had made in the study of

Chinese. This led to my informing him of a key for finding Chinese words in the dictionary, which Mr. Edwin Norris had invented and explained to me.

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(1853) "*March 16th.*—Koelle in the evening. Three hours' hard discussion upon Chinese orthography."

"*March 30th.*—C.M. House. Watts the printer, Koelle, Mr. E. Norris, and several members of Committee. Long discussion as to the form in which Koelle's Polyglot should be printed, and his researches displayed on the map. . . . Home to dinner. Schön, Koelle, Knight; question of orthography thoroughly discussed.

(1854) "*Jan. 30th.*—Another long day at Chevalier Bunsen's about the Alphabet.

"*Feb. 1st.*—Another four hours at Chevalier Bunsen's.

"*Feb. 4th.*—Another whole day at Bunsen's. I left home at 9, and it is now past 5 before I reach the office. In the end, separated wider apart than when we began, such is the inherent difficulty in the questions at issue."

Venn was on intimate terms with Archbishop Sumner, and was constantly consulted by him as to appointments to Indian and Colonial Bishoprics. Here is one entry about Lambeth, typical of many more:—

Venn and
Archbishop
Sumner.

(1852) "*Dec. 1st.*—Went to Lambeth to dine *tête-à-tête* with the Archbishop. We dined in the waiting-room adjoining the library, the Archbishop only being in town for one night. He was full of spirits, taking a very cheerful view even of the state of the Church—all the events of Convocation, and the prospects for February—the state of the Colonial dioceses and several at home—the prospects of the Ministry and the University Commissions, interspersed with numerous domestic topics, made the time pass too rapidly. . . ."

It is not easy to understand how, with all his multifarious C.M.S. work, and his scarcely less multifarious calls touching all sorts of matters affecting Evangelical interests—for his counsel was indispensable on such questions,—he had time to write the Society's Annual Report. Of course it did not involve half the work it does now: still it was even then no light task. With Venn it was a really solemn and important yearly duty. Here is an illustration of the aspect in which he viewed it. He was at Manchester with Mr. Clegg, the merchant who, at his instance, began the West African cotton trade:—

Writing
the Annual
Report.

(1855) "*Sunday, Nov. 16th.*—Mr. Magrath preached for the C.M.S., a plain but forcible sermon, and read in the course of it two passages from the Report, each of which had cost me much thought and trouble while hammering them into their proper shape; but when I looked upon that large and wealthy congregation, many of them among the first merchants in the world, and saw the deep attention with which they listened, I felt the solemn responsibility of preparing the Annual Report."

Again, he writes to his daughter, March 19th, 1859:—

"I feel it to be a high privilege, as well as responsibility, thus to stand between the Church abroad and the Church at home, and bring forward a Report of the Lord's work. My main fear is lest I should not give a sufficiently faithful report of the discouragements, as well as the

Reports to
be faithful.

PART VII. brighter parts. Many a bright part I suppress, that the effect may be a faithful representation of facts on the whole.”
1862-72.
Chap. 68.

— In that same year, letters to his daughter give glimpses of the pressure of preparing the Abstract in time for the Annual Meeting :—

“ *Wednesday, April 27th, 1859.*

Hard work
as date of
Meeting
draws near.

“ We had a most pleasant evening; prepared a little of the Report for copying the Abstract. At 11, Aunts E. and C. arrived. I was bothered about Sierra Leone, and sat up till near 3. Even this morning I could not get a fair start till near 11. I make them write two copies, one for Uncle J., one for the printer of the Abstract. They have just finished Sierra Leone, Yoruba, the Niger, Mediterranean, Bombay, and are half-way in North India. I must work hard to keep ahead.

“ *April 28th, 1859.*

“ We sat up last night till 1.30. All the Report was copied to the end of China. Two copies to the end of North India. . . . C. wrote nobly till past 12.

“ *April 29th, 1859.*

“ Yesterday evening and this morning have been wholly spent in preparing the full Abstract for the printer, so we hope to have it out on Tuesday next to satisfy our Association Secretaries. It will then be reduced to the usual size. Uncle J. has his copy, which he prefers reading from in the MS. I have still to prepare N.-W. America and New Zealand. . . . The conclusion will be Sunday work. If I preach a Thanksgiving Sermon for Hambleton, as he has asked me, it will be all one.

“ *April 30th, 1859.*

“ All the Missions are now copied. The conclusion is only to be a few sentences, ending with—

While the nations are contending,
And the tumult louder grows,
Through the earth our God is sending
News of peace to heal our woes.
Sounds of mercy sweeter are
Heard amid the din of war.

I have been at home and at work all this morning, but easy work comparatively. I am quite well, and feel no pressure. My three scribes on Wednesday broke the neck of the work, and Aunt E. has done all the bye-work caused by revision.

“ *Sunday, May 1st, 1859, 3.30.*

“ I have given the conclusion to Uncle J. Have selected the passage, Isaiah xxvi. 1-12. I have sent breakfast tickets for the three aunts and C., so I have nothing more upon my mind. Two copies of all this were written out upon that Wednesday after 10 o'clock. Did they not work hard? and I sent their copies to the printer.”

Venn's last
Report.

Venn's first Report was written in 1842; his last in 1866. He never missed for twenty-four years. The concluding paragraphs of the last one describe, in a few vigorous lines, the inviting openings in Africa, Turkey, India, and China, and then appeal earnestly for men, especially exhorting mothers and sisters, “ with whom is lodged a mighty power to withhold or to prompt forward those who are anxiously resolving the searching question, Why should

I not go?" He concludes with the further request for prayer, pointing out that "one of the richest promises of answer to prayer is given in immediate connexion with the full establishment of Christ's Kingdom"—Isa. lxx. 24, 25, "It shall come to pass, that before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet speaking, I will hear. The wolf and the lamb shall feed together. . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain, saith the Lord."

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Henry Venn never read his own Reports at Exeter Hall. His brother John, the Prebendary of Hereford, had a better voice, and therefore always performed the duty for him. In 1867, he was absent from the Meeting, for the first time, and the circumstance was sympathetically referred to by Lord Chichester and Dean Close.

It is needless to say that Venn was a great power in the Committee. But it was the natural and legitimate power of a master mind, and of an unequalled experience. He always earnestly deprecated, and avoided to the utmost, anything like secretarial dictation to the men around him, whom he regarded as the real governing body. At the same time, he repudiated the idea that C.M.S. secretaries, whether honorary like himself, or obliged to take the usual stipend, were only in the position of superior clerks, to listen silently to debates and register decisions. His view was clearly expressed in the last letter he wrote to the Committee, only a month before his death, and it was officially endorsed by the Committee ordering the letter to be entered in full upon the Minutes. He said:—

Venn in
Committee

On the
position of
Secretaries

"The relation of secretaries to the Committee is not that of secretaries or clerks to a Parochial Board or ordinary Company, but rather that of secretaries to a Scientific Institution, or of Secretaries of State to a Cabinet Council. The secretaries of our Society are the originators of the measures to be passed, the chief authorities on its principles and practice, and must often act upon their own discretion in cases of emergency, and in confidential interviews with Church or State authorities. At the same time I must bear my testimony that this large confidence reposed in the secretaries is not inconsistent with the independence of judgment and ultimate supremacy on the part of the Committee. I could give innumerable instances to show that the Committee never resign their opinions in any important point without a frank discussion of the difference, and that great principles are never sacrificed in deference to the authority, age, or experience of others."

How this view worked out in practice he explained in his memorable address on entering the New House in 1862:—

"A notion often prevails that a Secretary is apt to assume an autocratical position in this room. As early as the days of Claudius Buchanan the notion arose. He used to speak of 'King Pratt,' and to argue that in an infant-government a monarchy was better than a republic. But whatever apparent supremacy a Secretary may maintain, if we look below the surface it will always be found that the Secretary reflects the Committee. If the image is distorted, the defect will soon

PART VII. show itself and be rectified. In that which sometimes appears as an autocratical dictum, he is only the mouthpiece of the present and former Committees, by whom the subject may have been many times discussed and settled. Sufficient checks are always at hand for a presumptuous Secretary. The Committee possesses a plastic power which few minds can resist. Your Secretaries owe many obligations to those who in this room help and guide and correct their plans. May this Committee ever regard their Secretaries as a part of themselves, uphold them by their sympathy, their counsel, and above all by their prayers, that their shortcomings may be pardoned and their mistakes overruled."

His skill in framing resolutions

His biographer, William Knight, speaks from long personal knowledge of Venn's skill in conducting the business of the Committee. "His great desire was to avoid the formation of parties in it, to have each topic thoroughly discussed from every point of view, and so to frame each resolution or despatch as to cover the views of all present, or at least to make the minority—it might be of *one*—feel that its arguments had received due consideration. He had a happy tact in perceiving when a subject was exhausted, and discussion was degenerating into desultory talk." Knight gives an illustration of his anxiety not to dictate:—

"On one occasion he brought forward a plan which he had elaborated with much care and patience. It was not acceptable. At once he withdrew it without a word. Some time afterwards a Committee-man proposed the same scheme, and it was unanimously applauded. He merely called for his paper, read it aloud, and said, 'I read this to the Committee three months ago, but they would not hear of it.'"

An anvil, not a hammer.

As far back as 1833, eight years before Venn became Secretary, William Jowett concluded the Instructions to John Tucker on his departure for Madras with some words found in the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp on the latter's position at Smyrna—*Στήθε ἑδραῖος ὡς ἀκμῶν τυπτόμενος*, "*Stand steady as an anvil when it is struck*." Tucker in after years often recalled them, saying, "*Be an anvil, and not a hammer*"; and Knight quotes them as embodying the spirit in which Henry Venn acted in Committee, and indeed in life generally. But while quite ready to stand still and be struck himself, he would not allow his beloved Society to be struck with impunity. After his death, Bishop Wilberforce wrote of his devotion to the C.M.S. in very striking terms:—

"Once or twice, through the *Record* and otherwise, he has smitten me hard when he thought I in any way wronged C.M.S.; but I no more resented it than I should have resented Sir Lancelot's chivalry for his Queen."*

Moreover, Venn would ever do what he could to prevent

* *Life of Bishop S. Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 407. But the reference to the *Record* is misleading. That paper was always ready to fight the Bishop, no doubt, and needed no impetus from Venn in that direction; but Venn's personal influence with it was small. Even an outside reader in Mr. Haldane's time could see that Venn was no favourite of his; and Venn's private journals reveal his not infrequent dissatisfaction with the editorial utterances.

conflict or friction between others. Missionaries knew him well as a peacemaker; and there were occasions when his peace-making efforts were directed at men in higher position than they. It is interesting to find in his *Private Journal* an account of his success in healing a breach between Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of Marlborough, which had arisen upon the question of parliamentary tactics as to bringing forward the question of the Bible in Indian schools, in 1860.

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Venn as a
peace-
maker.

Lord Chichester, in a letter written after Venn's death, wrote of the ability he displayed when on deputation to a Minister of State:—

Venn and
Ministers
of State.

"During more than thirty years I was in the constant habit of going with such deputations to the heads of different public departments, and have always come away impressed with the fact that whatever weight was due to the deputations, and whatever impression made upon the Queen's Minister, was mainly owing to the clear, intelligent, and business-like statements of our honoured Secretary. I know that this was the opinion of several of the Ministers with whom I conversed upon the subject afterwards."

And in another paper, Lord Chichester gives a pleasant glimpse of Venn's home life at Highbury, before he moved to East Sheen, where he died:—

Lord Chi-
chester's
recollections.

"Among the friends I used to meet at Highbury were—the present Lord Teignmouth, Sir J. and Lady Stephen, the Trevelyan, E. Bickersteth, Baptist Noel, Charles Hodgson, &c., &c., besides some of the most interesting of our missionaries, students from Islington, Bishop Crowther and his family, and other African Christians.

"H. Venn had a wonderful talent for drawing out a missionary, both at his own table and in the more august presence of the C.M.S. Committee. He did this, not by leading questions, but by saying, 'Now, Mr. —, what have you to tell us?' Then, if the witness hung fire, he was prompted by 'You have seen so and so, now tell us about this.' The process always answered. I was once dining with him at Highbury, when the party consisted of four German students from Islington, and one German missionary. The conversation began by a discussion upon a corn-mill which Prince Albert was to send as a present to the chiefs of Abeokuta. H. Venn and I had been to several shops, and the engineers recommended a handmill with steel grinders, instead of stones, because it was supposed that the Natives would never learn to dress mill-stones. H. V. asked one of these young Germans whether he could teach them, if he went to that country. 'Oh yes,' he said, 'I have dressed many myself. My father was a miller at our town.' It appeared afterwards that four out of the five had either dressed mill-stones or seen them dressed."

Venn held one ecclesiastical office. He was a Prebendary of St. Paul's, having been appointed by Bishop Blomfield. He valued the distinction, as giving him an official right to be present at the ordinations of missionaries. The emolument attached to it was £2 a year, and the one duty was to preach on every alternate St. Thomas's Day. Venn's journal of that day in 1849 gives a

Venn Pre-
bendary of
St. Paul's.

PART VII. significant glimpse of the condition of the great national cathedral
1862-72. at that time :—

Chap. 68.

Cold ser-
vices at
St. Paul's.

(1849) "*Dec. 21st.*—This is my turn for preaching at St. Paul's. My only connexion with the public ministry of the Church of England is comprised in a single sermon on the shortest day in the year, each alternate odd year, to the handful of people whom curiosity brings to the Morning Service. In the afternoon, the anthem and saint's day without preaching collects a respectable congregation, tenfold that of the morning; so low has the Protestantism of the Church of England sunk in the present day."

These services, it must be remembered, were in the choir only. Dome and nave were not used till the Special Sunday Evening Services began in 1858. We Evangelicals do not like all that goes on at St. Paul's now; but surely, with all deductions, we may thank God for the change from what Venn describes.

Venn as an
Evangelical.

Venn's influence among Evangelical Churchmen has been illustrated again and again in the pages of this History, and need not be further dwelt upon. It was for the most part exercised privately, because he felt that he could not appear before the world as a party leader without compromising the Society. He would not sign Protestant declarations and the like. He said, "H. V. and C.M.S. are synonymous." He never sympathized with the common complaint that "Evangelicals are a rope of sand." "Thank God it is so," he would say; "so is the sea-shore." He did not wish Evangelicals to be a "party," and preferred their acting independently, although on the same principles.

Venn
writes the
Life of
Xavier.

It is difficult to imagine Venn writing a book in the midst of such pressing duties as constantly came upon him. Yet he did write one book of great value, *The Missionary Life of Francis Xavier*.^{*} At first sight the subject seems a strange one for a Protestant Missionary Director; but Venn had a singularly candid and open mind, and he really desired to study for himself the career of the greatest of Roman missionaries. Was all that was said of him true? What work did he really accomplish? What manner of man was he personally? Was he a pattern, or a beacon? or was he something of both? For fourteen years Venn was carefully studying, searching, inquiring, regularly devoting his holiday hours to the work, year by year. There was no English Life of the great Jesuit; but there were two biographies, one in Latin and one in French, compiled by Jesuits in 1596 and 1682. These works, however, proved to be full of geographical and other blunders and confusions of dates, quite sufficient to discredit the legendary wonders they contained, even if the legends had been credible in themselves. But Xavier's own letters were accessible, having been published in various forms abroad, and particularly in a carefully-edited Latin translation of one hundred and forty-six

Materials
for the
book.

^{*} He also wrote the *Life* of his grandfather, Henry Venn of Huddersfield and Yelling; but that was before he was Secretary.

long letters or reports, made at Bologna in 1795—of which a French translation appeared in 1838. These letters revealed the real man, and proved to be evidently veracious accounts of his travels and trials. Upon these Venn based his biography, treating the whole story with careful impartiality, “nothing extenuating, and nought setting down in malice.” He undertook it, he says in the preface, “under a deep sense of the dignity of the missionary subject, and of the sacred obligation of exercising the candour enjoined by the Lord of Missions, in His rebuke of one of His own Apostles who would have repudiated the acts of all who ‘followed not with them.’” The result is a book of rare value, though somewhat deficient in literary form, and very unattractively “got up” as to externals. Why has it never become, as it well deserved to become, a standard work? First, because most readers likely to accept a book of Henry Venn’s cared little for the biography of a Romanist; and secondly, because those who liked to think of Xavier as the most brilliant and successful of missionaries did not care to see what Venn might say of him.

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Why not
successful.

But the book remains, an able, authentic history of a great man, whose real greatness has been over-stated by fervid admirers not knowing anything of the facts, and whose weaknesses and failures, recorded by his own pen, are simply ignored by the multitude who prefer to be deceived; and yet a great man, with great qualities, which Venn dwells upon sympathetically. Xavier’s Life suggests most significant lessons for Christian Missions and missionaries. People who demand that Missions should be romantic; people who think a missionary ought always to be an ascetic; people who think a bishop the one essential element of missionary success; people who think that the absolute rule of one man, bishop or director, over a Mission will preserve it from disunion; people who judge of results by counting the heads of nominal converts; people whose test of success is the planting of their own particular church organization;—all these would have their eyes opened to advantage by reading the hard facts related by Xavier’s own pen. On the other hand, those who believe that a Mission must begin with the true conversion of individual souls, that these souls must be spiritually fed with the Word of God in their own vernacular, that diversities of gifts and administrations and operations will all be blessed of God if these foundation principles are observed,—will find abundant confirmation of their convictions in the contrast presented by the work described by the great Jesuit missionary.

Important
lessons to
be derived
from
Xavier’s
career.

No regular review of Venn’s book appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer*. Presumably he forbade it. It is only casually mentioned and quoted from in an article on Roman Catholic Missions, evidently by Ridgeway, in January, 1863. But in 1871, Dr. Hoffmann, of Berlin, produced a German work on Xavier, partly a translation of Venn’s, and partly an enlargement of it; and this work is the subject of an article in the *Intelligencer* of September

The
“Intelli-
gencer”
and Venn’s
book.

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in that year, signed "J. B. H.,"* in which, curiously enough, Venn's picture of Xavier is rather severely criticized. "J. B. H." complains of Venn's leniency towards the great Jesuit. "Xavier," he says, "comes out from Mr. Venn's hands as a kind of incomplete Henry Martyn—with similar excellencies and similar faults—with all that singular man's purity of motive and zeal for the truth, so far as he knew it." That is a perplexing sentence in itself; and the whole article, though distinctly an able one, is more or less strange.

Venn on
Royal Com-
missions.

Perhaps the most unexpected duty that ever fell to Henry Venn was his membership in two Royal Commissions on Church matters. Statesmen and journalists, even then, supposed the Evangelical body to be dead; and in each case the list of the Commissioners was made up before some one pointed out that the Evangelical clergy had no representative among them. And then, presumably, the authorities woke up to the fact that even if they imagined that there were no Evangelicals left who were known in home circles, the Church Missionary Society was still alive, and it had a Secretary. It is difficult otherwise to account for the choice of Venn. In the "dead" party there were Bishops Baring, R. Bickersteth, Waldegrave, and Pelham; there were Deans Close and Goode; there were Dr. McNeile, Dr. Miller, Ryle, Garbett, and the Bardsleys; yet not one of these was chosen. Either the statesmen were unaware of their existence, or some astute wire-puller had warned them against appointing "party men." Suddenly, at the last moment in each case, the name of Henry Venn was added. In the first of the two Commissions, that on Clerical Subscription, in 1864, the absence of Evangelicals did not much matter. There was a general feeling that relief must be given to sensitive consciences, and the new form of subscription did not require much trouble to arrange; but Venn and others had to contend for an adequate recognition of the Thirty-Nine Articles as the true standard of Church of England teaching—in which contention they were successful, defeating Dean Milman, who proposed to exclude the Articles from the terms of subscription. But the Ritual Commission of 1867 was a different matter.

Commis-
sion on
Clerical
Subscrip-
tion.

Ritual
Commis-
sion.

It will be remembered that this Commission was appointed by Lord Derby's Government to evade the necessity of dealing with Lord Shaftesbury's Bills for checking the advance of Ritualism. It was to inquire into and report upon the "differences of practice" which had arisen from "varying interpretations put upon the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship . . . more especially with respect to the ornaments used in the churches, &c., and the vestments worn by ministers during the time of their ministration"; also to revise the Lectionary. The list of Commissioners, twenty-eight in

* No doubt the Rev. J. B. Heard.

number, comprised several leading High Churchmen, Broad Churchmen, and men indifferent, clerical and lay; with three peers of strong Protestant tendencies, Lords Ebury, Harrowby, and Portman,* and one Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Payne Smith, who would be on the same side; but not a single representative of the working Evangelical clergy. An outcry at once arose; whereupon, probably, the list of the previous Commission was looked up, and Venn's name being noticed on it, he was added as a twenty-ninth member.

He was now seventy-one years of age; many infirmities were on him; he was already seeking to retire gradually from regular C.M.S. work. But he felt that he must not hesitate to obey this new summons; and he became one of the most regular attendants at the numerous and prolonged sittings of the Commission through two years, being present himself forty-four times, although latterly he had to be carried in a chair from Dean's Yard into the Jerusalem Chamber. He resolved from the first to be no mere party voter. He set himself to master the whole subject of the history of English ecclesiastical law and ritual, though a subject not previously familiar to him. "I was astonished," wrote Lord Chichester, "when he told me of the books which he had read up to qualify himself." The part he actually took in the long discussions, not only on controversial questions of ritual, but on the revision of the rubrics one by one, and also on the Lectionary, was no small or secondary one. He wrote careful notes of all the proceedings, which are extant; but many of the points most hotly debated are now almost archaic, and no practical object would be gained by reprinting even the small fragments which Mr. Knight felt able, without breach of the confidence of the Commission, to publish in Venn's Memoir. His speeches on the eastward position in the Holy Communion, on the repetition of the words of administration to each individual communicant, and similar matters, which Knight gives, are interesting, but do not concern this History. There is no doubt that he regarded the labours of the Commission, upon the whole, with satisfaction, notwithstanding his failure to obtain the exclusion of the Apocryphal books from the Lectionary; and that he regretted the fruitlessness of those labours, so far as the amendment of the rubrics by legislation was concerned.† Of the personal esteem in which his fellow-Commissioners came to regard him, the following striking words are an illustration, written by Dean Stanley on hearing of his death:—

"Amongst the recompenses for the many annoyances of the Ritual Commission, I consider one of the greatest was the opportunity it gave

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Venn's
work on
the Ritual
Commis-
sion.

Dean
Stanley
on Venn.

* Lord Shaftesbury was asked, but declined.

† He suggested to the friends who sympathized with him on the Commission that they should hold a short prayer-meeting before some of the sessions; and this was held at the house of Canon Conway, then Rector of St. Margaret's.

PART VII. me of becoming acquainted with so venerable and beautiful a character ;
 1862-72. often differing from him, but more often agreeing, and always finding him
 Chap. 68. the same candid, upright colleague, I learned to value him highly. You
 — will doubtless have many sympathizers who will speak from a far more
 intimate knowledge, but in the outside world you will not have many
 more sincere expressions of sympathy than this.*

If it is surprising that Venn was able in the midst of the busiest period of his secretaryship to write a book, and that amid the infirmities of old age he could give such strenuous labour to the Ritual Commission, it is still more astonishing to find him, while the latter work was on, undertaking the editorship of a monthly periodical, and continuing it almost up to his death. The *Christian Observer* belonged to a small band of proprietors, of whom Venn was one. Since John Cunningham's retirement from the editorial chair, it had not prospered. The editor, J. B. Marsden, was an able man, and no one can now look through the volumes from 1860 to 1868 without being struck by the interest and excellence of many of the articles. But there were old contributors whom it was not easy to shake off, and who were distinctly dull. When Marsden died, there was a difficulty in finding a successor ; and in December, 1868, we find Venn writing to his brother that he himself had been obliged to "do something for the forthcoming January number"; and again, "I have not yet found any one to take the editorship; but with Auriol's help I can get through another number or two." Again, in the following March, "I have scrambled through three numbers, but not satisfactorily: I have had to take articles which my judgment did not approve of." Of course no periodical could go on long in that way; yet Venn, with his indomitable perseverance, actually continued at the helm for more than three years, assisted by his cousin C. J. Elliott, of Winkfield, and by Mr. G. Knox; and it is indisputable that the volumes of those three years show a variety and a brightness, and withal a dignity, which it had not exhibited for years. One is struck, in particular, by the courageous independence of the editorial utterances, especially as shown in the frequently severe reviews of books by well-known Evangelical writers. Venn was a thorough Evangelical, but he could not be a mere party man, to praise what his own side said and did, and to find no good in what came from the other side. Many of Venn's own contributions are easily recognizable. One appears so late as November, 1872, only two months before his death.

It will be well understood how anxious Venn would be all this time for the C.M.S. Secretariat to be occupied by capable men, and in particular that his own post should be filled up. We have before seen † how he viewed the frequent changes in the *personnel* in his later years, and how for long there seemed no light on the question who should succeed him. In 1870, the Committee fixed April 5th as a day of prayer on which all the Society's friends

* *Memoir of H. Venn*, p. 268.

† In Chapter LIII. See p. 375.

Venn
 edits the
 "Chris-
 tian Ob-
 server."

Venn in
 old age
 waiting for
 a successor

should unite in asking the Lord to indicate his successor; yet two years more passed away before he could be released from office. He had to bear the brunt of the very difficult controversies of the China and Madagascar Bishoprics; and in 1871, only a year and a half before his death, we find him performing a task so relatively easy for a younger colleague as the writing and delivery of the Instructions to departing missionaries. They began thus:—"The Committee address you on the present occasion by the lips of their aged Secretary, who might plead exemption on account of the infirmities of advancing years, but who throws himself upon your candid indulgence, under the exceptional circumstances caused by the absence of younger secretaries." Very significant is the tone of these Instructions. In them Venn acknowledges that thirty years' experience had taught him to moderate his expectations of great and speedy results from missionary effort; and one cannot but remember at the same time that this was the very period of almost low-water mark in missionary zeal and interest which we have already observed in various aspects. All the more touching are the following sentences:—

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Venn's last
Instructions to
departing
missionaries.

Significant
tone:
moderated
expectations.

"The time is, indeed, long gone by, when the sending forth of a body of missionaries raised a song of triumph, as though the world were turned from darkness to light. It has often struck us as significant of this bygone assumption, that a well-known and beautiful hymn, and its appropriate tune, were composed for the departure of the first set of missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society to the South Seas:—

'All hail the power of Jesus' name!
Let angels prostrate fall;
Bring forth the royal diadem,
And crown Him Lord of all.'

We trust the hymn is sung with no less fervour of adoration than in olden times, but now rather in the assurance of faith, and in the surveying fields white unto the harvest, than in the bringing in of sheaves into the Lord's garner.

"We were accustomed to tell our missionaries that the Christian's weapons are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds. So we tell you still, but we are compelled to add that you are not yet so armed. Some of you have to acquire the vernacular, so as to be able to unsheath the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Others of you have laboured abroad; but you tell us that the strongholds of Satan still frown in defiance upon the feeble Christian efforts which are directed against them, and your minds are now agitated with the anxious question how you may best recommence the assault.

"We were accustomed, also, to say of our missionaries that they would be among the Heathen like a candle to give light to all around. Alas! what numbers have failed to impress the Heathen with the beauty of holiness, through their unsubdued carnal infirmities!

"We assured our young missionaries that they went forth bearing the good seed, of which some must spring up to the glory of the grace of God. Alas! how few comparatively have found any good-ground hearers, or even rocky soil, or a lodgment among thorns; they have found nothing but the hard wayside, and not one seed apparently has vegetated.

PART VII. "To sum up, we have often in days past likened these occasions to the
 1862-72. scene at Antioch of old, when the Spirit said, 'Separate Me Paul and
 Chap. 68. Barnabas for the work to which I have called them.' But year after
 year we have sent forth our evangelists, and other societies have sent
 forth theirs, and generations have passed away in many a missionary
 field without our receiving back the glad intelligence which the Church
 of Antioch received after two years and a half, when two Apostles
 gathered the Church together, and rehearsed all that God had done for
 them."

Basing his further counsels on these considerations, he goes on to exhort the brethren above all to honour the Spirit, to act in the humble confidence of the Creed, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." Though man's work might fail, His work would never fail.

Venn at
last resigns

At last, in the autumn of 1872, Henry Wright having come into office, the long-contemplated resignation could take effect. The Committee at once appointed Venn a Vice-President, which they described, pathetically, as "the highest distinction it was in their power to bestow," expressing at the same time their sense of its "utter inadequacy to represent the indebtedness of the Society to their beloved and honoured friend." Venn's reply to this was characteristically full of humility; yet he took the opportunity to state once more his view of the position of a C.M.S. Secretary, in words already quoted in this chapter. He concluded by saying that it had been the highest honour and privilege of his life to be associated with the Committee. "Under all the vicissitudes of life, both in days of joy and in days of sorrow, I have ever found in the work of the Committee-room that Divine presence which calms, consoles, and sanctifies the soul." Many can testify that this is no mere language of unreal eulogy, but the strictest truth; and if ever we were tempted to forget it, Henry Venn's portrait, looking down upon us from behind the chair, would call us back to the sense of the calming, consoling, sanctifying Divine Presence that is with us "all the days."

His fare-
well letter.

His death.

It was on December 9th that this last letter from Henry Venn was read to the Committee. On January 13th, 1873, he quietly and without suffering passed away into the presence of his Lord. On January 17th a vast concourse of friends from all parts of the country stood around his grave in Mortlake Cemetery, and the Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson) committed his body to the earth, "in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life."

Minute of
Committee

In their Minute on his death, the C.M.S. Committee recalled, "with thankfulness to God, Mr. Venn's untiring industry, his complete self-devotion to the work, his immense powers of application, his strength of memory, his firmness of purpose, his vast practical knowledge of human nature, his calm and correct judgment, his patience and self-restraint, his deep and loving sympathy, his warm and generous friendship, and his kind and watchful consideration for the interest and reputation of all the

Society's agents, European and Native; and still more would they call to mind his strong faith, his deep spirituality, and his zeal for the honour of God." Comprehensive as this eulogy is, no one who knew Henry Venn would say that there was a word superfluous or undeserved.

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1862-72.
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Among the numberless testimonies from all quarters to the estimation in which he was held, perhaps the most touching of all came from an old personal friend to whom he had often been seriously opposed on Church questions, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce:—

"I feel his death to be the breaking of no ordinary tie. His father baptized me, and lived and died an honoured and beloved friend of my father and mother. The inheritance of Christian love, always a precious one, descended; and when added years lessened, as they always do, the disparity of age between us, he was always to me a kind and considerate friend. I honour especially in him the dedication of a life to a noble cause with an uncompromising entireness of devotion which had in it all the elements of true Christian heroism. You must look on his life as a grand epic poem which has ended in an *euthanasia* of victory and rest."

Bishop
Wilber-
force on
Venn.

Exactly six months afterwards, Bishop Wilberforce himself was suddenly called away, thrown from his horse on the Surrey Downs, and killed on the spot.

The bishop
killed.

Thus the most brilliant of Anglican Bishops and the most sagacious of Missionary Directors finished their course together. Widely as they differed, frequently as they were in conflict, it is good to remember that both loved and trusted the one Saviour of men, and both believed that the Evangelization of the World was the great duty of the Church. In the light and life and love of Heaven all differences are lost for ever.

The Church Missionary Society will never have another Henry Venn. No one man could now carry the whole work upon his shoulders, as he practically did; and no man could in these faster days work on as he did for thirty years. But the Lord raises up just such instruments as He needs for this and that period of His Church's history, for this and that sphere of work for Him. And though it is right and good that we should love and honour those who have gone before, and in whose steps we seem so feebly to follow, let us remember that all alike are but as earthen vessels, and that God uses such for the express purpose that the glory shall be His alone. Not Pratt or Bickersteth, not Venn or Wright or Wigram: it is the Lord of Hosts Himself that is with us for our Captain.

Henry
Venn
unique.

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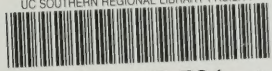
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